

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 340 045

CS 213 129

TITLE Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the American Journalism Historians' Association (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, October 3-5, 1991).

INSTITUTION American Journalism Historians' Association.

PUB DATE Oct 91

NOTE 712p.; The last line of page 209 is slightly cropped.

PUB TYPE Historical Materials (060) -- Collected Works - Conference Proceedings (021)

EDRS PRICE MF04/PC29 Plus Postage.

DESCRIPTORS Case Studies; Documentaries; Feminism; Foreign Countries; Freedom of Speech; *Journalism History; Mass Media Effects; *Mass Media Role; *Newspapers; *Periodicals

IDENTIFIERS African Americans; Bahamas; Canada; *Ethnic Newspapers; Great Britain

ABSTRACT

The 24 papers in this collection discuss a variety of issues concerning the history of journalism in many countries. The papers are: "The East-Indian American Press" (Arthi Subramaniam); "The World's Oldest Magazine and Its Place in the Evolution of British Periodicals" (Sam G. Riley); "Donna Allen and the Women's Institute: A Feminist Perspective on the First Amendment" (Maurine H. Beasley); "Warning Visions: A Case Study of Three Canadian Documentaries" (Maureen J. Nemecek); "The Press and the Execution of the Rosenbergs" (Arlene Tynner); "Ethnic Community or Workers' Solidarity? Class and Ethnicity in the Foreign Language Press" (Jon Bekken); "Struggle for Free Expression: Case Studies of African-American Journalists" (Maurine H. Beasley); "Rediscovering Zona Gale, Journalist" (Elizabeth Burt); "E.L. Godkin and the Meaning of Journalism" (Edward Caudill); "Parliament and Expression of Opinion: 17th-Century England" (Kenneth Campbell); "'The Freeman' to 'The Tribune': Black Journalism in the Colonial Bahamas" (Howard S. Pactor); "Victorian Proletarian Spiritualism: God, Workers and Canadian Labour Journalism" (David R. Spencer); "A Pennsylvania Newspaper publisher as Captain of 'Gideon's Army': J.W. Gitt, Henry Wallace and the Progressive Party" (Mary A. Hamilton); "War, Women and Work: A Study of Gender Displays in Advertising Images during World War II" (Charles Lewis and John Neville); "The Only Good Indians: A Comparative Examination of Press Coverage of the War with the Southern Cheyennes (1864-1868)" (Patricia A. Curtin); "The Valley Tan: An Early Free Press Challenge in the Tops of the Mountains" (Jack A. Nelson and Ed Adams); "An International View of the Professionalization of Journalists: The International Congress of the Press, 1894-1914" (Ulf Jonas Bjork); "The Railroad Industry and Its Early Periodicals, 1831 to 1850, Exploring the History of the Business/Trade Press" (Kathleen L. Endres); "The Mormon Problem: The Press Reacts to Mormons, Polygamy, and 'Reynolds v. United States' in 1879" (David A. Copeland); "How Advertisers Defined the Role of Women during World War II: An Analysis of Advertisements Appearing in 'Ladies Home Journal', 1940-1945" (Margaret Mary Gike); "Grim 'Slices of Life'--Disaster Reporting in the Gilded Age" (Paulette D. Kilmer); "The Newspaper Industry's Campaign against SpaceGrabbers, 1917-1921" (Susan M. L. Caudill); "American Propaganda in Britain during World War I" (James D. Startt); and "Greater Distance = Declining Interest:

Massachusetts Printers and Protections for a Free Press, 1783-1791"
(Carol Sue Humphrey). (RS)

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AMERICAN JOURNALISM HISTORIANS ASSOCIATION

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The East-Indian American Press

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Submitted for consideration to the American Journalism
Historians Association annual meeting, Philadelphia
October 1, 1991

Abstract

The scope of the paper is to study the purpose and attitudes of the East-Indian American press and the role the press plays in the integration process of the immigrants. Although a number of newspapers and journals are published on a regular basis in America very few attempts on studies in this direction have been made. As a result, although the East-Indian press is alive as an institution, it rarely features as one of the foreign-language presses in the United States. This paper studies the trend and direction of growth of the Indian ethnic press that has played a dominant role, especially after the 60s, in the Indo-American community.

The East-Indian American Press

Remarkably little is known about the process by which the Asian-Indians have modified their personal identities and social loyalty in adjusting to the expectations, goals and values of the American society. There has hardly been any attempt to study the existence, purpose and attitudes of the East-Indian American press and the role this ethnic press plays in the integration process of the immigrants.

The purpose of this study is to know more about the Indian press which has not been mentioned in many of the directories and encyclopedias. I carried out this study based on the available publications and opinions of newsmen, librarians and immigrants and included all the prominent Indian publications in the U.S to the best of my knowledge.

It has been frequently mentioned that the editorial content of the ethnic press expresses a group's values, heritage, and changing sense of identity. The ethnic press maintains the "ethos" behind an ethnic way of life.¹ It provides information of the extent of an organization within the ethnic community, thus

¹ For a general overview in the development and functions of the ethnic press see Lubomyr R. Wynar and Anna T. Wynar, *Encyclopedic Directory of Ethnic Newspapers and Periodicals in the United States* (Littleton, Colo. Libraries Unlimited 1976) pp. 14-22

serving as a reliable source of not only the historical development and nature of a particular ethnic group but also the degree of its assimilation and acculturation.

The ethnic newspapers and periodicals serve as educational tools. It is a vehicle through which the common concerns and purposes within ethnic communities are defined. The immigrant press acts as an agent of assimilation by describing the American way of life and interpreting the conditions, customs and laws of the new society. At the same time it also retards assimilation. It preserves the ethnic culture and identity by encouraging language retention, stimulating a continued interest in the country of origin, and sustaining involvement in ethnic community affairs within the host country.²

In this study, the term "Indian," who are also referred to as Asian Indians, East Indians or Indo-Americans designates all those people who have migrated not only from India, but also those of Indian origin from other countries like East Africa and Great Britain. The term "East Indian Press," also known as the Asian Indian Press includes all weekly, fortnightly and quarterly publications which appear at regular intervals, intend to continue indefinitely, and are available for trade, or can be obtained on a membership basis from organizations and institutions. The term "American" stipulates that the press is manufactured in the U.S. by the Indians. Indian periodicals and newspapers produced in foreign countries for circulation in the U.S. has been excluded from consideration.

Historical Outline

A great many Indian papers have been started and a great many have died in the U.S. A list of prominent Indian

² ibid.

publications published early in the century but which did not survive for long are listed in Table 1. Although there are 50 newspapers, journals and newsletters published on a weekly, fortnightly or monthly basis and 17 periodicals and newspapers published on a bimonthly or quarterly basis, and several others on an irregular basis, most of them are not listed in the ethnic press directories and encyclopedias. None of these publications are a daily newspaper. Most of the newspapers are published by local societies which are meant specifically for local readership.

Table 1
Early East-Indian Publications in the U.S

Year	Name of Publication	Existence
1908	Free Hindusthan	1908-1910
1913	Hindustan Ghadar	1913-1917
1914	Hindustanee Student	1914-1930
1920	Independent Hindustan	1920-1921
1938	India Today	1938-1954
1941	India & U.S.A	Feb-Aug 1941
1943	India's Voice	1943-1944

The origin of the East Indian American Press dates back to 1908. The first official record of the arrival of the Indian immigrant in the U.S dates back to 1820.³ The number of arrivals for the following years was very small, but began to increase just after the end of the Russo-Japanese War, as a result of which many of the Asian countries were inspired with a new out-look on immigration. Indians began to leave when the British Raj (regime) ruled India, and eventually settled in more than 50 countries. But the U.S was destination of only a few of these immigrants.

³ According to the U.S Immigration and Naturalization Service, *Annual Report*, 1976 (Washington, D.C 1977) pp 86-88.

Between 1820 and 1976, a total of over 130,000 Indian immigrants entered the U.S., fewer than 17,000 of these came before 1965.⁴ Their arrival on the West Coast during a period of general hostility toward Asians provoked executive exclusion orders in 1910. The Congressional exclusion laws in 1917 and 1923 virtually halted the Indian immigration.⁵

During this period many of the immigrants came intending to send most of their wages home to their families and eventually to return themselves. In order to maintain communication with their families and to defend their rights in the New World they started publishing news letters and periodicals. *Free Hindusthan* was the first of this kind to be published and existed from 1908 to 1910.

The newspaper *Hindustan Ghadar* published as *Gadar*, printed in several languages and distributed throughout the immigrant community became a powerful force for Indian nationalism. *Ghadar* was a weekly newspaper of the Ghadar Party which was primarily formed to establish the rights of the immigrants. The weekly helped to develop a broader Indian identity.

Almost 1500 Indians returned to India between 1911 and 1920 and in the next decade another 3000 left the U.S. The *Hindustanee Student* and *Independent Hindustan* both published by the Hindustan Association of America collapsed because of the returning Indians. Two major changes made in the immigration law in 1917 were the institution of literacy tests and the creation of the Asiatic Barred Zone which denied entry to immigrants. In 1921, the first quota law was introduced and remained substantially unaltered until 1952 and allowed for the entry of only about one hundred Indians annually.⁶

⁴ Stephan Thernstrom, *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic groups* (Harvard University Press 1980) pg 298

⁵ U.S. Immigration Comm. Report, Vol.3 part 25, pg 348

⁶ Maxine P. Fisher, *The Indians of New York City: A Study of Immigrants from India* (South Asia Books, Missouri, 1980) pg 9

As the influx of immigrants was almost negligible, a very few publications existed in this period. *India & U.S.A.*, an English weekly merged into *Orient & U.S.A.*, in a period of just eight months. *India Today* and *India's Voice* were the only other monthly bulletins published in this period and they ceased to exist in the 50s.

The next phase of the Indian immigration began when the 1965 immigration law eliminated national quotas, dramatically increasing the number of Asians eligible to enter the country. The immigrants differ notably from their European and Asian counter-parts of earlier eras: they are generally urban in provenience, highly educated, trained and employed in skilled professions and English-speaking. So a striking difference between the publications of the phases was language. While the newspapers and journals of the earlier period were in the respective community state languages, the publications of the 60s and later decades were primarily in English. A number of newspapers and periodicals started being published in the 70s and the 80s. By the end of the 80s a sizable number of publications came into being in the country.

During this period, there was an increase in the immigrant flow, as many felt a stirring of a new ambition for a larger life unsatisfied at home, leading a large number to migrate to the U.S. The reason most frequently quoted by Indian immigrants for leaving was 'greater job opportunity' within their respective professions outside India. "Indians say that they have become too educated for India."⁷ The possibility of greater economic gain, larger social contact, desire to escape from the troubles of casteism and its bearing on the education quota system, soaring prices and high

⁷ ibid.

taxation and political discontent are the other fundamental causes of their immigration to the U.S.⁸

The distribution of the press depends considerably on the immigrants' principal settlements in the U.S. The character and contents of the papers published in these areas is an index to the characteristic interest, ambitions and social attitudes of the people who read them. The Indian immigrant populations are highly divided ethnically and do not have a single merged identity as Indians. They do not constitute a community in the traditional sense of the word and are geographically dispersed throughout the country. However the largest concentration of East Indians is in the New York metropolitan area. A sizeable population has also settled in California. The remaining Indian population is scattered across the country, often in college or university centers.⁹ So the Indian newspapers were started at where the nucleus of a particular community existed. The population size was a crucial factor in maintaining the minimum necessary circulation.

Indian immigrants do not consider India as one country. They think of it as a continent, and each of its states as separate multi-lingual countries. For in each of India's 25 states, a variety of languages are spoken and a different culture followed. This tendency to associate state with language obscures the existence of a newspaper for Indians on the whole as a community in the U.S. So a large number of Samajs (associations) organized by people belonging to a particular state come out with a newsletter or weekly or quarterly journal in the respective language.

⁸ Commons, *Races and Immigrants in America* pp 103-104.

⁹ Jogesh C. Misrow, *East Indian Immigration on the Pacific Coast* (Disseration, Stanford, California) pp 11-27.

The Indian ethnic press is sponsored by American Indians, either native-born or naturalized. Most of the publishers and editors of the Indian press-sometimes run by a single person-had attained some education in India. They do not necessarily possess any journalistic experience or background, but are primarily businessmen who were willing to contribute the necessary funds or energy to give life to the operation.

The Indian publications consist of newspapers and periodicals published either in English, non-English or bilingually, and specifically aimed at an ethnic readership. The contents are primarily designed to satisfy the needs and interests common to persons of this ethnic group. On the whole it is informational carrying news of the political, social and economic happenings in India, of compatriots elsewhere in the U.S and of course of the local community. It expresses the groups value, heritage and changing sense of identity. It also socializes its readers to the U.S as it educates them and becomes itself a tool of adjustments.¹⁰ These newspapers are frequently identified more closely and more belligerently with the other Indian newspapers than with any other newspaper in this country or back in India.

Unlike the other foreign language papers, the Indian press continues to provide more news about its country. They provide only such information about America as is absolutely necessary for their readers to know in order to survive in this country. In fact some of the Indian newspapers do not have anything American in them except for their addresses. Initially the ethnic groups from Europe had their newspapers which were published in the U.S, mailed back to their towns and villages from which these people had emigrated, as they were anxious to see conditions improved in the "old country."¹¹ But the Indian American newspapers were very

¹⁰ Lubomyr R. Wynar and Anna T. Wynar, *Encyclopedic Directory of Ethnic Newspapers and Periodicals in the United States*.

¹¹ Wittke Carl, *German-Language Press*, pp 206-209

self-contained and never crossed the shores of the U.S. Also the first reaction of other nationality groups to the American environment was to publish a newspaper as they wanted to utilize the fresh air of the New World to develop self-expression. But the sole purpose of the Indian newspapers being published was to serve the Indian community and help them become familiar with the new environment.

One of the central problems for the Indian immigrants is the maintenance of personal identity. Identity can be described as that which binds an individual to society by providing personal roles which correspond with social reality.¹² The difficulties immigrants encounter in facing hostile natives, and in mastering their own emotions in the face of adversity, compels them to associate with countrymen who face similar problems. So they associate themselves with this group and communicate with the organization through the newspaper journal or newsletter. The Indian publications provide information about the native culture, the American culture and the immigrants relation to both.

The Indian immigrants who just set their foot in this land are interested in news from their homeland and for a long time long for home news. Loneliness and an unfamiliar environment turn the wanderers' thoughts and affections back upon his native land. The strangeness of the new surroundings emphasizes his kinship with those he has left.¹³ The Indian American press has set a pattern of being identified with nationality. They help their readers to keep abreast with the general progress of events of their homeland. It serves to preserve the different Indian languages from disintegrating into mere immigrant dialects and hyphenated English.

¹² William L. Joyce, *Editors and Ethnicity: A History of the Irish-America Press 1848-1883*, pg 2.

¹³ Robert E. Park, *The Immigrant Press and its Control* (New York: Harper & Bros, 1922)

The subscribers expect much more from the ethnic Indian paper than the reader of an English language paper. His dependence is greater and his interest frequently wider. On an immigrant's arrival he seeks guidance in matters of livelihood, and help in his adjustment problems. He looks for direction in his relationship with authorities on the local and national level. He wants his rights and privileges explained to him and also wants to know what is expected of him. Most of the Indian publications have special columns for the new incoming immigrants. The paper acts as a liaison for the immigrant, as his intermediary.¹⁴

Types of Publications

Political & ideological publications

The political and ideological publications published from different parts of the country include both newspapers and magazines. Some of the prominent ones have been listed in Table 2. All these newspapers focus on the political conditions prevailing in India apart from the local community news. These publications serve as the publisher's stand on all political, social, educational, economic and other issues.

A major vehicle of communication to the Indian community is the twelve-page English language weekly newspaper *India Abroad*. Established in 1970, it enjoys the largest circulation among the Indian ethnic press in the U.S. Till the late 70s it was available only through subscription but today it is available on the newsstand also. About two-thirds of each issue is devoted to news events in India. It also has articles of the Indian community in the U.S and editorials and commentaries about the U.S-Indian relations.

¹⁴ Edward Hunter, *In Many Voices-- Our Fabulous Foreign-Language Press* (Norman Park, Ga. Norman College)

Table 2
Political & Ideological Publications

Publication	Frequency	Type	State
AIA	5 per year	Magazine	North Carolina
AIINA	Bi-monthly	Magazine	Colorado
Bharat Darshan	Monthly	Magazine	New York
India Abroad	Weekly	Newspaper	New York
India Tribune	Weekly	Newspaper	Illinois
India West	Weekly	Newspaper	California
News India	Weekly	Newspaper	New York
India World Wide	Monthly	Magazine	New York

News India from New York, *India West* from El Sobranto, California, and *India Tribune* from Chicago are other weekly newspapers in English and publish articles on cultural issues and commentaries on political events in India and the news activities of the Indian community residing in the respective cities. The AIINA (Association of Asian Indians in North America) is an English bimonthly which contains articles related to the Indian culture, traditions and values and highlights the problems of Indians living in the U.S. *Bharat Darshan* (Indian View) features profiles of prominent Indians in the U.S and a regular column entitled 'Identity,' aimed at the exploration of various aspects of what it terms 'the identity problems' of the Indian immigrants. AIA (Association of Indians in America) publishes a quarterly journal and contains articles involved with the social issues and political process in the U.S. It is also concerned with the re-identification of Indian immigrants.

Religious and Cultural publications

Every Indian language group in the U.S maintains some sort of nationalist organization. These societies either establish journals of their own or they make some journal already

established theirs. Religious and cultural periodicals and bulletins were published with a hope to retain immigrant readers whose outlook had widened and who were no longer interested for the general run of news. A list of cultural and religious publications in existence today are mentioned in Table 3.

The cultural publications are devoted to a broad and popular presentation and interpretation of the ethnic cultural heritage, tradition, history, literature, art, music, drama and entertainment. *Aswamdeham* in Malayalam, *Amerikannada* in Kannada, *Brihan Maharashtra Varita* in Marathi, *Dastak* in Urdu, *Gujarati News Weekly* in Gujarathi and *Mailani* in Bengali are cultural and literary magazines consisting of fiction, poetry, news and articles dealing with immigrants of a particular state and articles highlighting a particular culture and tradition. *The Indian-American*, a cultural magazine is designed to traverse the fine 'golden line' between ethnic and mainstream media to provide readers with an opportunity to write their ideas on the American experience.¹⁵

The religious publications appear in the form of short bulletins or journals. Their dominant theme is religion. In addition they cover the affairs and activities of the denomination and provide spiritual guidance and information of the place of worship's position. They also cover a variety of topics from a specific religious perspective. These publications are sponsored by the respective religious groups. *ISKCON World Review* is a religious magazine of the organization of "Devotees of Lord Krishna," and publishes articles dealing with the worship of Lord Krishna. *Satsandesh* publishes articles about the Sikh religion. *Hinduism Today* is a monthly newspaper which promotes Hinduism. Quarterlies like *Samaskar* just publish a calender of events and activities of the various religious places of worship in several languages.

¹⁵ Vol.1 No.1 of *The Indian-American* dated February 1991.

Table 3
Religious & Cultural Publications

Publication	Frequency	Language
Amerikannada	Bi-monthly	Kannada
Aswamdeham	Monthly	Malayalam
Avaaz	Quarterly	English
Brihan Maharashtravarit	Monthly	Marathi
Dastak	Bi-monthly	Urdu
Gujarati News Weekly	Weekly	Gujarathi
Hinduism Today	Bi-monthly	English
ISKCON World Review	Monthly	English
Mailani	Bi-monthly	Bengali
Samaskar	Quarterly	English/Hindi
The Indian American	Monthly	English

Other types of publications include those sought out to particular sects like the *World Sikh News* and *Eelam Tamils Association of America Progress Report*. They basically contain propaganda news articles about these community groups. *The World Sikh News* is bilingual and has news articles printed in English and Punjabi in the same paper. *Avaaz* is an English quarterly aimed at young Indo-Americans. It is cultural in nature, and contents vary from recipes and ethnic folk art to analysis of social problems affecting women.

Lingustic Indian Associations

Lingustic-regional factors define the boundaries of the Indian community. The associations formed by the immigrants are also contained within the lingustic-regional group. In fact there is no all Indian immigrant society. Most of the Indian

associations are founded on the lines of religious affiliations or on common state/language identities.¹⁶ These associations sponsor monthly or bimonthly journals or bulletins like *Brihan Maharashtratravarita* -a Marathi monthly sponsored by the Brihan Maharashtra Mandal (Association) and *Kerala Jyoti*, a Malayalam monthly which is published by the federation of Keralite Association. Although the associations are principally concerned with fulfilling the social needs of the members here, they also serve as agents for maintaining ties with their respective home states. Most of the language groups publish monthly or quarterly newsletters either entirely or partially in the natal language. Generally the information contained in these relates to the home state: news events or ongoing projects of social welfare to which members are sometimes asked to make financial contributions.

Advertisements

The immigrant also gets almost all that he knows about the larger political, social and industrial life around him through the advertisements in the publications. Sometimes the advertisements reveal about the organization of the immigrant community more completely than the rest of the paper. The publications advertise addresses of groceries, restaurants and cultural organization activities. There is even a page exclusively for matrimonials with the system of arranged marriages still prevalent among the Indian-Americans.

Problems Faced By The Indian Press

The Indian-American publications are found to be popular only among the immigrants of the 60s and those who have just come into

¹⁶ Mohammad A. Siddiqi, *Indian Ethnic Press in the United States of America*.

the country. The second generation do not consider these papers their cup of tea as they have already adjusted to the new environment and Indian news is of interest to them. The young Indian born here to alien parents is determined not to be a "foreigner."¹⁷

The Indian-American press also faces hostile reactions from the fresh Indian immigrants who come with established standards and cultural demands in contrast with the old immigration. These immigrants consider the Indian papers to be poorly written and stilted. The writing skills are found to be substandard as some of the people employed by the Indian publications are not journalists but immigrants who are illegally employed. The journalists are not motivated to give their best as they are paid rather poorly. On the other hand, the publications feel that they are written for a local community and the writing has been adapted to the needs and speech of the established community. The new immigrants are also mostly well educated and more interested in the United States than in what is happening thousands of miles away. Initially the immigrants long to know about news from India. But as they start settling down, they start keeping away from these newspapers.

The Indian press also has to meet the problem of the multi-language nature of the Indo-American population. Not all Indians speak the national language Hindi, but speak the language of the respective state he comes from. The linguistic realities force elements of the Indian-American press to make critical decisions on the language or languages in which to publish, further dividing an already limited market.¹⁸

¹⁷ Edward Hunter, in *Many Voices--Our Fabulous Foreign-Language Press*.

¹⁸ See problems of the Mexican-American Press in *The Ethnic Press in the United States* by Sally M. Miller pg 254.

Another problem that the Indian-American press faces is its struggle for existence. They are started easily as the competition is not so keen and a very high capital investment is not required.¹⁹ But they live a very short span as they are not well conceived and not well-managed. And this is a result of the immaturity and instability of the press as a whole. The Indian newspaper clearly lags far behind the American papers in terms of technology, distribution techniques and variety of features. Individual papers continue to collapse even while the ethnic press stays alive as an institution.

One of the reasons why the Indian press has not been included in the various directories is that this ethnic press does not enjoy a very large circulation and the volume of the press is small when compared to the other foreign language newspapers like the German, French, Polish and the Jewish presses in the U.S. Secondly, till 1970, the census material did not entirely account for the Asian Indians in terms of population statistics at the national level. So many of the directories were not even aware of their existence. There has also been a failure among the Indian publishers to notify the directories about their publication's existence. The publications are run on an individual basis and is very controlled by the publisher. So although the Indian ethnic press is very much alive in America, its existence is hardly known beyond the Indian community.

Conclusion

The Indian-American press which plays a more dominant role after the 60s than in the earlier periods of the century, has helped the new immigrants to make adjustments to a new environment. The Indian ethnic press whether printed in an Indian language or English has been a conspicuous and influential part of

¹⁹ Robert E. Park, *The Immigrant Press and its Control*.

the Indian community life in America. Despite its shortcomings and the problems it faces, it reflects the vitality of the Indian immigrants as they seek to adjust to their new lives and to preserve their religio-cultural legacy. Despite its high mortality rate and its ongoing factionalism, the Indian press has fostered language maintenance, cultivated ethnic pride and nourished a sense of identity and survival in an alien environment. Despite being despised by the foreign intellectuals it has power among its readers. Having created its reading public it monopolizes its readers to a great extent.

An important and long neglected matter is the need for a complete listing of the existing current newspapers, journals and other forms of printed material of the East Indian-American press. This is will help to study the trend and direction of growth of this ethnic press immensely.

The East Indian-American press has a meaningful mark on history - the history of American history of India and the history of the Indians in America and their descendants. However it will have to move beyond mere expansion of English language publications in order to remain viable in the future.

THE WORLD'S OLDEST MAGAZINE
AND ITS PLACE IN THE EVOLUTION OF BRITISH PERIODICALS

by

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Prepared for delivery before the American Journalism Historians

Association, Philadelphia, PA., October 1991

It does not appear to be widely known in the United States, even among journalism historians, that the world's longest surviving popular magazine (1) is *The Scots Magazine*, first published in 1739 in Edinburgh, now in Dundee. The purpose of this paper is to offer a brief description of this venerable periodical, then to place its founding in perspective relative to the other types of early non-newspaper periodicals of the British Isles. In describing how this magazine fits into the evolution of British magazines, the writer will concentrate on the periodicals of the 1600s and 1700s but will extend the discussion into the early 1800s for a more complete perspective.

U.S. journalism scholars will recall that the two earliest magazines on this side of the Atlantic appeared, flickered, and expired in 1741, two years after the appearance of *The Scots*. (2) The age of *The Scots Magazine* seems even more impressive when one adds that the next oldest surviving British magazine is the respected opinion journal *The Spectator*, (3) founded in 1828, nearly a century after *The Scots* was launched.

The Scots Magazine (4) was the creation of a committee of sorts: printers Alexander Murray and James Cochran, plus booksellers Alexander Brymer and William Sands, all of Edinburgh. These

gentlemen launched their magazine, they wrote in a first-issue message to their readers, in part due to local demand for the magazines then being published in London, which took at least a week to reach Edinburgh. A second reason sounds identical to similar editorial statements in the early magazines of America's South: to give their own population, removed as it was from the principal seat of power, hence of publication, an opportunity to develop its own popular literature. And, like so many of the early magazines virtually everywhere, *The Scots* originally was heavy with "selected," or previously published material, mostly of English origin.

Today's *Scots Magazine* is published in the same page size as the first issue of January 1739, a digest-sized 5 1/2 x 8 1/2, though today color photographs have replaced the Scottish royal coat-of-arms and list of contents that appeared on early issues' covers.

The Scots was an Edinburgh adaptation of the London monthly miscellanies that date from 1731 when Edward Cave introduced the *Gentleman's Magazine*.⁽⁵⁾ The purpose of this genre was to provide a monthly look at politics, other news, and literature. Early issues of *The Scots* printed the texts of royal speeches and proclamations, summaries of European affairs, and essays selected from the various periodicals being published in London. To these contents were added poems by Scottish writers and announcements or summaries of births and deaths in Edinburgh. Also, lists of new books published both in Edinburgh and London were included, and the official ban on reporting Parliamentary debates was sidestepped by a feature called "The Journal of the Proceedings and Debates in the Political Club," printed as though the speeches had been made in a nonexistent local club, a device borrowed from English magazines.

The uprising that followed the arrival in Scotland of Prince Charles Edward Stuart (Bonnie Prince Charlie) received much coverage in *The Scots* in 1745 and '46, including the Young Pretender's defeat at Culloden Moor, after which the victorious English outlawed kilts and bagpipes for a time. The magazine remained as neutral as possible in the political struggles between the Whigs and the Jacobites (so named after Jacobus, the Latin name of the Old Pretender, James Edward Stuart), taking care to report all sides in every controversy, usually via "selected" material. Its neutral stance and lack of bias in reporting helped the magazine achieve a widespread circulation not only in

Scotland, but in England. A year's subscription at that time cost 6/6 d, plus an additional 1 d for binding the year's copies in leather.

Until the late 1750s the magazine had no editor as such but was the joint product of its publishers and printers. Its first actual editor was William Smellie, who held this post from 1759 until 1765 when he went into business for himself, and who later printed the original edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Among the writers whose work appeared in the early years of *The Scots* were Dr. Johnson's Scottish companion James Boswell, schoolmaster-poet James MacPherson, the poet Allan Ramsay, and essayist Henry Mackenzie.

Under later editors in the 1700s the magazine continued its emphasis on public affairs, though original literary contributions were made by such Scottish writers as John Jamieson and James Hogg, known to Scots as "the Ettrick shepherd." After Archibald Campbell took over as editor in 1801, the magazine began to attract still more original literary material. In 1804 Campbell merged *The Scots* with another of his magazine properties, *The Edinburgh Magazine*, and during the Napoleonic Wars used it mainly as a news vehicle with something of a Whig political slant.

Unable to compete with the newer and more popular *Blackwood's Magazine* (6), which contained more and better literary work, Constable went bankrupt in 1826 and folded *The Scots* in June of that year. But for a brief reappearance in 1829, the old *Scots* was out of publication until 1888 when it was revived to take the place of an existing church magazine titled *The Scottish Church*, which had adopted a more popular, less churchly format. This incarnation lasted until 1900; the title remained dormant until April of 1924, when it was revived by the St. Andrews Society in Glasgow, which used it to serve the various Scottish Societies worldwide.

Then in 1927 its ownership was taken over jointly by John Leng & Co., Ltd. and D.C. Thompson & Co., Ltd. of Dundee, who used it to publicize Scotland's heritage in general. Photographs were first used in its pages in 1928, color covers in 1946. D. C. Thompson became sole publisher in 1965 and has continued to the present day to devote the magazine to a wide variety of content, all of which concerns Scottish life and history. Cover price is now 70p; a year's subscription is £12.24 for twelve monthly issues. Circulation is roughly 90,000. (7)

To begin to establish *The Scots Magazine's* place in the evolution of British magazines, it is first necessary to go to Paris, France, in the year 1665. In that year began the *Journal des Savans*, which most scholars regard as the earliest serial publication that had any real resemblance to magazines as we know them. It was a 12-page weekly that published abstracts of recently printed books; its purpose was to inform the literate as to what reading matter had just become available, and also to give badly needed publicity to writers--though often only after their demise. The *Journal des Savans* itself had a long life--250 years.

In March of that same year, 1665, Englishman Henry Oldenburg founded the monthly *Acta Philosophica Societates Anglia*, later titled the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, a learned serial publication of scientific inclination that also offered book abstracts. Three years later (1668) the *Mercurius Librarius* is the first English book catalog to be published serially for any length of time, and a little more than a decade after that, other British abstract serials of a learned nature followed, including London's *Weekly Memorials for the Ingenious* in 1682, Edinburgh's *Bibliotheca Universalis* (1688), and London's *Mercurius Eruditorum* (1691), which presented more extended discussions of books and their authors.

To satisfy early popular demand for reading matter, enterprising publishers originated sheets that offered a mixture of news and low humor. Most of these serial publications of the mid-1600s used the designation "Mercurius" in their titles. Several such periodicals were *Mercurius Fumigosus or Smoking Nocturnal* (1654), *Mercurius Morbicus*, *Mercurius Melancholicus*, and *Mercurius Elencticus* (all of 1647), *Mercurius Phreneticus* (1652), and *Mercurius Jocosus* (1654). Clearly their main purpose was to entertain, which differentiates them from the more somber newssheets of that era.

Early periodical publishers to address the popular market for entertaining reading in a more dignified manner were bookseller John Dunton and mathematics teacher Richard Sault, who from 1691 to 1696 conducted the *Athenian Gazette* or *Causistical Mercury* (a title later shortened to the *Athenian Mercury*). Joined by churchman Samuel Wesley, father of the more famous John and Charles, these periodical pioneers attempted to popularize learning by answering readers' inquiries in question-and-answer format. Their twice weekly periodical is regarded as important in part be-

cause it carried a substantial amount of verse and through its popularity, helped do away with the pious notion that poetry was unworthy because it led to impure thoughts.

In 1692 appeared *The Gentleman's Journal*, introduced to Londoners by Huguenot Peter Motteux, who modeled his monthly miscellany after the older periodical *Le Mercure Galant* of Paris (1673-64, 1678-79), which contained court gossip for ladies and gentlemen of fashion. Henry Purcell was a contributor to Motteux's *Journal*, which gave Londoners an early taste of fiction and verse and helped pave the way for later magazines of a generally literary nature.

In the world of periodicals, imitation has truly been the sincerest form of flattery, and Motteux had imitators such as *Miscellanies Over Claret* (1697) and the *Post Angel* (1701), another of John Dunton's properties. In 1693, in fact, Dunton had gone after the ladies' market by imitating his own *Athenian Mercury* with a new periodical that he titled *The Ladies Mercury*. Though owned by a man, it used women writers and specialized in offering advice concerning matters of the heart.

Still other short-lived periodicals of entertainment at the turn of the 18th century were the *London Spy* (1698-1700), the *Weekly Comedy* (1699), the *Diverting Post* (1704-05), and the *London Terre Filius, or Satyrical Reformer* (1707-08). The best-remembered English periodical of this time, however, was the *Weekly Review* of 1704, conducted by Daniel Defoe, who earlier had written for Dunton's *Athenian*. A feature in the *Weekly Review* that presaged the essay papers that would soon follow was "Advice from the Scandalous Club." This feature became so popular that Defoe ran lengthy supplements, then spun off a new question-and-answer periodical to subsume it: the *Little Review; or, an Inquisition of Scandal* (1705), arranged in much the same manner as the earlier *Athenian Mercury*. Competitors appeared: the *Monthly Mercury* (1707-08), the *Monthly Miscellany or Memoirs for the Curious* (1707-10), and the *British Apollo* (1708-11).⁽⁸⁾

The hallmark of periodical work in the early 1700s was, of course, the essay paper, originated by Irish-born Richard Steele and his thrice weekly *Tatler* of 1709. Writing as Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq., a name popularized in pamphlet form a year earlier by Jonathan Swift, Steele treated the vices and virtues of London society in short, personal, conversational essays that quickly captured an audience and that would breed hosts of imitators at home and abroad, including two spurious *Tatlers*.

Killing the *Tatler* in 1711, Steele and his even more talented colleague Joseph Addison launched the *Spectator* (1711-12), a daily essay paper. Due to passage of the Stamp Act of 1712, the *Spectator's* price had to be doubled, and it was folded near the end of that year. A new run of *Spectator* was issued by Addison alone for half a year in 1714; a month after the second *Spectator's* demise, a spurious periodical of the same name appeared.

A *Female Tatler* (1709-10) was launched a mere three months after the original *Tatler's* founding. Its originator, "Mrs. Crackenthorpe, a lady that knows every thing," was actually a man, Thomas Baker. Other early imitators in this popular genre were *Gazette a-la-mode*, the *Tatling Harlot*, and *The Whisperer* in 1709; *Titt for Tatt* and *The Tory Tatler* in 1710; and *The Grouler, or Diogenes Robbed of his Tub*, the *Restorer*, *The Inquisitor*, and *The Surprise* in 1711.

Steele brought out the *Guardian* in 1712, a daily for which Addison wrote more than fifty essays. This popular periodical was folded in 1713 when Steele launched the more politically oriented *Englishman* (1713-15). Steele later edited *The Lover* (1714) and *The Reader* (1714).

Thus did Addison and Steele establish the essay as the most admired literary form of the 18th century and thereby prepare the way for the literary miscellanies that would follow, publishing such writers as Swift, Alexander Pope, John Hughes, William Congreve, and Lady Mary Montagu. All in all, there appear to have been roughly a hundred British essay papers published by 1712, convincing testimony to the popularity of this form. The essay remained well liked throughout the 1700s and well into the next century. Bound collections of the full run of *Tatler*, *Spectator*, *Guardian* and other essay papers continued to be printed well into the 1800s.(9)

In the years immediately following the first essay papers, new essay sheets began to assume an increasingly political character. Steele's *Englishman* was a spokesman for the Whigs, combating the Tory *Examiner* (1710-14), which was edited for a time by Jonathan Swift. The Stuart invasion of Scotland prompted Addison to found the anti-Jacobite *Free-Holder* in 1715, and in 1718 Ambrose Philips began the *Freethinker* as a Whig organ. *The Craftsman* of 1726, Swift's *Intelligencer* (1728), and the *Universal Spectator* (1728-46), edited by Defoe's son-in-law Henry Baker, are still other examples of the political essay papers of that era, with many others to follow in later years.

All this is not meant to imply that the essay as a literary form began with the *Tatler*. Many fine non-periodical essays had appeared much earlier, penned by such accomplished writers as Dryden and Bacon. The "Mercurius" periodicals had also contained some essays, as did Defoe's *Review*.

Another watershed periodical of the early 1700s was Edward Cave's *The Gentleman's Magazine* of 1731. Cave had apprenticed with a London printer, edited a newspaper called the *Norwich Courant*, worked with Defoe on the important Tory paper *Mist's Journal* in London, then secured an appointment in the London Post Office. From this postal vantage point he began a side business of supplying country news to city newspapers and vice versa. In February 1731 he brought out the highly successful *Gentleman's Magazine*, initially using the nom de plume Sylvanus Urban, Gent, a play on his specialty of supplying reading for both rural and city customers.

Cave was the first of his trade to apply the term "magazine" to a periodical of miscellaneous content. The term is commonly thought to have originally meant "storehouse"--a place where various things might be collected and stored, though Samuel Johnson in his *English Dictionary* traced the origin of the term to an Arabic word meaning "treasure." Whatever its true origin, Locke had used it prior to Cave's application of it in the line, "His head was so well stored a magazine, that nothing could be proposed he was not master of."

As to content and format, Cave's magazine was not noticeably different from the miscellanies that had preceded it. Like these miscellanies, his new magazine was a collection of the literary, critical, biographical, and political, and like so many of the early periodical editors, Cave began largely by republishing material lifted from other printed sources, then gradually introduced more original copy. From the earlier essay papers Cave learned the value of leaving the moment's "tydings" to the newspapers and instead emphasizing elegant writing, amusement, and instruction of his readers as to the manners of the time. Johnson began writing for the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1738 and was its Parliamentary editor from 1740 to 1744. Another important contributor was John Hawkesworth, who wrote both prose and verse.

The designation "magazine" caught on rapidly. Cave's closest rival was *The London Magazine* (1732-85), founded by a group of the city's booksellers and bought into later by James Boswell.

Other periodicals to adopt this designation were the *Weekly Amusement, or Universal Magazine* (1734), the *Literary Magazine, or the Select British Library* (1734), the *Country Magazine, or the Gentleman's and Ladies' Pocket Companion* (1736), and a competitor with the blatantly infringing title the *Gentleman's Magazine: And Monthly Oracle* (1736), started by former Cave employee Jacob Ilive. In 1739 the term "magazine" was applied for the first time in Scotland when *The Scots Magazine* was founded.

Undoubtedly many of the above periodicals were published with both men and women readers in mind, but the purpose of this discussion requires dropping back in time to note that from the late 1600s publishers realized that added money might be made by appealing separately to women. The first British women's periodical is thought to have been John Dunton's monthly (later fortnightly) *The Ladies Mercury* of 1693, a periodical devoted to answering women readers' questions. *Records of Love, or Weekly Amusements for the Fair Sex* appeared in 1710 and is said to have been the first British all-fiction periodical. More successful financially was Coventry mathematics teacher John Tipper's *Ladies Diary or Women's Almanack*, a 1711 monthly.

The designation "magazine" was first applied to women's periodicals in 1732 when Edward Cave introduced *The Ladies Magazine or Monthly Intelligence*--only one year after founding his *Gentleman's Magazine*. In most respects this new offering resembled the original, except that much of the political content was omitted. Other notable women's periodicals of the 1700s included the already mentioned *Female Tatler* (1709-10), *Dublin's Ladies' Journal* (1727), *The Parrot* (1728), *Lady's Magazine* (1731), the *Female Spectator* (1744-46), *The Ladies Weekly Magazine* (1747), and, especially interesting, *The Ladies' Magazine* (1749-53), which introduced more sensational fare, including crime copy. As the century drew to a close, there appeared *The Lady's Pocket Magazine* (1793) and *The Lady's Monthly Museum* (1798-1828). Most of these early women's periodicals were conducted by men, who aimed at "improving" their readers. Many such editors wrote in the guise of women, using fictitious names: "Mrs. Crackenthorpe," "Mrs. Penelope Prattle," "Mrs. Penelope Pry," etc. This device was partly a sales gimmick, one suspects, and also was partly due to the tradition of anonymous authorship and editorship in early British periodicals in general, which in turn was due to the prevailing notion that writing for the public was *de classe* for those in the upper

echelons of society. Yet another explanation for this anonymity has to do with fear of retribution for critical comments, especially should one offend the Crown.⁽¹⁰⁾

As the century progressed, other noteworthy British general miscellanies appeared. *The Museum, or Literary and Historical Register of London* (1746-47) offered both literary and political content. It was conducted by former footman Robert Dodsley, who, though humble of origin, published such eminent worthies as Mark Akenside, David Garrick, and Henry Fielding, and competed with the *Gentleman's Magazine*. Hugh Kelly's *Court Magazine* (1761-65) was noted for its original contributions, as were Robert Lloyd's *St. James's Magazine* (1762-64) and the *Westminster Magazine* (1773-85), which carried essays by Oliver Goldsmith. Other miscellanies were Tobias Smollet's *British Magazine* (1760-67) and *Town and Country Magazine* (1769-95), which published Thomas Chatterton. The symbiotic relationship shared by these magazines and the literary figures of their time became fully crystallized in the *Novelist's Magazine* (1780-89), in which the work of Fielding, Goldsmith, Johnson, Smollett, Sterne, Swift and others was serialized.

The Monthly Ledger, Or Literary Repository (1773-75) used selected, as opposed to original content, as had *Gentleman's* in its early days. By contrast, *The Bee, or Literary Weekly Intelligence* (1790-94) used original material and was more practical in orientation than the more strictly literary periodicals, largely because its editor was inventor/economist James Anderson. Similar in content and arrangement to *Gentleman's* was London's liberal *Monthly Magazine* (1796-1843).

Meanwhile, new essay papers continued to appear. The anti-Walpole *Common Sense* had run from 1737-39. *The Champion* was edited by novelist Henry Fielding from 1739 to 1740; after a turnabout in his politics, Fielding brought out *The Jacobite's Journal* (1747-48). Samuel Johnson's *Rambler*, one of the best regarded of all the essay papers, ran from 1750 to 1752; and Fielding's final essay paper, the *Covent Garden Journal* (1752), presaged the drift away from politics and toward more literary content that marked the second half of the century's essay papers. Others to follow in that vein were Hawkesworth's *The Adventurer* (1752-54), Robert Dodsley's satirical *World* (1753-56), Bonnell Thornton's *Connoisseur* (1754-56), and Christopher Smart's *Universal Visiter* (1756), written for by Johnson, Garrick, and Thomas Percy. Oliver Goldsmith edited the weekly *Bee* (1759) and was in that same year the main writer for *The Busy Body*.

Unless otherwise noted, the periodicals mentioned above were English. The spread of periodical literature to Scotland had been impeded by the fact that most Scots spoke only Gaelic until the early 1800s, as well as by poor roads and widespread poverty. Though magazine predecessors such as the *Mercurius Scotius* (1651) had existed earlier, Scottish magazines as such began in 1739 with *The Scots Magazine*, which had little native competition until the 1750s. Other Scottish miscellanies were the *Edinburgh Magazine* (1757-62), *Aberdeen Magazine* (1761), Gilbert Stuart and William Smellie's *Edinburgh Magazine and Review* (1773-76), *Glasgow Magazine and Review or Universal Miscellany* (1783-84), and *Edinburgh Magazine or Literary Miscellany* (1785-1803), all monthlies. Early Scottish weeklies included the *Weekly Magazine or Edinburgh Amusement* (1768-84), the *Perth Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure* (1772-73), *Dumfries Weekly Magazine* (1773-77), *Dundee Magazine or a History of the Present Times* (1775-78), and a later *Aberdeen Magazine* (1788-91).

Like the English, the Scots had their essay papers, beginning with the *Scots Spy* (1776) and *New Scots Spy* (1777). The prolific Henry Mackenzie and his circle of lawyer friends conducted both *The Lounger* (1785-87) and *The Mirror* (1779-80).

Periodical efforts in Scotland spread from Edinburgh to other university centers, notably Aberdeen and Glasgow, and were not so tightly concentrated in one metropolis as were the English periodicals, most of which were published in London. However, just as magazine proprietors in the American South suffered from their own countrymen's preference for the leading Northern magazines, so did Scottish publishers smart from the average literate Scot's general contentment with reading periodicals published in London.(11)

Ireland provides a good example of how colonial domination can impede the literary development of a country. Printing itself was introduced into Ireland in 1551, fully 77 years after its beginnings in England. Ireland's earliest periodicals of note were essay papers, which started, in a sense, with *The Examiner* (1710-13), a London title republished in Dublin for the Irish audience. Next came the witty *Country Gentleman* (1726), *Anbury's Weekly Journal* (1727), *The Intelligencer* (1728), the humorous *Temple-Oge Intelligencer* (1728), *The Medler* (1743), and the satirical *Tickler* (1748).(12)

The earliest Irish periodical of wider scope was Dublin's *A Literary Journal* (1744-49), edited by Huguenot churchman Jean Pierre Droz. This title is more of a literary review than a miscellany, which brings up another periodical form that in this sense, at least, began in Ireland and was carried to full flower in England in the 1800s. England's earliest review of note was the *Monthly Review* (1749-1844), which offered summaries and extracts of new books covering a substantial range of subjects, written for the scholar and the serious reader. Smollet's *Critical Review* (1756-1817) was another long-lived member of this genre. Of shorter duration were William Kendrick's *London Review of English and Foreign Literature* (1775-80), Gilbert Stuart and John Murray's *English Review* (1783-97), and Paul-Henry Mati's *New Review* (1783-86).(13)

Just after the turn of the 19th century, prominent periodical publisher Leigh Hunt, the son of American parents who had emigrated to England, and a man possessed of a keen eye for writing talent, brought out a number of short-lived literary magazines, chief among which were *The Reflector* (1810-11), *The Liberal* (1822-23), and Hunt's *London Journal* (1834-35), publishing such literary greats as Byron, Keats, Shelley, Hazlitt, and Lamb.(14) The Irish market was briefly catered to from London by *The Monthly Museum: or Dublin Repertory* (1813-14), a miscellany illustrated by Irish artists.

The publishing dates that follow the magazine titles already mentioned will allow the reader to see that, in contrast to *The Scots Magazine*, most of Britain's early non-newspaper periodicals were short-lived indeed. By the early 1800s, however, literacy and public prosperity, especially in England, had reached a point that allowed a good many magazines to enjoy a longer life. *The New Monthly Magazine* (1814-84) is an example, and gained special prominence under its fourth editor, Thomas Campbell. One of Scotland's foremost and longest lasting magazines was *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, which ran from 1817 until 1980 and published an impressive list of literary notables, including Thomas De Quincey, John Galt, Edward Bulwer-Lytton, George Elliot, Anthony Trollope, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, William Wordsworth, essayist William Henry Smith, and Joseph Conrad. A worthy competitor of *Blackwood's* was *Fraser's Magazine* (1830-82), edited by William Maginn and noted for its wit and Tory politics, as well as for its contributions by Carlyle, Thackeray, and Ruskin.

Of intermediate longevity was *The Imperial Magazine* (1819-34), ably edited by former shoemaker's apprentice turned Methodist clergyman Samuel Drew. This era was one of rapidly expanding literacy in England. Serious efforts were being made to educate the masses despite that fact that doing so caused the upper classes to fear erosion of their privileged positions following the French Revolution and the early years of the Industrial Revolution. The Wesleyans were active in this cause, as were the Anglicans' Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the Unitarians' Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. *The Imperial Magazine's* underlying mission was the improvement of the working class. Drew's attempts to widen magazine readership were followed with great success by the S.D.U.K.-supported *Penny Magazine* (1832-45) and with a lesser degree of success by the S.P.C.K.'s *Saturday Magazine* (1832-44). Of far greater longevity was another similar magazine that began in Edinburgh with the aim of bringing educational, entertaining reading to a broad audience--*Chambers's Journal* (1832-1956), a magazine that had English, Scottish, and Irish editions.

Dons and students at Dublin University's Trinity College founded the *Dublin University Magazine* (1833-77), not an academic journal as one might suppose from the title, but an Irish general magazine similar in arrangement to *Blackwood's*.(15)

Beginning in the late 1830s and for quite a few years thereafter, the biggest name in British magazine work was novelist Charles Dickens, who edited *Bentley's Miscellany* (1837-68), *Household Words* (1850-59), and *All the Year Round* (1859-95). These magazines were islands of quality reading in a sea of lesser offerings designed to provide cheap reading matter to the rapidly growing pool of literate Britons.(16)

The next batch of general-content magazines, including *Macmillan's Magazine* (1859-1907), *Cornhill Magazine* (1860-1975), *Saint Paul's Magazine* (1867-74), and *Tinsley's Magazine* (1867-92), are outside the timeframe of this discussion.(17) Mention should be made, though, of four surviving magazines that date from the first half of the 1800s: *The Spectator* (1828) already mentioned above; the comic weekly *Punch* (1841); the *Illustrated London News* (1842), a world leader as an illustrated paper, later converted to magazine format; and *The Economist* (1843), an influential journal of politics, commerce, and international affairs. When one adds the surviving British magazines that

were founded later in the 1800s, one can see at a glance how much more specialized magazines were becoming. These titles include *The Month* (1864), *People's Friend* (1869), *Shooting Times & Country Magazine* (1882), *Horse & Hound* (1884), *The Lady* (1885), *IT* (*Irish Tatler*, 1890), *Yachting World* (1894), *House Beautiful* (1896), and *Country Life* (1897). From most of these titles, the reader can easily see the increasing importance of specialized magazines by the mid to late 1800s, a trend that intensified in 20th century Britain just as it did in the United States.

Many British periodical publishers simply chose to specialize by reader gender. Just as London has always been known as a "man's city," most British general magazines since the founding of *The Scots Magazine*, and even before, have had a predominantly masculine appeal. To ensure that women readers would not lack for magazine reading matter, an enormous number of women's magazines have appeared since the first of their kind, *The Ladies Mercury* of 1693. These magazines, most of which have concentrated on a mixture of beauty, fashion, cooking, child care, and home-making, proliferated in the mid 1800s. In the Victorian Age these periodicals celebrated the value of being a virtuous, submissive wife. Sample titles are *La Belle Assemblée* (1806-32), *Ladies' Fashionable Repository* (1809-95), *The Ladies Pocket Magazine* (1824-40), *The Ladies' Cabinet* (1832-70), *The Ladies' Gazette of Fashion* (1834-94), and one of the most popular of them all, *The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* (1852-79). A few titles, however, spoke out strongly on women's issues: *The English Woman's Journal* (1858-64), *Alexandra Magazine* (1846-65), and *Victoria Magazine* (1863-80), for example.

Finally, it should be added that not until the passage of the Education Act of 1870 was illiteracy virtually stamped out in Britain. This development, coupled with the maturity of the British rail system around that same time, made it possible for magazine publishers to reach vastly larger audiences than in the early years of *The Scots*, thereby allowing magazines to develop into the true industry they are today.

Notes

1. Publication of *The Scots Magazine* has not been continuous. The magazine ceased publication in June 1826, reappeared briefly in 1829, was resumed under new ownership from 1888-1900, and was once again re-launched in April 1924. Thus *The Scots* is by no means the world's oldest continuously published magazine.
2. The earliest American magazines were Andrew Bradford's *American Magazine*, published for three monthly issues, and Benjamin Franklin's *General Magazine*, which survived for six months.
3. Not to be confused with Addison and Steele's earlier essay periodical of the same title.
4. The magazine's original full title, *The Scots Magazine--Containing a General View of the Religion, Politicks, Entertainment etc. in Great Britain and a Succinct Account of Publick Affairs Foreign and Domestick* (1739-1804), was changed to *The Scots Magazine and Edinburgh Miscellany: being a General Repository of Literature, History and Politics* (1804-1817), then to *The Edinburgh Magazine and Literary Miscellany, A New Series of the Scots Magazine* (1817-1826). Thereafter it was simply titled *The Scots Magazine*.
5. See C. Lennart Carlson, *The First Magazine: A History of The Gentleman's Magazine*. Providence, R.I.: Brown University Press, 1938; reprinted, Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1974.
6. See Sir George Douglas, *The Blackwood Group*. Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1897, and John Eagles, *Essays Contributed to "Blackwood's Magazine."* Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood and Sons, 1857.
7. More extensive descriptions of the magazine may be found in Maurice Fleming, ed., *The Scots Magazine--A Celebration of 250 Years* (London: Pelham Books, 1989), and in two articles by Scottish historian Archie McKerracher that appeared in the magazine itself: "The First 250 Years," January 1989, pp. 379-388, and "They've All Been in The Scots Magazine," February 1989, pp. 495-502.

8. An excellent general source is Richard P. Bond, ed., *Studies in the Early English Periodical*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1957.
9. For varied background, see Melvin R. Watson, "The Spectator Tradition and the Development of the Familiar Essay," *Journal of English Literary History*, 13 (1946): 189-215, and John Dwyer, "Addison and Steele's *Spectator*: Towards a Reappraisal," *Journal of Newspaper and Periodical History*, 4 (Winter 1987-88): 2-10.
10. A most thorough source on British women's periodicals is Cynthia L. White, *Women's Magazines, 1693-1968*. London: Michael Joseph, 1970. Also see Alison Adburgham, *Women in Print: Writing Women and Women's Magazines from the Restoration to the Accession of Victoria*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1972, and Irene Dancyger, *A World of Women: An Illustrated History of Women's Magazines*. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1978.
11. Useful general sources on Scottish periodicals are Mary Elizabeth Craig, *The Scottish Periodical Press*. Edinburgh, London: Oliver and Boyd, 1931, and G.A. Sinclair, "Periodical Literature of the Eighteenth Century," *Scottish Historical Review*, 11, 136-159.
12. For an extensive treatment, see R.R. Madden, *History of Irish Periodical Literature from the End of the Seventeenth to the Middle of the Nineteenth Century*. 2 vols. New York, 1968. Reprint of 1867 edition.
13. Outstanding among the quarterly reviews founded in the 1800s were the *Edinburgh Review* (1802-1929), *The Quarterly Review* (1809-1967), *Westminster Review* (1836-1914), *North British Review* (1844-71), and *National Review* (1855-64). In the 1820s began a vogue for reviews that concerned themselves with foreign life and letters: *The Foreign Quarterly Review* (1827-46), and *The British and Foreign Review* (1835-44), for instance. Later, in the 1850s, more frequently published reviews became popular: *The Fortnightly Review* (1865-1954) and the monthly *Contemporary Review* (1866-present), for example.

14. See Launcelot Cross (Frank Carr), *Characteristics of Leigh Hunt, as Exhibited in that Typical Literary Periodical, "Leigh Hunt's London Journal."* London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co, 1878; Leslie A. Marchand, "Leigh Hunt's London Journal," *The Journal of Rutgers University Library*, 6(Dec. 1942): 45-51; William Harvey Marshall, *Byron, Shelley, Hunt, and The Liberal*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960.

15. See Joe Spence, "Nationality and Irish Toryism: The Case of the *Dublin University Magazine*," *Journal of Newspaper and Periodical History*, 4(Autumn 1988): 2-17.

16. Much has been written on Dickens' periodical work. Good sources are P.H. Fitzgerald, *Memoirs of Charles Dickens, with an Account of "Household Words" and "All the Year Round."* Bristol: J.W. Arrowsmith, 1913; Philip Collins, "The Significance of Dickens' Periodicals," *Review of English Literature*, 2(July 1961): 182-206; Gerald G. Grubb, "Dickens' Influence as an Editor," *Studies in Philology*, 42(1945): 811-23; Grubb, "The Editorial Policies of Charles Dickens," *PMLA* 58(1943): 1110-1124; Harry D. Stone, "Dickens and the Idea of a Periodical," *Western Humanities Review* 21 (1967):237-56; Marion Troughton, "Dickens as Editor," *Contemporary Review* 199(1957): 87-91; and Thomas Hatton and Arthur H. Cleaver, *A Bibliography of the Periodical Works of Charles Dickens: Bibliographical, Analytical, and Statistical*. London: Chapman and Hall Ltd., 1933.

17. For extensive coverage, see Daniel Fader and George Bornstein, *British Periodicals of the 18th and 19th Centuries*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1972, and Fader and Bornstein, *Two Centuries of British Periodicals*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: Xerox University Microfilms, 1974.

Donna Allen and the Women's Institute:
A Feminist Perspective on the First Amendment

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Presented to the American Journalism Historians
Association, Philadelphia, PA., October 1991

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A Feminist Perspective on the First Amendment

Abstract

This paper examines the ideas of Donna Allen, founder and president of the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press in Washington, D.C. It describes Allen's view of a two-tiered communications system of women, with the feminist media forming a first tier that raises issues ultimately finding their way into mainstream, or second tier media, through the efforts of women journalists. The paper concludes that the strength of her ideas lies in her own example as an activist publisher. For two decades Allen has tried to make women more aware of their First Amendment rights, contending that women's chief recourse for male domination is increased exercise of First Amendment rights.

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Few individuals have spoken out on the need for women to exercise First Amendment rights to the extent of Donna Allen, founder and president of the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, a Washington feminist "think tank." During the last 20 years Allen delivered more than 50 speeches on the necessity for women to change communications to such diverse forums as the University of Virginia Law School and the National Women's Party. For 15 years Allen published Media Report to Women, a newsletter that reported what women were doing within the communications field. A monthly publication for 11 years and a bimonthly for five, Media Report detailed the activities of women within both the mainstream and the alternative media. The institute also published directories of media women combined with annotated, cumulative indexes to Media Report, which was intended to preserve a record of women's media involvement and be used as a resource for teachers. It brought out a documentary source book on women and media used as a college text and a collection of syllabi for classes on women and mass communications. In addition, it conducted seven international conferences on media and women and two international satellite teleconferences.

Yet little scholarly attempt has been made to examine ideas about communications presented by Allen and the institute. No study has been done of Allen herself and the factors responsible for her emergence as a feminist communications activist. Certainly Allen has been recognized for her efforts. In 1979 she won a Head-

liner award, the highest award bestowed by Women in Communications Inc.¹ The following year she received the Broadcast Preceptor Award for leadership in extending First Amendment guarantees to women from the 28th annual Broadcast Industry Conference meeting in San Francisco. In 1983 she won a "Wonder Woman Award" from the Wonder Woman Foundation for personal courage, strength of character, risk-taking and pioneering new territory. The Committee on the Status of Women of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication honored her in 1988 with its award for Outstanding Contributions to Women in Communication. The following year she received a special citation from the Woman's Roundtable of the American Journalism Historians Association for her efforts to preserve women's history in the media.² She was a delegate to the United Nations Conference on Women and Media in 1980 and was appointed by the State Department as a delegate to the National Women's Conference in Houston in 1977. Recognition, however, is not necessarily equated with an understanding of Allen's motivations and philosophy.

This paper traces Allen's career and the development of her ideas regarding women and the media. It is based primarily on Allen's own unpublished papers supplemented by an interview. Although the author realizes the difficulty in overcoming bias when dealing with personal materials, it seemed important to allow Allen to speak for herself in line with her own views on communication. This paper represents the first attempt either to gather biographical data about Allen or to treat her as a significant figure

in communications history. Her accomplishments and honors, however, testify to the fact that her philosophy on women and the media has reached a sizeable audience and merits examination. The paper is divided into three parts: (A) Allen's early life; (B) Development of Allen's communications philosophy; and (C) Examination of the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press and its publications, including Media Report to Women. A final section will assess Allen's contribution to First Amendment issues.

(A) Allen's Early Life

Allen did not become interested in communications issues until relatively late in life. Her involvement grew out of personal experiences related to her career as a labor economist and peace movement activist. These pursuits stemmed in turn from a family background of hard work, belief in education and commitment to the democratic idea of equality. Born in Petoskey, Michigan, on Aug. 19, 1920, she was one of three children of Caspar and Louise (Densmore) Rehkopf.³ Her paternal grandfather, Jacob Rehkopf, the son of German immigrants, had married Martha Henderson, who was a cousin of Eli Whitney. Her mother, Louise Densmore, the daughter of a boat captain on the Great Lakes, had been the first woman in her family to go to college and was a graduate of the University of Michigan. Her father's family ran a summer hotel and Allen's father met her mother when she worked there to pay for her college expenses.

According to Allen, when her parents were married, her mother made her father promise that if he "ever came to a point where he said, 'I wouldn't be doing this work if I had a college education,' that he would drop whatever he was doing and no matter how much money they had or didn't have and the size of their family, he would go to college."⁴ This happened in 1925 when Rehkopf, frustrated by jobs in wood pulp mills, took his family of five to East Lansing, Michigan, where he enrolled in Michigan State University. In 1929 he was graduated magna cum laude in engineering and obtained a job as a metallurgist in the Chicago area. Unfortunately the move to Illinois came just as the Depression struck. To avoid being laid off by his employer, Rehkopf took a job as a night watchman - the only position available. To pay off loans for his college education, the entire family worked, scrimped and saved. Allen and her two brothers sold magazines door-to-door.

"All through this time there was always a feeling that everybody was equal," Allen recalled in 1991. "Men and women were equal. We didn't talk about it, we just took it for granted." Both parents expected her to achieve, just like her brothers. "My father wanted me to be a foreign correspondent and my mother wanted me to be a lawyer. Nobody ever thought I wouldn't be one of those things. So that's why I say that basically my first political lesson was that everybody was equal. And that has stuck with me and been really the basis of all the things I have done."⁵

As a child Allen became interested in journalism. When she was nine, she won a \$5 prize for the best book review of The Wizard

of Oz submitted to the Chicago Daily News by an elementary school pupil. She attended Morton High School near Cicero, Illinois, where she wrote for the high school newspaper. Immediately after graduation in 1938, she won a scholarship to a summer journalism institute at Northwestern University. One of the instructors there steered her away from journalism school and urged her to develop a specialty in a field such as labor or economics.

Uncertain what to study, Allen majored in history at Morton Junior College because her father told her "all the lessons [of the past] are there but nobody knows how to read history."⁶ She worked briefly as editor of a community newspaper before enrolling at Duke University to complete her bachelor's degree in history with a minor in economics. She was graduated in 1943 four months after her marriage to a high school classmate, Russell Allen.

When her husband was drafted into the Army and sent to the West Coast, Allen joined him there and helped organize farm workers into labor unions. She was employed in military intelligence and wrote pamphlets for the American Federation of Labor in Washington while he was overseas. On his return, she told him that she wanted to get a master's degree in economics from the University of Chicago and he decided to do the same thing.

Although the couple had four children, Dana, Indra, Martha and Mark, she was not deterred from finishing her degree which she received in 1953. She remembers that she and her husband staggered their class schedules so they could take turns looking after the children and that they rushed through examinations because they had

to get back to their family.⁷ While a graduate student, Allen worked as an assistant to Paul H. Douglas, then a professor and later a U.S. Senator, in updating his classic text, Theory of Wages. She also wrote briefs for Presidential Emergency Boards appointed by President Truman to resolve railroad labor disputes.

Initially drawn to economics because she had grown up in the Depression and been told that social inequalities stemmed from economic causes, Allen eventually decided that this "was a lot of hooey." She became convinced that "the people who had the money were the ones who were telling everybody what to believe and that we were outnumbered because we couldn't be heard and we didn't have the means to be heard."⁸ In her view political factors eclipsed economic ones as the basis of injustice but were obscured by public presentation of the issues.

Her dissatisfaction with the mass media increased after her family moved to the Schenectady, New York, area where her husband was research director for the Papermakers International Union. From 1953 to 1955 Allen taught classes in grievance procedures and labor economics and history for the School of Industrial and Labor Relations of Cornell University. She became involved in the League of Women Voters because the organization was studying the Truman administration's loyalty program for government employees that stemmed from widespread fears of Communists in government. Allen objected strongly to loyalty oaths and to their acceptance by most of the media. She also defended Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, a New

York couple electrocuted in 1953 following conviction for espionage in the furnishing of atomic bomb secrets to the Soviet Union.⁹

"I didn't believe they were guilty. I saw how the newspapers built this whole thing up against them, and I just could not believe that," Allen recalled. "I could hardly find people to talk to me about it. They'd look at me and sort of say, 'You some kind of a Communist or something?' You couldn't even talk about things."¹⁰

In 1957 the Allens came to Washington, D.C., when Russell Allen took a job as research director for the American Federation of Labor/Congress of Industrial Organization. They settled in a three-story, six-bedroom turn-of-the-century house in Washington's elite Cleveland Park area. Donna Allen, who was divorced in 1970, has lived there ever since, making the house both a home and office. During the 1960s the house was used as a way station for civil rights organizers moving from the South to the North. From the 1970s on Allen has used it for the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press.

(B) Development of Allen's Communications Philosophy

The peace movement occupied much of Allen's attention during the Kennedy-Johnson years. In 1960 she was a legislative assistant to Rep. William H. Meyer, a Vermont Democrat who opposed the spread of nuclear weapons. She worked with the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy and became one of the founders of the Women's Strike

for Peace, an anti-nuclear weapon organization. Along with Dagmar Wilson, another founder, and Russell Nixon of New York, manager of the National Guardian newspaper, Allen made headlines in 1964. The three were called to testify before the House Un-American Activities Committee after attempting to get a visa for a Japanese peace leader to come to the United States. When they refused to answer questions at a closed committee meeting, they were cited for contempt of Congress.

Allen's personal experience as the subject of news stories about the contempt charge reinforced her conviction of mass media bias in news coverage. In terms of conventional news coverage, the press played the story factually but unfairly, in her view. "A federal grand jury today indicted two Washington women and a man for refusing to answer questions at a closed session of a House subcommittee on Un-American Activities, the front page account in the Washington Star began under a headline, "House Accuses Pair From D.C. of Contempt."¹¹

"They [the newspapers] didn't pick up my message, my ideas, no," she said. "They just picked up the people who were calling me names, like the Un-American Activities Committee. They wouldn't put me in the headlines to tell something I believe affirmatively about. But if I'm under attack, they'll put me in the headlines."¹²

Tried in U.S. District Court in Washington, Allen, Wilson and Nixon were convicted of contempt of Congress on April 8, 1965.¹³ They were given suspended sentences of four to 12 months in

jail.¹⁴ The contempt citation came just before Allen delivered a paper on the economics of disarmament at an international conference in Vienna and led to her appearance before 5000 peace demonstrators in Paris who hailed her as a heroine.¹⁵ The conviction was overthrown on a technicality by the U.S. Court of Appeals in 1966.¹⁶

As a prominent peace activist, Allen spoke across the nation from 1959 to 1969. Chair of the legislative committee of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, she emphasized the economic benefit to be gained from disarmament. In a paper delivered at a symposium at the University of Michigan and subsequently published by the league, Allen took issue with "the mistaken assumption that the economy needs armaments or it will collapse," contending instead that it "needs disarmament or it will collapse."¹⁷

From 1965 to 1974 she served as Washington lobbyist for the Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee (which changed its name to the Committee Against Repressive Legislation after the Un-American Activities Committee was terminated in 1969). She spoke out against a climate of anti-Communist sentiment linked to the Viet-Nam war. On a Washington panel in 1965, she said, "It is not for us to decide whether someone else's truth should or should not be spoken; it must be spoken."¹⁸ In her opinion the mass media silenced voices that objected to the war.

Allen ran as a "peace" delegate from the District of Columbia to the Republican national convention in 1968. Washington newspapers trivialized her candidacy and featured it on their women's pages. "She Wants to Fly with GOP Doves," read the headline in The Washington Post.¹⁹ "An attractive District mother attached her political cap to the wings of a dove yesterday and threw it into hawk country, the D.C. Republican party," the Washington Daily News wrote.²⁰ Only the Washington Star reported straightforwardly, "Peace Candidate Enters District GOP Primary."²¹ Allen did not win. Nor did she accomplish her aim of focusing public attention on peace issues.

"In the year '68, I decided that this was hopeless, that everything we did was undone by the media, as fast or faster than we could do it," she said. "By this time, most of the speeches I was making were about the media."²² In Pittsburgh in 1969 she contended "the mass media monopoly" prevented the free flow of ideas, arguing "instead of a free press, we have a controlled press in this country, a press controlled by a small number of Americans representing a single economic class: the wealthy."²³ She was interviewed on a local television station. A male newscaster listened and then told the audience, as Allen remembered it, "You heard her, folks. Bar your doors. The crazies are here tonight."²⁴

As an economist, Allen found it hard to get her views taken seriously even though her book on fringe benefits for employes, the outgrowth of her master's thesis at the University of Chicago, had

been published by Cornell University Press in 1964 and was reissued in a revised edition in 1969. The thesis is that the fringe benefit movement developed as a management tool rather than a demand by labor.²⁵ Considered a definitive work on the subject, Allen's book gave her the credentials to analyze the economic basis of the mass media. She called attention to newspaper monopolies in more than 90 percent of U.S. cities and control of broadcasting by the three networks. "The best way to correct the errors of government policy - at least for those who are not revolutionists - is to work at the task of restoring a free press to all Americans as the First Amendment intended," Allen wrote in 1968.²⁶

Yet she found relatively few willing to listen to the views of a woman and blamed media sex-role stereotyping after World War II for this situation. "When I went to graduate school in the late forties, men and women as far as I could see were equal," she recalled. But in the fifties she observed "a change in attitude" when male economists refused to include her in their conversations except to say, "How are the kids?" "I came to realize that I was being treated by them, who should have known better, the way women are portrayed on television. All I could think of was that this is the way the man's media was portraying women and so they shifted their way of thinking," she explained.²⁷

Allen's disillusionment with the media included the radical, as well as the mainstream, press. She offered to write a woman's column for the Guardian (successor to the National Guardian), but the editor rejected her idea at the same time he asked her if she

could suggest a "reliable economics writer," disregarding Allen's own expertise in economics.²⁸ The Guardian, however, published an opinion article by Allen in which she called the publication "a man's newspaper in coverage," even though "it has a nice 50-50 balance of men and women in its staff."²⁹ She stressed, "When newspapers regularly ignore the contributions of women as speakers or participants in conferences, the impression is created that women are inferior in the competition with men's ideas."³⁰

Not surprisingly, Allen was one of the first Washington members of the women's liberation movement that developed in the 1960s as an outgrowth of civil rights and other social protests.³¹ She drove to Atlantic City to support the movement's first public action - a demonstration at the 1968 Miss America contest during which protestors tossed bras, girdles, false eyelashes and other trappings of sexual oppression into a "freedom trash can" and crowned a live sheep Miss America.³² Fully behind the demonstrators, Allen nevertheless believed that the protest, staged to get media attention, was "not a very dignified way to have to communicate in a democracy."³³ Dignity always has been important to Allen, a soft-spoken, modest woman who wears conservative attire and presents a ladylike appearance.

At the time of the Atlantic City demonstration, Allen had started a Ph.D. program in history at Howard University where she received her doctorate in 1971, after writing a dissertation on national health insurance. She argued that the mass media had failed to give the public enough information to make an adequate

decision but instead had portrayed national health as a socialistic scheme against free enterprise. Allen since has expanded her dissertation into a book that she hopes to publish in 1992.³⁴

Allen's first organized effort to push for media change was establishment of a group called Americans for Equal Access to the Media. Among the members were Pat Saltonstall, ^{granddaughter} of a Massachusetts Senator, and others who had been involved in the peace movement. Allen dropped the organization, however, for two reasons: (1) She failed to find men interested in joining; and (2) She decided that women should not simply try to get access to media owned by men but should instead develop their own. "Why should we go in and say we want some of your property? That's not right. Under the First Amendment they own it and they have a right to put out anything they want," she said.³⁵ Instead of seeking access, Allen had another idea - to form a communications network among women.

(C) The Women's Institute

In 1972 Allen and three other women, Margot Burman, Sara Altherr and Karen Lunquist, started the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press. Burman, a free-lance writer, Altherr, at the time an employe of the Washington Post, and Lunquist, subsequently publisher of a women's self-defense newsletter, initially helped Allen, who became president of the non-profit tax-exempt organization.³⁶ Over the years, hampered by lack of funds, Allen

conducted the institute mainly by herself with aid from college interns. There has been no paid staff. Dana Densmore, one of Allen's daughters, a professor at St. John's College in New Mexico, has acted as vice-president. Allen's chief assistant has been another daughter, Martha L. Allen, who received her Ph.D. in history at Howard University in 1988. A third daughter, Indra Allen, has provided drawings for some publications. Both Donna and Martha Allen set type for publications on a large machine installed in the former living room of the Ross Place house. Rising each day at 4 a.m., Donna Allen accustomed herself to sleep only six hours a night, devoting her energies to the institute.

The institute's aim is to conduct research and educational activities and to publish theoretical and practical works on the communication of information. There are no dues. Some 700 women, including leading feminists like Gloria Steinem and Adrienne Rich, women working in media jobs and college professors, have become associates by informing Allen they agree with the following statement:

For the right to 'freedom of the press' to be meaningful, there must be a realistic means of exercising it - for all of us, not just for the multi-millionaires among us. In a century as creative as ours, we are sure a better way to provide a means of communication to all who need it can be devised. We do not like to be in a position of having to 'beg' or 'demand' access to media that belong to others, happy to be mentioned even if inaccurately. There is a very large number of women who are increasingly becoming dissatisfied with the inadequacies of the present structures. We are seeking improvement, both through provision of our own media and in the existing media through our inclusion at all levels equally - in employment, news coverage and a more accurate portrayal of our abilities and our options

politically, economically, and socially. We wish to indicate by our association with the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press and its work on this problem that we, too, desire more attention to the issue.

We have differences in views among us and we would propose different solutions and work at many different proposals, some of us in our existing media and some of us outside it, at different levels and in different places. But we are united in our desire to encourage meaningful change that expands the exercise of our right to communicate in the media we find most suitable to our message - no less than the right exercised by some who presently are able to communicate their information to millions of others.

We know that changes in the structure of mass communication are going to come; too many people are now being left out. The question is on what principles is that restructuring going to be made? We want to have something to say about how the communications systems of the future are going to develop.

We want to work together to register our unity, to aid each other in obtaining the help and funding we need for our projects and to encourage the greater total funding for constructive changes in the world's communications systems. For women to continue to make progress, a communications system is essential that will enable us both to exchange our information and to reach the general public.³⁷

Allen and Densmore drew up a call for research published repeatedly in the institute's periodicals. It consisted of four sections and suggested ideas for research under each of them: (1) Women's progress correlated with having a means of communication; (2) Mass media as a means of governing rather than a means of communication; (3) Movement to democratize mass media (based on the protest movements of the 1960s and 1970s); (4) Restructuring the nation's communications system.³⁸ It also included "seven realities for a new philosophy of communication": (1) "People make their judgments on the basis of the information they have at a

given time; (2) Each person is the best judge of her or his own best interest; (3) Media owners give us the information they think it is important for us to know; (4) Media do not mirror society (only their owners); (5) For the public to obtain the information of the majority, people must be able to speak for themselves; (6) Power is based on the number of people you can reach with your information; (7) Equalizing power among us would require that we all have equal means of reaching the public to communicate our information when we wish, in the way most suitable to our message."³⁹

Allen put these principles into practice in her editorship of Media Report to Women, which started out as a free-distribution mimeographed newsletter in 1972. It became a printed monthly publication two years later. Issues contained eight to 24 pages - 12 was the usual number - and sold for \$1.50 per single copy, while annual subscriptions were \$15 for individual women and \$20 for institutions. The publication reached about 2000 subscribers, some 500 of which were libraries.⁴⁰ Allen sold the Media Report in 1987 to another publisher, Communication Research Associates, which has continued it.

As editor Allen published excerpts from various sources pertaining to "what women are thinking and doing to change the communications media," as the subhead for each issue of Media Report put it. She quoted verbatim from books, articles, press releases and announcements, telling readers to "take a look at every story in every issue to see how much of the item is in

quotes; it makes the news information come direct from the source."⁴¹ She also ran paid advertising for journalism faculty positions.

News items, carried without editorial comment, ended with a note telling readers where to find additional information. Because some items contained only one or two paragraphs, Allen was able to cover a wide variety of subjects. Headlines were in small type and typically of the two-line, one-column variety, although narrow one-line heads sometimes extended across an entire page. There was little attempt at graphics - simply item after item of information. In the 1980s Allen added a personal column.

The range of topics appears in subject entries in the annotated index/directories which the institute published annually from 1976 until 1989. The index portion of these publications listed hundreds of women's media groups including feminist presses and publishers, news services, broadcasters, and bookstores, plus individual media women. For example, the 5-year index to Media Report to Women for 1972-1976 contained some 120 headings. Among them: Access to public; affirmative action plans; black women; books on women and communications; conferences; courses on women and media; Federal Communications Commission; feminist journalism; health issues; license renewals; magazines; news coverage; newspapers and newsletters; pornography; portrayal of women; programming; sex; sports; television; women's history; women's movement.⁴² In subsequent directories the number of categories increased, making the publication a record of general feminist

activities. Media Report printed material that cannot be found elsewhere, such as the full text of a class action sex discrimination suit against the New York Times.⁴³ The suit was barely mentioned in the Times itself.

In keeping with Allen's interest in providing material for student use, the institute published a documentary text for use in women and the media classes in 1977.⁴⁴ The book sold about 7000 copies, a sizeable number for a work of this type.⁴⁵ The institute also sponsored a contest for creating the best syllabi for women and media courses and collected entries into a syllabus sourcebook.⁴⁶

Through the institute Allen organized a series of seven conferences in Washington on planning communications networks, which brought together feminist journalists.⁴⁷ She also set up two satellite teleconferences for women. One, "Dateline Copenhagen: Woman's View," took place in 1980 between delegates to the United Nations Mid-Decade World Conference of Women in Denmark and women in six U.S. cities. The other, "Dateline Nairobi: Women's View," in 1985 brought together delegates to the United Nations Decade for Women World Conference in Nairobi, Kenya, and women in three U.S. cities.⁴⁸ "Most of all, we had to find new ways to reach the public," Allen explained.⁴⁹ The institute pushed for a women's access channel on cable television in the District of Columbia and almost succeeded in obtaining one, "but then we had it taken away from us by the politics here," Allen said.⁵⁰

Since selling the Media Report, Allen has concentrated on writing and speaking. In 1989 she co-edited a theoretical book on communication called Communications at the Crossroads: The Gender Gap Connection.⁵¹ In a speech to the Association of Schools of Journalism and Mass Communication meeting in Los Angeles in 1990, she summed up the philosophy behind the institute. She said, "It is not enough that those who own the national media attempt to report the information from the diverse elements of society, try to speak for them. By definition, democracy assumes that all citizens vote, speak and participate politically as equals."⁵² She urged journalism educators to pay more attention to alternative media, noting that the institute's last directory had listed more than 700 women's periodicals.⁵³ "It is not easy to put out periodicals or broadcasts without revenue, regardless of how much the public may lack or need the information they contain, or to teach ways to correct stereotypes still going out to millions of people daily or to change news definitions that exclude minorities' and women's information," Allen continued.⁵⁴ As one who had devoted years of herself to that endeavor, she spoke from personal experience.

Allen's Contribution to First Amendment Issues

Allen's analysis of the media as a giant, male-dominated monopoly is not original, but other parts of her theory are. Her view that women lack economic equality with men, so consequently have far fewer opportunities to voice their experiences through the

mass media, has been expressed by others. Allen believes that the mass media have deprived individuals of the means to communicate on an equal basis, thus making the First Amendment far less meaningful to marginal groups than to the white male power structure. This position is also taken by other feminist scholars.⁵⁵

The strength of Allen's ideas lies not only in her analysis and theory but in her personal ability to actualize them. By her own example she has shown that a single person - a woman - can focus attention on women's self-expression. She has emphasized doing as a way for women to develop a more powerful role in communication, picturing a two-tiered communications system. The first tier consists of feminist media and the second of women working their way into the mainstream. Allen is sure that ideas expressed in women's media eventually work their way into the mainstream through the efforts of women reporters and editors. As an example, she points to the subject of battered women raised in the feminist press years before it appeared in mainstream news columns.⁵⁶

Although it rarely used adjectives, Media Report to Women presented all actions by women in the media as worthy of acclaim. In it Allen attempted a type of journalism in which the reporter is removed as a filter between the speaker and the reader. While critics might say this resembled free advertising, Allen took a different position. To her it was "people speaking for themselves," one of three "principles of feminist journalism," in contrast with the existing male-dominated journalism.⁵⁷ The other

two: "No attacks on people," and commitment to providing "more factual information."⁵⁸ Allen sees this as necessary because she contends the media are giant businesses concerned with making money rather than providing systems for people to communicate vital information.

In providing facts, Allen prided herself on avoiding repetition associated with conventional journalistic agenda-setting, which proclaims some events and minimizes others. Unlike journalists in general, Allen avoided controversy, treating all activities by women as positive. She declined to feature controversy among women themselves. In seeking to have individuals represented by their own words, Allen has tried to make print journalism more analogous to broadcast journalism in which individuals are heard and seen directly by the audience without reportorial intervention.

In her work Allen has accepted as fact a concept of women's reality vastly different from men's. She assumes that women, who constitute 52 percent of the population, will revolutionize communications in the long run. Viewing women as morally superior to men in regard to issues of peace and nurturing, Allen longs for the day when women will replace men in decision-making media positions. She is sure that women will use their power more judiciously than men for social and political improvements. To her each manifestation of women's activity in the media represents a welcome step forward, no matter how tentative or marginal.

Allen has not criticized the First Amendment, only its operation. In fact, she believes owners should be allowed to do what they want with their property (in this case the mass media). To be sure, she thinks that women have been systematically deprived of their heritage by a media that has repressed their activities.⁵⁹ To her the cure, however, is exercise of more, not less, of First Amendment rights: Demonstrations, moving up from within (the media), monitoring and visiting media, building women's own media.⁶⁰

Even on the pornography issue, Allen, unlike some other feminists, does not necessarily favor legal action against it. Instead she urges women to join with civil liberty groups to make sure that the voices of those harmed by pornography - and Allen is sure that women are hurt by it - are heard. As she put it in Media Report, "'Getting ourselves together' means being in communication with each other and forming our own communication media systems, unorthodox as they often must be."⁶¹ To Allen the danger of the First Amendment is that women's rights to use it have been eroded by an unjust patriarchal system. She wants to change that, not the idea of free expression.

More study is needed of Allen as a communication theorist. More attention should be given to the contents of Media Report to Women, a unique publication. This paper simply tries to lay out groundwork for analysis of the work of a remarkable woman whose endeavors to develop communications networks have brought First Amendment concerns to a wide audience of women. As we recognize

the bicentennial of the Bill of Rights, it seems fitting to give recognition to the work of an individual who has devoted decades to trying to broaden the effectiveness of those rights.

Allen's interest, however, lies not in getting tributes but in gaining better understanding of her philosophy. "I feel like I speak and people don't hear what I'm saying," she said.⁶² A visionary, she foresees a world where technology, perhaps based on the use of personal computers, makes practical her dream of having "people speak for themselves." Although this may seem unrealistic in an era of giant media corporations, Allen is convinced that a new era of communication will come. At that point she believes the First Amendment will do what it is intended to do in a democracy - protect individuals, not primarily corporations, in the exercise of free expression. Only in this way does she think women will overcome the silence of generations of media-dominated mass media oppression. Until then she calls for women to unite in efforts to influence the media.

Notes

¹Susan Melnick, "Criteria for Covering Women's News: Donna Allen," The Matrix (November 1979), p. 11.

²Donna Allen's activities and awards are listed in her resume available from the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, 3306 Ross Pl. NW, Wash., DC 20008, hereafter referred to as WIFP.

³Biographical sketch of Donna Allen, Who's Who of American Women. 16th ed., 1989-90, p. 12.

⁴Personal interview with Donna Allen by the author, Wash., DC, Jan. 26, 1991.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ibid.

⁹For a discussion of the loyalty program, see Joseph C. Goulden, The Best Years, 1945-1950 (New York: Atheneum, 1976), pp. 308-14. The Rosenberg case is set in the context of anti-Red hysteria in Allan Nevins and Henry Steele Commager, A Pocket History of the United States 7th ed. (New York: Washington Square Press, 1981), pp. 503-06.

¹⁰Allen interview, Jan. 26, 1991.

¹¹Roberta Hornig, "House Accuses Pair from D.C. of Contempt," Washington Star, Dec. 30, 1964. See also background on Women's Strike for Peace in Sara M. Evans, Born for Liberty: A History of Women in America (New York: The Free Press, 1989), pp. 263-64, 268.

¹²Allen interview, Jan. 26, 1991.

¹³"2 D.C. Women, N.Y. Man Guilty of Contempt," [Washington] Evening Star, April 9, 1965.

¹⁴"3 Fined for Contempt in Red Probe Silence," [Washington] Evening Star, June 4, 1965.

¹⁵Allen interview, Jan. 26, 1991.

¹⁶"'Peace Strike' Convictions for House Contempt Upset," Washington Star, Aug. 2, 1966.

¹⁷Donna Allen, "The Economic Necessity to Disarm," Four Lights, U.S. Section, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (February 1964) pp. 1, 4.

¹⁸Text of remarks by Donna Allen at the Shoreham Hotel, Washington, DC, Nov. 27, 1965, Allen papers, WIFP.

¹⁹Robert Asher, "She Wants to Fly with GOP Doves," Washington Post, Dec. 28, 1967.

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³³Allen interview, Jan. 26, 1991.

³⁴Donna Allen, unpublished manuscript, "Media and Democracy: Why We Don't Have National Health Insurance," Chapter 2, Allen papers, WIFP.

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³⁶Ibid.

³⁷"Associates Statement," in Martha Leslie Allen, ed., 1982 Index Directory of Women's Media (Wash., DC: Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, 1982), p. 40.

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⁴⁰Allen interview, Jan. 26, 1991.

⁴¹Donna Allen, "Editor's Comments on This Issue of 'Media Report to Women,'" Media Report to Women, Dec. 1, 1981, p. 2.

⁴²Media Report to Women Annotated Index of Media Activities and Research: 1972-1976 (Wash., DC: Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, 1977), pp. 2-31.

⁴³See Media Report to Women, Dec. 31, 1978, a special issue entirely devoted to the papers filed in suit.

⁴⁴The text, Women in Media: A Documentary Sourcebook, was prepared by Maurine Beasley and Sheila Gibbons of the University of Maryland College of Journalism. The institute published it after they were unable to find a commercial publisher interested in material on women and the media.

⁴⁵Lists of buyers of the book are maintained at the WIFP.

⁴⁶See Dana Densmore, ed., Syllabus Sourcebook on Media and Women (Wash., DC: Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, 1980). It contains 68 course outlines with reading lists.

⁴⁷See Report on First Annual Conference on Planning a National and International Communications System for Women (Wash., DC: Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, 1979), pp. 3-10.

⁴⁸Allen resume, p. 1.

⁴⁹Allen interview, Jan. 26, 1991.

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵¹See Ramona R. Rush and Donna Allen, eds., Communications at the Crossroads: The Gender Gap Connection (Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 1989). This volume deals with the exclusion of women from the

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⁵²Donna Allen, "Women, Minorities & Freedom of the Press," Newspaper Research Journal 11 (Summer 1990): 13.

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Warning Visions:
A Case Study of Three Canadian Documentaries

American Journalism Historians Association
Annual Meeting
Philadelphia, PA
October 3-6, 1991

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Warning Visions:

A Case Study of Three Canadian Documentaries

Few issues were thornier for the administration of Ronald Reagan than those of acid rain and the nuclear freeze. Via these two issues in a roundabout way, the administration's clash with the National Film Board of Canada illustrates how little more than lip service was being given to the oft heralded concept of the "marketplace of ideas."¹

The National Film Board of Canada celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in 1989. Over a billion people around the world saw its films in 1988.² The Museum of Modern Art in New York honored NFBC with a major NFB retrospective in May 1989.

The Canadian Government film agency's impressive reputation rests on a tradition of artistic quality, thoughtfulness, and independence from governmental influence as well as from flash and fad.³ Using modern video and film technology in a half century of exercising its mandate "to interpret Canada for Canadians and the world,"⁴ the National Film Board is on the leading edge of international film influence. One of NFB's goals is to reach out to different cultures. It has enjoyed a

reputation as a "responsible educator." Its films are marketed through offices in Paris, London, and New York--over 17,000 films distributed so far.

From a British documentary tradition that film historian Jack C. Ellis called a "dynamic presentation of government services, British people, and British problems," the founder of British documentary, John Grierson, was invited to Canada in 1937 to look over its infant film industry and make recommendations. Grierson recommended the creation of a uniquely autonomous government film agency with its own budget that eventually became "the largest, best coordinated film operation in the world."

Grierson was invited to head the new agency. The veteran documentarist brought with him from Great Britain skilled documentarists such as Raymond Spottiswode and Norman McLaren; others from Europe and the U.S., and talented young Canadians were hired as well. At first, of necessity, the films were devoted to the war effort and had the immediacy of newsreel quality modeled on Louis de Rochemont's U.S. programs, The March of Time. Grierson's philosophy regarding documentary was simple: "I look on cinema as a pulpit, and use it as a propagandist."⁷ He was interested in using cinema for purposes of social engineering, as a means to educate and inspire people to find ways to make a better life for themselves.

Under Grierson's leadership, huge audiences viewed thousands of films not intended for theatrical distribution but produced for educational purposes on varying themes such as Canadian anthropology, highway construction, art collections in Canadian museums, and working mothers, to name only a few. The system of nontheatrical distribution was unequalled, said Ellis. The needs of the audiences seemed to dictate what films would be made. Audience feedback was valued on the various rural, national trade union, and industrial and community library circuits. Communities formed film councils that trained volunteer projectionists and met periodically to discuss films and offer feedback on how to improve the films and their circulation. It became very decentralized and democratic. The National Film Board has served an important role Ellis said, "in giving Canada a sense of national identity and pride." And the NFB has become an impressive model for other national film boards.

Warning Visions:
The Foreign Agents' Registration Act

In its semiannual report for the year ending June 30, 1982, the NFBC listed some 62 new videotapes and 16 millimeter films.' Five titles caught the eye of the Internal Security Section of the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice. Its

Registration Unit regularly reviews films, books and other materials from abroad under authority derived from the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938 (FARA). Originally conceived as a means of identifying and controlling Nazi propaganda activities within the U.S. prior to World War II, FARA has been amended several times to broaden its application to more contemporary needs.¹⁰ Its last amendment, in 1966, narrowed the Act's focus to political advocacy on the part of agents of foreign principals.¹¹

The Registration Unit, having screened five of the 62 film titles submitted to it by the Canadian government, notified the NFBC in a letter that three of its films were within the definition of "political propaganda," and requested that the NFBC comply with labeling and reporting requirements imposed by Section four of FARA.¹² Political propaganda has been interpreted by the Justice Department to mean political advocacy, or "any communication intended to influence the United States' foreign policies."¹³

When the three Canadian films were thus labeled, "Howls of outrage were triggered throughout Canada," said Variety.¹⁴ NFBC film distributor Mitchell Block said, "It looks to me like we're going back to McCarthyism. It's intimidation."¹⁵ The U.S. government argued on its part that attribution is a useful part of the marketplace of ideas and that the FARA labeling

requirements are comparable to the truth-in-packaging requirements of the Federal Election Campaign Act.¹⁶ In addition, there is no enforcement penalty with FARA. The DOJ relies on voluntary compliance.¹⁷

The treatment of the three Canadian documentaries engendered outrage for several reasons that intersected in the early 1980s: the seeming arrogance of the U.S. cultural stance toward Canada, its closest neighbor and largest trading partner, genuine concern about the erosion of freedom of expression, and newly revived fears about the economic and environmental repercussions of both acid rain and the new challenge for military superiority stemming from the Reagan Administration's antagonism toward the U.S.S.R.

Warning Visions The Social-Political Environments

In Roger Manville's essay about films concerning social and political dangers threatening our civilization, he argues that the reason for their suppression has traditionally been that films of warning express views unacceptable to political censors.¹⁸ The three films fall into the category of "films of warning." Ostensibly, in a democracy where free speech is prized, there is a forum for debate called the marketplace of ideas. A

well informed citizenry might well ask to what extent the government is attempting to control or chill free speech where politically unacceptable views exist.

While examining the content of the films, it is worthwhile looking at the cultural context in which the films were exhibited. By 1981-82, the Reagan administration had already begun to show concern about "disinformation."¹⁹ Secretary of State George Schultz had asked Congress for \$65 million to fund "Project Democracy." The Voice of America was reeling from efforts to politicize its personnel and broadcasts.²⁰ The President's personal friend and staunch supporter, Charles Z. Wick was appointed to head the International Communication Agency (now USIA).

One reason for the administration's concern about disinformation was that the placement of Cruise Missiles in Europe was a sensitive foreign affairs topic. European anti-nuclear parties in the U.K., Holland and West Germany had mobilized sizeable opposition to the U.S. plan. A crowd of 500,000 protested against NATO in Madrid.²¹ British women protesting the installation of Cruise Missiles were camped 24 hours a day outside Greenham Common. The mass turnout showed the spreading strength of the peace movement in Europe.

In the Washington Post, Walter Pincus wrote about "the wave

of nuclear dread passing over Western Europe," while in the U.S. demonstrations occurred as well.²² At the Bangor Naval Submarine Base in Washington, some 200 people demonstrated on train tracks in the path of a locomotive with 12 cars carrying nuclear warheads.²³ A protest march and rally in June 1982 at the Amarillo, Texas, Pantex Plant, the originating point for nuclear warhead assembly, included people who then attempted to block weapons trains all along the way to Bangor. Other groups emphasized peace as well. In 1983, the League of Women Voters announced an "Arms Control Statement of Position" for world wide elimination of nuclear weapons. The American Catholic Bishops published the pastoral letter, "The Challenger of Peace: God's Promise and Our Response," underscoring the immorality of nuclear weapons.

On the media front, the bitterly satiric anti-nuke documentary Atomic Cafe won an Academy Award in 1981 and Jonathan Schell's pessimistic Fate of the Earth was on the Best Seller lists in 1982. Carl Sagan's important essay on Nuclear Winter was published in 1983.²⁴ And films such as ABC's made-for-TV movie, The Day After, PBS's Testament, and the BBC's Threads, not to mention the commercial, post-apocalyptic films Red Dawn, and the Mad Max series, all worked to keep nuclear issues in the public consciousness. Peace activists were

featured on the covers of Time and Newsweek.

On the political front, Congress was considering a nuclear freeze while the President, in a March 23, 1983 speech to the nation, unveiled his plans for the Strategic Defense Initiative, or "Star Wars," which seemed to trigger a new acceleration of the nuclear arms race. Fred Ikle, Under-Secretary of Defense for Policy and Director of U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency in the Nixon and Ford administrations, articulated the concerns of the Reagan administration:

Someone in control of Soviet military power and schooled in the uses of terror for political ends could lay iron hands on the deepest emotions and fears of a great many people in the West. He could make them believe that the horrors of nuclear destruction were about to become real-- unless they prevailed on their leaders to make major concessions."²⁵

Warning Visions:
Political Advocacy

As already noted the Justice Department defined propaganda as political advocacy, or "any communication intended to influence the United States' foreign policies."²⁶ The film If You Love This Planet is undeniably an example of political advocacy, and would meet just about anyone's definition of propaganda.²⁷ Aware of the film's anti-nuclear bias, the Canadian Broadcasting

Company (CBC) itself refused to schedule it for nine months because its one-sidedness posed problems with journalistic policy. CBC finally put it on the air nine months later when the film won the Academy Award and became news.²⁹ The Canadian government is sensitive to issues of bias because Canadian critics have from time to time accused the NFBC of taking a "left-glib stance" on issues, of lacking balance.³⁰ In this case, however, the film's director, Terry Nash, intended the film to be a strong antiwar statement. Nash herself said the film was biased--"biased against war."³⁰ It is worth noting, however, that she was speaking for herself, not for the government. NFBC films represent the filmmakers' views, not necessarily those of official Canada.

The spokesperson in If You Love This Planet, is Australian pediatrician, Dr. Helen Caldicott. As U.S. President of Physicians for Social Responsibility, she was actively engaged in an extensive public speaking campaign in the U.S. and elsewhere in favor of disarmament and a nuclear freeze. She had already been featured in two American documentaries, Eight Minutes to Midnight, 1981, and Race to Oblivion, 1982, when one of her lectures became the focus of the Academy Award winning documentary, If You Love This Planet, produced by Eddie LeLorrain for the NFBC in 1982.

What Caldicott does in the 26 minute film is to lecture to a group of young people in upstate New York about the medical hazards of the arms race. Her arguments document a nuclear war scenario similar to that presented by renowned Cornell astronomer Carl Sagan. Edited into the lecture is graphic archival footage from Hiroshima and Nagasaki and other illustrations of her argument about the prospects of surviving a nuclear disaster in an era of Mutually Assured Destruction. She presents grim statistics, and paints an understandably bleak picture in the most pessimistic terms.

What detracts from the film's strident, impassioned plea for disarmament is Director Nash's calculated use of actor Ronald Reagan in two brief clips from Jap Zero, a 1942 War Department film. The temptation to use the biting humor of juxtaposing the President's youthful image as a trigger-happy pilot with scenes of early A-bomb tests and the devastation of Hiroshima and Nagasaki is too obvious. "That's a hell of an explosion," he says along with other inane remarks.

Such sarcastic edits detract from the tone of the film as a whole. Perhaps such a use of the President's old film image triggered the Justice Department's decision to invoke FARA. However, Caldicott's other points were also likely to attract DOJ scrutiny and draw a FARA label under the criterion of "political

advocacy." Many films not labelled thus by DOJ are probably guilty of political advocacy as well. However, in the case of If You Love This Planet, viewers are invited to "shut down" the local SAC base in Plattsburgh, N.Y. and encouraged to turn their "naked toddlers" loose in the Senate chambers"--actions certainly provocative in the eyes of the F.B.I. Otherwise, the film is an illustrated lecture on a topic familiar to many American groups, both pro and con the peace movement. As far as representing or advocating the foreign policy of the Canadian government, the film does not pretend to do anything of the sort.

The Department of Justice does not have to offer any justification for its labeling of a film under the FARA statutes. Producer Eddie Lelorrain resented the propaganda label and having to register with the Justice department: "Just because something is political doesn't make it propaganda. . . . I think people should be allowed to see what they want without being interfered with."²²

One question posed to viewers of If You Love This Planet asks what the proper place of emotion is in their view of nuclear weapons. In 1982 Caldicott was not alone in asking, "Have our leaders lost touch with the human consequences of their actions?" James Lardner, in a 1982 piece for the Washington Post, points out how arms race critics try to make Americans reconsider not

only what they think about nuclear weapons, but how they think about them."

In the early 1980s psychologist Robert Jay Lifton saw the different anti-nuclear groups--Ground Zero, the Nuclear Freeze campaign, Physicians for Social Responsibility--as "evidence of a breakdown of psychic numbing in the population at large."³⁴ In the film Caldicott points to an example of "psychic numbing": the words "overkill" and "megadeath."

"Megadeath is an obscene word when you think that it refers glibly to the death of countless millions upon millions of living human beings. . . ," she admonishes. Meanwhile in the world of politics and R & D, military experts spoke the vocabulary of numbness: "The U.S. must possess the ability to wage nuclear war rationally."³⁵

A poll conducted by Daniel Yankelovich in the Fall of 1984 concluded that the "American electorate is now psychologically prepared to take a giant step toward real arms reductions."³⁶ Yankelovich found a dramatic shift since 1945 in public thinking about what a nuclear war might be like. What's more, the poll indicated a big shift since 1980 in American attitudes toward the Soviet Union. A large majority of Americans felt that "picking a fight with the Soviet Union is too dangerous in a nuclear world"(96%) and recognized that "there can be no winner in an

all-out nuclear war"(89%)."

Reagan detractors complained the FARA labeling of the Caldicott film was another assault on civil liberties, along with the narrowing of FOIA limits, new FBI domestic security guidelines, expanded federal secrecy procedures, and new restrictions in granting visas to ideologically suspect aliens."

The Acid Rain Films

Findings about acid rain began to emerge in the early 1970's. The Clean Air Act of 1970 set maximum levels for six pollutants: lead, solid particles, dioxide, carbon monoxide, nitrogen oxide and ozone." By the time President Carter left office, his EPA chief had conceded that sulfur dioxide emissions from the U.S. were responsible for damage to the Canadian environment.⁴⁰ New York Times environmental writer Philip Shabecoff describes acid rain as air pollution,

notably oxides of sulfur and nitrogen that is created by the burning of fossil fuels and is changed chemically as it travels through the atmosphere and returns to the earth as acid rain, snow, fog or dry particles.⁴¹

When coal fired electric power plants in the Middle West burn high sulfur content coal, the problem is especially severe. Some 84 percent of sulfur dioxide comes from the U.S. and 16 percent

from Canada. Nitric acid, the other component of acid rain, is emitted by the nitrogen oxide in automobile exhaust, 92 percent of which originates in the U.S." The particles are carried by prevailing winds north and east where most of the damage is done to eastern Canada and the northeastern U.S.

A high percentage of Canadians understand the consequences of acid rain, but they are dismayed that few Americans have comparable knowledge. Even though books at the time had described acid rain as a "chemical leprosy,"⁴³ the Canadians were "shocked over Washington's initial lack of interest in Canada's plight."⁴⁴

The Reagan administration's position was to insist on further study of the issue before expensive pollution control measures could be undertaken. The U.S. and Canada continued to have differing views on what amount of pollution was acceptable.⁴⁵

For the Canadians, the acid rain topic was the number one irritant in U.S. Canadian relations.⁴⁶ Reagan's first visit to Canada in 1981 was greeted by protests, "Go home acid rain."⁴⁷ Canada pressed him for a pollution control treaty. A joint study was initiated and negotiations were begun from two polarized positions. The Reagan distaste for federal regulation and his strong desire to reduce the federal bureaucracy were well known.⁴⁸

The Canadians began an aggressive public relations campaign

will have lost our entire lake system in eastern Canada.""

Two films on this theme were released by NFBC. Acid From Heaven, produced and directed by George Mully, re-enacts a case study of a person whose income was cut off as a direct result of acid rain. It presents straight forward information about this source of pollution. Acid Rain: Requiem or Recovery, produced by Crawley Films, artistically and graphically depicts the consequences of acid rain. It opens with a shot of an eroding Lincoln memorial and speaks of one of the ways "we are quietly changing the face of the earth." It calls acid rain one of "our miscalculations," a result of energy consumption that is the major basis of our North American life style: "we need it [energy], we want it and we won't give it up."

The film's images include underwater shots of acid stressed lakes and forests in Canada and the U.S., smog spewn over cities, stunted, acid affected fish, and the effects of acid on marble--the erosion of the grave markers in Arlington National Cemetery. The film's position is that "we know both the cause and the cure for acid rain." It contends that "the technology exists to stop it," and argues that "our loss economically will make the cost of clean up look like a bargain." We have a choice, says the film: "win now or lose later."

The film's credits make its national origin obvious, but the

to persuade Americans that acid rain was "clear and present danger."⁴⁹ They lobbied members of Congress and attempted to influence public opinion directly through their own publications and the media.⁵⁰

One of the parties to another of the lawsuits over the labeling of the documentary films was the Environmental Defense Fund which has continued to monitor the acid rain debate throughout the decade of the 1980s.⁵¹ Its most recent findings (1988) show that acid rain damage is more severe than previously thought. It now threatens the U.S. Atlantic coastal waters through eutrophication caused by oxides of nitrogen produced mainly by autos and electric utilities.⁵²

The central point of the acid rain films as well as that of conservationists is not whether the U.S. or Canada can afford to control air pollution but whether the nation can afford not to control it. "The costs of inaction are simply too great."⁵³ On the American side of the equation there is the high cost of pollution control: the loss of coal mining jobs, increased energy costs, loss of competitiveness to American factories in implementing very expensive emission control technology in an region that is for the most part unaffected by acid rain. Both films address these concerns. For the Canadian side, Minister of the Environment John Roberts said, "If we wait much longer we

viewer is persuaded not to see this issue as a Canadian problem alone. The film makes one aware of the damage to the U.S. environment as well. The Canadian Minister of the Environment said he thought the acid rain film was "too well balanced and should have put Canada's case more strongly."⁵⁵

In any case, in 1982 the films were shown on the Public Broadcasting System in the U.S. before the FARA labeling, so many Americans had seen them before the brouhaha began.

A Question of Labeling

The DOJ takes a broad and neutral, if not benign, definition of propaganda here. Unfortunately, the legal arguments leaned heavily on the semantics of propaganda and ignored the arbitrariness with which the DOJ could apply FARA. When California State Senator Barry Keene brought suit in the Federal District Court for the Eastern District Court of California in 1983, he was successful because in the opinion of the District Court the term "propaganda" is a

semantically slanted word of reprobation; that the use of such a denigrating term renders the regulated materials unavailable to American citizens who wish to use them as a means of personal expression; and that since there was no compelling state interest to justify the use of such a pejorative label, it was an unnecessary and therefore invalid, abridgement of speech.⁵⁶

Other interested parties also challenged the Justice Department's interpretation of FARA through legal channels. They recognized the violation of civil liberties, and questioned the legitimacy of the government's compelling interest in applying FARA to these films.⁵⁷ While Senator Keene was pursuing legal redress in California, interested parties on the East coast, such as NFBC Distributor Mitchell Block, the ACLU, the New York Library Association, the Environmental Defense Fund filed suit March 9, 1983 in Washington D.C.

They lost their case in 1986 before a Federal Appeals panel comprised of Antonin Scalia, Robert Bork and Skelly Wright in 1986.⁵⁸ In his last opinion before he took his seat on the Supreme Court, Justice Scalia argued that the label "political propaganda" should not be taken pejoratively, i.e., that the government means to imply that "the films contain misstatements, half-truths, and attempts at misleading."⁵⁹ The government is not responsible, in Scalia's opinion, for people's misinterpretation of the term "propaganda."

When State Senator Keene's case reached the Supreme on Appeal from the Justice Department, Keene found that Justice Stevens, speaking for the High Court, held a view similar to that of Scalia, who, incidentally, did not participate in the 5-3 decision. Stevens held that the Act's use of the term "political

propaganda" is constitutional. The District Court was wrong, said Stevens, because its decision rests on possible harm stemming from "potential public misunderstanding of the Act's effect rather than on what the Act actually says, requires, or prohibits."⁶⁰

The High Court let stand the term "political propaganda" as defined in the Act, which not only includes "slanted, misleading advocacy in the popular pejorative sense," but also, Stevens wrote, "encompasses materials that are completely accurate and merit the highest respect." Neither the Federal Appeals Court, nor the Supreme Court, has deemed the application of FARA as an abridgment of freedom of speech in violation of the First Amendment.

With the Supreme Court's apparent willingness to accept a benign definition of propaganda, the Justice Department's application of the FARA label of "political propaganda" to the three Canadian films has apparently been vindicated.

However, some concerns remained. The Justice Department still considered FARA as part of the marketplace of ideas and discussion, a way of insisting that foreign governments own up to their media products.⁶¹ In this view, labeling a film as foreign "propaganda" somehow contributes to the marketplace of ideas.

The Justice Department defends three points in its

application of FARA: the purpose is disclosure, not censorship; the label is neutral on its face--nowhere does the phrase "political propaganda" appear on the label; and, lastly, labeling and filing requirements apply only to "nonexempt agents who disseminate films within the statutory definition on behalf of a foreign principal."⁴² The NFB has been a FARA registrant since 1947.

However, the weakness of the Act that makes it a threat to civil liberties lies in the way officials make the subjective determination to apply the FARA label. As Assistant Attorney General Lowell Jensen told the Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights:

this selection process necessarily involves some discretion and expertise, primarily a sensitivity to the leading political themes of the day. I might add that it involves a good deal more common sense, for review of any significant amount of these materials requires time, and therefore expense for all concerned.⁴³

"Common sense," in the case of these films, appears to have made it easy to spot films which advocated positions different from that of the administration.

Joseph E. Clarkson, a 10 year employee and chief of the DOJ Registration Unit that initially labeled the films as political propaganda, testified that he selected those five titles for review on the basis of his ideas of what issues are

important as far as Congress is concerned. "We know that nuclear disarmament is an issue. We know that acid rain is an issue," he told the Subcommittee."

In its testimony before the same Subcommittee the ACLU argued that "a certain insecurity about democracy" is reflected in the belief "that the Government of the United States must protect the American people by telling us what is true and what is suspect about what we read or what films we see."⁶⁵ The ACLU objected to several aspects of the FARA application; i.e., the arbitrary selection of a few films for review, putting labels on some, compiling a list of groups who exhibit or distribute material, having access to the names and address of individuals or organizations who receive 100 or more copies of "propaganda" material."

The labeling and reporting process makes it possible for the government eventually to have a list of all groups in the U.S. who are disseminating and exhibiting films dealing with politically suspect issues--in the early 80s, nuclear disarmament and acid rain; in the 90's, who knows?"

FARA and Political Advocacy

In his dissent, Justice Blackmun objects to the Supreme

Court's majority argument that such labeling allows the addition of further information and "actually fosters freedom of speech." He criticized as "paternalistic," the Court's logic that not to label these films as political propaganda was wrongfully withholding information on the grounds that the public will misunderstand and misuse that information."

It is pretty clear that everybody has an idea as to what propaganda is; its meaning hasn't changed much in the 45 years since FARA was enacted. An educated citizenry, aware of the countries of origin and the vested interests of the media they use, ought to be able to discern for themselves the varying degrees of political advocacy. However, propaganda aside, it is quite unlikely that by seeing these films, Americans are going to resort to use of force or violence and engage in civil disorder. Freely showing the films without arbitrary, politically motivated labeling is worth that risk, however, because FARA practices indicate that foreign ideas that threaten the status quo are unwelcome. In this "global village" that we have become, the Supreme Court simply failed to address the broader applications of the First Amendment aspects of the inquiry. Do foreign materials fall under the category of protected speech?

As Blackmun said, the court asked the wrong question." Is the concern really to help the public evaluate the import of the

media? Or is it a mechanism to chill speech, to make it just that much harder or more trying to see views from abroad that diverge from official U.S. views on controversial issues of the day?

When teachers and others show these films in classes or elsewhere, they should be aware that behind the scenes, statutory requirements are being filed. These dissemination reports require descriptions of the propaganda material, the number of copies, dates and means of transmission, number of each type of recipient (libraries, schools, public officials, newspapers, TV stations, theaters), organizations using them, the estimated audience size and the dates shown.⁷⁰

Rep. Robert Kastenmeier (D-Wis) made an important point to the Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights:

We produce hundreds of titles, thousands of domestic films which take on American policy of any Administration whatever it may do, but under the First Amendment, we tolerate that and presumably the people of this country in viewing . . . have to make that judgment.⁷¹

Since there will be more of these materials, rather than fewer for the American people to sort through on their cable and broadcast TV channels, in their civic groups and schools, it seems sensible to suspend any labeling other than that of country of origin and allow people to make that judgment without having

to be told that the registered material "does not meet the approval of the contents of the material by the U.S. Government."⁷² American citizens need to learn to sort out for themselves the propaganda in these "warning visions."

Endnotes

1. The ideal behind deregulation of broadcast industry regularly touted by Reagan's FCC chairman, Mark Fowler. See Broadcasting.
2. David Sterritt, "50 Years of Creative Filmmaking," Christian Science Monitor, March 2, 1989.
3. Sterritt.
4. Sterritt.
5. "A Nation's Home Movies," Maclean's, July 27, 1987.
6. Jack C. Ellis, The Documentary Idea: A Critical History of English-Language Documentary Film and Video, New York, 1989, pp. 124-125.
7. As quoted in Ellis, p. 72.
8. Ellis, 131.
9. "Canadian Films and the Foreign Agents Registration Act, : Oversight Hearing before the Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights of the Committee on the Judiciary. March 18, 1983. U.S. House of Representatives 521-31, p. 5.
10. 22 USC 611. 67 ALR Fed 774. rev. 1941, 42, 66. The 1966 revision narrowed FARA's focus to political advocacy on the part of the Agent's foreign principal.
11. Cf. statement of D. Lowell Jensen, Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division, Department of Justice in HR 521-31, p. 12.

12. 22 USC S614. Some 300-400 newspapers, books and magazines and six to ten films were listed as propaganda under FARA each year.
13. Meese v. Keene. U.S. Supreme Court Reports. 95 L Ed 2d, p. 415.
14. Charles Lazarus, "'McCarthyism' Behind Pic Bans," Variety, Mar. 21, 1983.
15. Lazarus.
16. HR 521-31. p. 15.
17. Ibid., p. 45.
18. "Warning Visions," in Bernard Rubin, ed., When Information Counts, Lexington Mass.: Lexington Books, 1985.
19. William L. Chaze, "The Great Propaganda War," U.S. News and World Report, Jan. 11, 1982, p. 29.
20. See "Voice of America at the Crossroads," proceedings, The Media Institute, Washington, D.C., June 24, 1982.
21. Tom Burns, "500,000 Protest Against NATO in Madrid," Washington Post, Nov. 16, 1981.
22. Washington Post, Nov. 16, 1981.
23. Nuclear Times, June 1983.
24. "Nuclear War and Climatic Catastrophe: Some Policy Implications," Foreign Affairs, vol. 62, No. 2, Winter, 1983-84, pp. 257-292.
25. "Nuclear Strategy, Can There Be a Happy Ending?" Foreign Affairs, Vol. 63, No. 4, Spring 1985, pp. 810-826. Cf. also Justice Department testimony reflecting government concern that the KGB was behind the nuclear freeze movement. H 521-31, p. 42.
26. Meese v. Keene, p. 415.
27. In his classic definition, Harold Lasswell said, "Propaganda in the broadest sense is the technique of influencing human action by the manipulation of representations. These

representations may take spoken, written, pictorial or musical form." Quoted from "Propaganda," in Werner J. Severin and James W. Tankard, Jr., Communication Theories, Longman, 1988. "As defined in FARA, the term 'political propaganda' not only includes slanted, misleading advocacy in the popular, pejorative sense, but also encompasses materials that are completely accurate and merit the highest respect." Quoted in Meese v. Keene, U.S. Supreme Court Reports, 95 L Ed 2d, p. 419.

28. Carol Bruman, "A Matter of Visibility," Maclean's, May 25, 1983, p. 62.

29. Barbara Amiel, "Seeking a Political Balance," Maclean's, June 23, 1986, p. 6.

30. As quoted in Bruman, op cit.

31. The statutory definition of "political propaganda" also includes anything which promotes "in the United States racial, religious, or social dissensions." Cf. Meese v Keene, p. 423.

32. Quoted in Variety, March 2, 1983.

33. "Fear and the Bomb," Washington Post, April 16, 1982.

34. Quoted in Lardner, op cit.

35. Colin Gray, staff member of Think Tank in McLean, Va., quoted in Lardner.

36. "The Public Mood: Nuclear Weapons and the USSR." Foreign Affairs, Vol 63, No.1, Fall 1984, pp. 33-46.

37. Ibid., p. 33.

38. Aric Press and Diane Camper, "Keeping the Cats in the Bag," Newsweek, April 18, 1983, p. 92.

39. Philip Shabecoff, "In Search of A Better Law To Clear the Air," The New York Times, May 14, 1989.

40. Letter from Douglas Costle, chief of the Environmental Protection Agency to Secretary of State Edmund S. Muskie, cited in "Suit Seeks to Force U.S. to Order Rules to Curb Acid Rain," New York Times, Nov. 23, 1988.

41. Philip Shabecoff, "Draft Study Puts Acid Rain Damage at \$5 Billion for 17 States," The New York Times, July 18, 1985.
42. John E. Carroll, Acid Rain: An Issue in Canadian-American Relations, CD Howe Institute, Canada and the National Planning Association, USA. Pub. by the Canadian-American Commission, 1982.
43. Robert H. Boyle and R. Alexander Boyle, Acid Rain. New York: Shocken Books, 1983.
44. Carroll, p. 27.
45. Annette Baker Fox, "Environmental Issues: Canada and the United States," in Willis C. Armstrong et al, ed., Canada and the United States: Dependence and Divergence. Cambridge, MA: Ballinger Pub. Co., 1982. Another NFBC film, Crisis in the Rain, also required a FARA label in 1981, but that labeling for some reason did not inspire the public indignation the later films received. Cf. HR 521-31, p. 42.
46. "U.S. Damage: 3 Billion a Year," U.S. News and World Report, Nov. 29, 1982, p. 44.
47. Dianne Dumanoski, "Acid Politics," Technology Review, vol. 85, October 1982, p. 64.
48. Dumanoski, p. 65.
49. Robert Ostmann, Acid Rain: A Plague Upon the Water, 1982.
50. Carroll, p. 43.
51. Block v. Meese. 253 U.S. App DC 317, 2 793 Fed 1303, 1308.
52. Philip Shabecoff "Acid Rain is Called Peril For Sea Life On Atlantic Coast," New York Times, April 25, 1988.
53. Michael Wentworth, Letter to the Editor, Washington Post, April 1, 1987.
54. Dumanoski, p. 66.
55. "Librarians Question Justice Department's Action on Canadian Films," American Libraries, Vol 14, May 1983, p. 264.
56. Keene v. Smith, 569 F Supp 1513, 1518, 1522 (1983).

57. "Librarians Question Justice Department's Action on Canadian Films," American Libraries, Vol. 14, May 1983, p. 264.
58. Block v. Meese. 253 U.S. App DC 317, 2 793 Fed 1303, 1308.
59. Block v. Meese, p. 12.
60. Meese, Attorney General of the U.S., et al, v. Keene, No. 85-1180. April 28, 1987.
61. "Canadian Films and the Foreign Agents Registration Act," Oversight Hearing before the Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights of the Committee on the Judiciary. March 18, 1983. HR 521-31.
62. HR 521-31, p. 6.
63. HR 521-31, p. 5.
64. Subcommittee Hearings, p. 42.
65. Subcommittee Hearings, p. 55.
66. Subcommittee Hearings, p. 56.
67. ACLU attorney Susan Shaffer said the ACLU believes the "required reporting to the Government of groups, organizations, and in some instances persons, exhibiting or distributing the materials is an unconstitutional abridgement of the first amendment right to receive ideas and information, and serves no substantial governmental purpose." Subcommittee Hearings, p. 55.
68. Subcommittee Hearings, p. 55.
69. Meese v. Keene, 95 L Ed, 2d, 415, p. 434.
70. Subcommittee Hearings, p. 6.
71. Subcommittee Hearings, p. 56.
72. Meese v. Keene, 95 L Ed. 2d 415, p. 423.

The Press and the Execution of the Rosenbergs

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Presented to the Annual Meeting of the
American Journalism Historians Association
Hershey Hotel, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
October 3, 1991

The Press and the Execution of the Rosenbergs

ABSTRACT

A study of the Philadelphia Bulletin's coverage of the execution of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg in June 1953 concluded that the press, particularly the Associated Press, became an arm of the federal government in promoting the prosecution's "confess or die" strategy. Public opinion was thereby molded not to question the fairness of the trial nor to oppose the executions pending Supreme Court review of the case. Denial of access to the defense's side compromised balance and accuracy in reporting. News of domestic and international opposition to the executions was suppressed until it was too late for American public opinion to prevent them. Non-attribution of government sources and biased reporting were aided by the Cold-War atmosphere of anti-communist hysteria, paranoia and stereotypes. This atmosphere was responsible for journalistic formulations and significant omissions that communicated prevalent, negative stereotypes of Jewish people and women.

The Press and the Execution of the Rosenbergs

We caged here can only protest our innocence...but it is the task of the American people to stay the executioner's hand and see that justice is done. (May 21, 1951)

...It is indeed a tragedy how the lords of the press can mold public opinion by printing...blatant falsehoods...There is a new whipping boy in our land "the Rosenbergs" and all "respectable" people have to cleanse themselves by throwing stones at us. (December 12, 1952)²

- Julius Rosenberg, Death House Letters,³
Sing Sing Prison, Ossining, New York

Ethel and Julius Rosenberg expressed confidence early-on that the American people, informed of the truth via a free and fair press, would rescue them from the electric chair. Their hopes were not rewarded. On June 19, 1953, shortly after 8 p.m. the day following their 14th wedding anniversary, the Rosenbergs were executed. Left orphaned were two sons, Michael, 10, and Robert, 6.

¹ Letter from Julius to Ethel Rosenberg. In Schneir, W. & Schneir, M. (1983). Invitation to an Inquest. New York: Pantheon Books, p. 217.

² Letter from Julius to Ethel. Ibid., p. 229.

³ Selected letters were first published in June 1953 by the Rosenbergs' defense committee in excerpted form: Death House Letters of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. New York: Jero Publishing Co.

The Rosenbergs were the only United States citizens ever executed by judgment of a civil court for an espionage-related conviction, and the first to be put to death in peacetime for such a crime. The double execution of a husband and wife was also a first for the federal judiciary.⁴

In the 38 years since the executions, scores of scientists, historians, legal scholars and journalists have examined the evidence, the trial record, newly available private correspondence, published biographies of major figures in the prosecution, and thousands of government documents released to the Rosenberg sons under court order through the Freedom of Information Act.⁵ More than 50 books and hundreds of periodical reviews have been published on the case; some concluded the Rosenbergs were guilty, others that they were framed by the Justice Department; the vast majority, however, believe the couple should not have been executed.⁶

Evidence of illegal collusion (*ex parte* communication) before and during the trial between assistant prosecutor Roy Cohn and Judge Irving R. Kaufman, including **pre-trial agreement** on the death sentence for Julius Rosenberg, was revealed in Cohn's posthumous autobiography published in 1988.⁷ The next year Joseph Sharlitt

⁴ Schneir & Schneir, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

⁵ The Rosenberg children took the name Meeropol after their adopted parents. Meeropol, R. & Meeropol, M. (1986), We are your sons (2nd ed.), Chicago: Univ. of Illinois Press includes an analysis of the released government documents. A similar analysis by Schneir & Schneir, *op. cit.*, (pp. 426-480) concluded they reveal a "premeditated frameup" by the FBI and the Justice Department (p. 467).

⁶ Interview with Aaron Katz, director of the National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case located in New York City. See Radosh, R. & Milton, J. (1983). The Rosenberg file: A search for the truth. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, pp. 479-484, for a list major books and articles on the case.

⁷ Zion, S. (1988). The Autobiography of Roy Cohn. Secaucus, New Jersey: Lyle Stuart, pp. 65-70, 77.

exposed ~~ex parte~~ meetings between Attorney General Herbert Brownell and Chief Justice Fred M. Vinson in which they agreed to recall the Supreme Court from vacation recess to overturn Douglas' stay even before it was issued.⁸ This study will explore press coverage of the Rosenberg case, with a focus on the executions: How did the press report this obscure Jewish-American couple's resistance to a prosecution offer that would have saved their lives? Did the media, particularly the wire services, become an arm of the "confess or die" strategy of the government?⁹ How did they cover defense motions before the Supreme Court challenging the legality of the death sentences and the fairness of the trial?¹⁰ How did the prevailing prejudices of the times affect balance, fairness and accuracy?

After highlighting the case and its Cold War setting, this study will review criticisms of the contemporary press (particularly the New York papers) found in secondary sources. Answers to the above questions will be sought in the pages of the Philadelphia Bulletin (Evening and Sunday) during the month of June 1953 - before and after the executions. The Bulletin was chosen because it

⁸ Sharlitt, J.H. (1989). Fatal error: The miscarriage of justice that sealed the Rosenbergs' fate. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, pp. 66-69, 75-76, 186-189.

⁹ In a memo dated April 5, 1951 (the day the Rosenbergs were sentenced), assistant prosecutor James B. Kilsheimer told chief prosecutor Irving Saypol, "Whether or not the death penalty is actually carried out, I do not think is the important consideration at this time. However, I do think it should be imposed in an attempt to induce these defendants to reveal the extent of their illegal activities." Quoted in Radosh & Milton, op cit., p. 276. Rumors of this covert strategy appeared in the New York press within days of the jury verdict, e.g., columnists Howard Rushmore (Journal-American, April 3, 1951), Leonard Lyons (Post, April 6 and 9, 1951) and Hy Gardner (Herald-Tribune, April 12, 1951).

¹⁰ In June 1953, numerous motions for stays of execution to allow time to file petitions based on new evidence and challenges to the death penalty were rejected at all levels of the federal judiciary. The last appeal was rejected with unprecedented speed by the trial judge, the appeals court, and the Supreme Court in the space of one week. Schneir & Schneir, op. cit., p. 211-212.

typified a large-circulation, big-city newspaper.¹¹ It also relied heavily on the Associated Press, pointing up this agency's role in shaping news on the case for newspapers, radio and TV nationally.

The Rosenbergs were convicted on March 29, 1951 of "conspiracy to commit espionage in wartime" for the Soviet Union. Their arrests took place after nearly a year of press hysteria following the 1949 detonation by the U.S.S.R. of its first atomic bomb.¹² Although the indictment contained no mention of atomic secrets,¹³ Chief prosecutor Irving Saypol, in his opening statement, accused the Rosenbergs of devising and putting into operation, "with the aid of Soviet... agents in this country, an elaborate scheme which enabled them to steal through David Greenglass...the atomic bomb."¹⁴

Ronald Radosh & Joyce Milton said journalists were confused regarding the actual charges against the Rosenbergs.¹⁵ The Constitution protects citizens from a treason conviction without the corroborative testimony of two witnesses for the same overt act.

¹¹ Circulation of the Evening Bulletin was 693,104 in 1953, the largest of the three daily newspapers in Philadelphia. Editor and Publisher International Year Book - 1953, p. 126. The Bulletin ceased publication in January 1982.

¹² Although President Truman told the nation on September 23, 1949 to expect the eventual development of atomic energy by other nations, many politicians and journalists "quickly deduced that America's atomic 'secret' had been stolen and...they cried 'treason' and looked around for someone to blame." Schneir & Schneir, op. cit., p. 53.

¹³ March 18, 1991 letter from Aaron Katz.

¹⁴ Schneir & Schneir, op. cit., p. 120. A four-page brochure by Katz, The Rosenberg Case in a Nutshell, stated, "The only evidence at the trial implicating the Rosenbergs in atomic conspiracy came...from David and Ruth Greenglass, who gave oral testimony, undocumented, uncorroborated -- and bought." (p. 2) David Greenglass is Ethel's brother; he testified that Julius Rosenberg induced him to steal secrets from the Los Alamos atom bomb project in New Mexico, where he worked briefly as an Army machinist in 1945.

¹⁵ Referring to Saypol's opening, they commented, "...it is hardly surprising that editorial writers and newspaper columnists all over the country seemed confused about the actual charge against the Rosenbergs or that so many took the occasion to urge the death penalty for treason." Op. cit., p. 173.

The Rosenberg-Sobell¹⁶ verdicts were based on the uncorroborated accusations of self-confessed conspirators.¹⁷ But in sentencing the defendants, Judge Irving R. Kaufman accused them of treason,¹⁸ a crime for which they were not indicted, tried, or convicted.

The Rosenbergs' arrest, prosecution, sentencing and execution took place within the confines of the Korean War (June 25, 1950 to July 28, 1953). Kaufman said their crime had caused the war and was responsible for the deaths of American soldiers.¹⁹ In denying clemency on February 11, 1953, President Eisenhower also connected the Rosenbergs to Korea, stating, "By their act these two individuals have in fact betrayed the cause of freedom for which free men are fighting and dying at this very hour."²⁰

Sharlitt, a Washington attorney unconnected to the Rosenbergs' defense, characterized the June 1953 events as a "stampede to execution."²¹ He concluded that the Rosenbergs were illegally executed because they were indicted, tried and sentenced under the wrong law - the 1917 Espionage Act, while the correct law was the 1946 Atomic Energy Act.²² The 1946 law required a jury

¹⁶ Morton Sobell, a college classmate of Julius Rosenberg, was tried and convicted as a co-conspirator; he was sentenced to a 30-year prison term.

¹⁷ An April 1954 article in the Columbia Law Review, "The Rosenberg case: Some reflections on federal criminal law," stated it was unlikely the Rosenbergs would have been convicted in a New York court because the state's conspiracy laws required corroboration of accomplice testimony for a conviction (pp. 233-234). Cited in Parrish, M.E. (1977, October). Cold War justice: The Supreme Court and the Rosenbergs. American Historical Review, 82(4), p. 813.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 811.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Schneir & Schneir, op. cit., p. 192.

²¹ Sharlitt, op. cit., p. 3.

²² Ibid., pp. ix-x, 1-2. Attorneys Fyke Farmer and Daniel Marshall had argued this same point before the full Supreme court on June 18, 1953 after Justice William O. Douglas issued a stay of execution the previous day.

recommendation for the death penalty as well as proof of intent to harm the U.S., both absent in this case.²³

Redbaiting and Guilt by Association

The post-Cold War era makes possible a more objective study of press coverage of the Rosenberg case. That the press, particularly the wire services, became a conduit for Senator Joseph McCarthy's redbaiting charges during the 1950-54 period, has been established by Edwin Bayley.²⁴ Bayley did not discuss the Rosenberg case, but he quoted George Reedy, a reporter who covered McCarthy for the United Press, saying, "The Communist spy business was ridiculous nonsense, and we all knew it."²⁵ Cedric Belfrage, founder and editor of the National Guardian, defined how McCarthyism worked:

A cardinal feature of any inquisition...is that the accused is presumed guilty unless he can prove innocence; and this he does by naming his accomplices as well as [by] recanting.²⁶

Hearst columnist George E. Sokolsky was typical of the 1950s journalists who accepted this way of thinking:

Everything has been tried by the Rosenbergs except the only step that can justify their existence as human beings: they have never confessed; they have shown no contrition; they have not been penitent....let them go to the devil.²⁷

In a letter to Ethel, Julius made clear the couple's defiance of their persecutors, even in the face of death:

²³ Schneir & Schneir, op. cit., p. 238.

²⁴ Bayley, E. (1981). Joe McCarthy and the press. New York: Pantheon Books, pp. 66-87.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 71. Reedy's comment was made in a 1976 interview, in the context of discussing McCarthy's 1950 charge that Owen Lattimore, a Johns Hopkins University lecturer, was a spy for the USSR. Reedy later became press secretary to President Lyndon Johnson.

²⁶ Belfrage (1973). The American inquisition: 1945-1960. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, p. 4.

²⁷ New York Journal-American, January 9, 1953, editorial page. Quoted in Schneir & Schneir, op. cit., p. 191-192.

I am amazed at the fabulous newspaper campaign organized against us....we will never lend ourselves to be tools to implicate innocent people, to confess crimes we never did, and to help fan the flames of hysteria and help the growing witch hunt.²⁸

The Rosenbergs' association with the left played no small part in the outcome of their case. Their arrest in 1950 followed the convictions of 11 U.S. Communist Party officials for "conspiracy to teach and advocate the violent overthrow of the government."²⁹ A month later, Congress passed the Internal Security (McCarran) Act, which set up a "Subversive Activities Control Board" to monitor groups designated as "Communist-front" organizations. This law defined members of such groups as Soviet agents, spies and saboteurs. According to Kutler, " 'McCarranism,' not 'McCarthyism,' would be a more apt description for the times."³⁰

During jury selection, Kaufman read out a long list of hundreds of so-called "Communist-front" organizations compiled by the attorney-general. A potential juror familiar with the independent weekly In Fact was thereby eliminated.³¹ Somehow Jewish jurors were also eliminated.³² During their trial Ethel and Julius invoked the Fifth Amendment privilege against self-incrimination when asked

²⁸ Letter of December 7, 1952. Ibid., p. 228. Ethel, in her Jan. 9, 1953 appeal to President Truman, viewed the government's "confess or die" pressure as a form of torture akin to the medieval "thumbscrew and rack" (p. 189).

²⁹ These Smith Act convictions were reversed by the Supreme Court in 1957 as violations of the First Amendment. See the account by Gil Green, who served 6 years in jail: "Forbidden books on trial." In B. Schultz & R. Schultz (1989), It did happen here. Berkeley: University of California Press, p. 75-89.

³⁰ Kutler, S.I. (1982). The American inquisition: Justice and injustice in the Cold War. New York: Hill and Wang, p. 184.

³¹ Radosh & Milton, op. cit., p. 172.

³² "The government trying the case cheerfully admitted to anti-communism but it carefully sought to avoid any charge of anti-Semitism. Notwithstanding the large proportion of Jews in New York City, however, the jury ...contained no Jews." Pessen, E. (1984, Jan.). The Rosenberg case revisited: A critical essay on a recent scholarly examination. New York History, p. 85.

questions about Communist Party membership,³³ after which Kaufman instructed the jury that "proof of Communist Party membership or activity does not prove the offense charged in this indictment, but may be considered by you solely on the question of intent."³⁴ Belfrage believed that "America was trying them for heresy."³⁵

According to Aaron Katz, "because the Rosenberg case - improperly - lent 'justification' to the various McCarran Acts, the loyalty oath programs, the blacklisting, the non-Communist affidavits, the firing of teachers and professors, withholding passports and other evils," its importance "can hardly be overemphasized or exaggerated."³⁶

Assaults on freedom of speech and association with the left were accompanied by attacks on the world peace movement that developed in response to the atomic devastation of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In his 82nd year, W.E.B. DuBois, the African-American scholar, peace and civil rights leader, was handcuffed and arrested for failing to register as "an agent of a foreign power."³⁷

British-born Belfrage was arrested as a "dangerous alien" and deported after his appearance (under subpoena) before House and

³³ Wexley, J. (1977). The judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. New York: Ballantine Books, pp. 224-227.

³⁴ Schneir & Schneir, op. cit., p. 165.

³⁵ Belfrage, op. cit., p. 144.

³⁶ Katz, A. (1988, July/August). The real Roy Cohn. Jewish Frontier. Reprinted by the National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case.

³⁷ DuBois was then director of the Peace Information Center in New York. For an account of his indictment and trial, see The Autobiography of W.E.B. DuBois, New York: International Publishers, 1968, pp. 361-395.

Senate investigating committees.³⁸ These hearings were directly related to the Guardian's crusade on behalf of the Rosenbergs and its charge that they were victims of a frameup.³⁹

Belfrage's perspective as a witch-hunt victim translated into biting commentary about the role of the media during this period:

Punishment was the function of the secular arm after the inquisitors pronounced their verdict...America has used two secular arms. One, the Law, imposed sentences beyond those prescribed for any civil crime except murder or...rape...The second arm -- the one that punished the great body of heretics -- was the media. Their function was to ensure social and economic quarantine for the guilty by spreading word of the inquisitors' brand into every home: in America the inquisition did not have to provide weighty theological arguments, merely appeal to the headline writers.⁴⁰

The Atomic Spy Hoax⁴¹

Smear stories and columns about alleged "Communists" and "treason" in high government office, loyalty oaths, and "atom spy" rings were commonplace in the post-war period. James Aronson, founder of the National Guardian along with Belfrage, wrote:

...the press of the United States did its utmost to further the great mid-century myth of the international Communist conspiracy and to create in the public mind the impression that all who sought to counter this myth were guilty of treason....From the day Julius Rosenberg was arrested...the cry was treason....This false impression was fostered in inflamed headlines, news stories, columns, and editorials.⁴²

³⁸ Details of his appearances before the House Un-American Activities Committee and McCarthy's committee, and his deportation can be found in Belfrage, C. & Aronson, A. (1978). Something to guard: The stormy life of the National Guardian 1948-1967. New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 176-187, 194-213.

³⁹ The subpoenas were issued immediately after the paper reported on April 13, 1953 that one of its reporters had found the Rosenbergs' console table, referred to in damaging prosecution testimony, but not produced at the trial. Rep. Harold H. Velde, chairman of HUAC, called the Guardian "a propaganda arm of the Soviet Union exerting a sinister effect on Americanism." Ibid., p. 176.

⁴⁰ Belfrage, op. cit., p. 5.

⁴¹ Reuben, W.A. (1955). The Atom Spy Hoax. New York: Action Books. Reuben was the National Guardian writer whose series launched the Rosenbergs' defense movement. It began on August 22, 1951, headlined: "The Rosenberg Conviction: Is This The Dreyfus Case of Cold-War America? See Belfrage & Aronson, op. cit., pp. 169-176, 188-191, for the Guardian's role in this campaign."

⁴² Aronson, J. (1970). The press and the Cold War. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, p. 58.

The U.S. and the Soviet Union were allies when "atomic secrets" were alleged to have been stolen. Edward Pessen has cited studies which challenge the claim that the lens mold technology discussed during the Rosenbergs' trial was unknown to Soviet researchers.⁴³ The only evidence related to the bomb were crude drawings created for the trial, from memory, by David Greenglass, a machinist with a high school education.

Among the notables urging clemency were Nobel prize-winning atomic physicists Harold Urey and Albert Einstein.⁴⁴ Urey wrote, "A man of Greenglass' capacity is wholly incapable of transmitting the physics, chemistry and mathematics of the bomb to anyone."⁴⁵

The Paris correspondent for the New York Herald-Tribune wrote, "The vast majority of non-Communist newspapers in France continued to urge today that the death sentences of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg be commuted to life imprisonment."⁴⁶ The family of Alfred Dreyfus cabled Eisenhower urging commutation.⁴⁷ Pope Pius XII, hundreds of prominent European intellectuals, scientists, religious figures,

⁴³ Herken, G. (1980) The winning weapon: The atomic bomb in the Cold War 1945-1950. New York: Knopf, pp. 313-324; and Yergin, D. (1977). Shattered peace: The origins of the Cold War and the national security state. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, p. 134. Cited in Pessen, op. cit., p. 91.

⁴⁴ Their letters were published in the New York Times: January 8, 1953 and January 13, 1953, respectively. Schneir & Schneir, op. cit., p. 191.

⁴⁵ June 12, 1953 telegram to Eisenhower. Quoted in Wexley, op. cit., p. 369.

⁴⁶ New York Herald-Tribune, January 14, 1953, p. 10. Quoted in Schneir & Schneir, op. cit., p. 190. Radosh & Milton, op. cit., p. 561, recommended R.B. Glynn (1955, December). L'Affaire Rosenberg in France, Political Science Quarterly, 70(4), pp. 498-521, for a comprehensive account of the French press and the Rosenberg case.

⁴⁷ Schneir & Schneir, op. cit., p. 241. Dreyfus was a French Jewish army officer who was framed on perjured evidence and forged documents. This famous case exposed anti-Semitism in the high reaches of government. The Dreyfus family cable was printed in Paris' Le Monde, June 18, 1953, p. 2.

and government officials besieged the White House with appeals for clemency. By June 1953 the Italian press "joined in a single voice to call for a reduction of the sentence."⁴⁸ Mass demonstrations took place in New York, Washington, Philadelphia, London, Brussels and Paris.⁴⁹ Radosh & Milton documented how this pressure worried the State Department, J. Edgar Hoover, and Eisenhower.⁵⁰

Bias, Blackouts and Blocked Access to the Press

Criticisms of one-sidedness, outright lying, and denial of access to the press from 1950 to 1953 can be found throughout the Death House letters.⁵¹ Julius read eight newspapers a day.⁵² On January 12, 1953, he wrote to his attorney Manny Bloch:

The stupendous propaganda campaign against us is reaching unprecedented heights. Why the sheer weight of newsprint staggers the imagination... This weekend alone each and every newspaper carried extensive news stories and feature articles on our case.... they have presented the prosecutor's side of the case only.⁵³

Evidence that the Rosenbergs waged a struggle for access to the media can be found in the following instructions to Bloch:

The only means we have of defending ourselves is to write the facts as they are and we have authorized you to use our letters to make available this information to the public in order for them to know us as we really are. We must find some way to break into that impenetrable barrier that keeps our side out of the great newspapers

⁴⁸ Radosh & Milton, op. cit., p. 376.

⁴⁹ The Washington Post, December 6, 1953, reported the White House had received 200,000 messages, of which 21,500 arrived between June 16 and 21. Schneir & Schneir, op. cit., p. 241.

⁵⁰ Radosh & Milton, op. cit., pp. 373-380. To counteract what government officials labelled French "Communist propaganda" (the charge of "frameup"), the U.S. Embassy's press attache Ben Bradlee wrote a 7000-word white paper entitled "Le Cas Rosenberg." Five hundred copies were distributed to the French press, and branch offices of the U.S. Information Service (pp. 373-374). Bradlee later became executive editor of the Washington Post.

⁵¹ See the following letters in Schneir & Schneir, op. cit., dated 4/17/52 (p. 225), 10/2/52 (p. 227) and 4/16/53 (p. 232); in Meeropol & Meeropol, op. cit., letters dated 1/6/53 (p. 177), 3/22/53, 4/16/53, 4/23/53 (pp. 194-195).

⁵² Letter of April 23, 1953. Meeropol & Meeropol, op. cit., p. 195.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 179.

of our country....I would like you to prepare with our cooperation an open letter to the American Press answering all the lies and the common misconceptions that the newspapers are feeding the public.⁵⁴

Aronson singled out the New York press for blocking access to the Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case, including refusals of paid advertising and radio announcements.⁵⁵ The Schneirs reported that the government presented its case in the media "long before it was presented in a court of law or even to a grand jury."⁵⁶ In early 1951, the Schneirs said, "No publication expressed the view that the Rosenbergs and Sobell might conceivably be innocent,"⁵⁷ and their refusal to confess "was cited frequently in the press as conclusive evidence of their political fanaticism, disregard for their children, and overweening wish to become Marxist martyrs."⁵⁸

Wexley analyzed a Reader's Digest article written by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover titled "The crime of the century," which he said gave false and misleading information about the sequence of events that implicated the Rosenbergs in a "spy ring."⁵⁹

The Schneirs concluded that most of the press approved of the death penalty.⁶⁰ Among the few opposing editorials were those in the

⁵⁴ Ibid., pp. 179-180. Letter dated January 12, 1953.

⁵⁵ Aronson, op. cit., p. 60. He specifically mentioned the Herald-Tribune, the New York Times, the Post, the World-Telegram and WQXR radio.

⁵⁶ Schneir & Schneir, op. cit., p. 80. They quoted a 1950 Justice Dept. press release that quoted J. Edgar Hoover accusing Julius of secretly conspiring with the Soviet government to the detriment of the U.S., then said, "This damning charge by a high government official was widely noted in the press..."

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 176.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 2-3. "The apparent use of a death sentence for coercion was generally accepted without criticism," the Schneirs added.

⁵⁹ Reader's Digest, May 1951. Analyzed in Wexley, op. cit., pp. 62-67.

⁶⁰ Schneir & Schneir, op. cit., p. 175-176.

Daily Worker and the Jewish Daily Forward.⁶¹ Had the Rosenbergs been tried in 1944 when we were not at war with the Soviet Union, Dorothy Thompson commented in the Washington Star, "it is unlikely that they would have received any such sentence."⁶²

A record of defense attorney Manny Bloch's criticism of the press survives in an article published after the executions:

With the slamming of the door of the Death House on the Rosenbergs, a conspiracy of silence settled on the press. Our great newspapers which, during the trial, had seized eagerly upon every propaganda release of the prosecution, closed their pages to all news about the victims. From the government point of view, and from the point of view of its ally, the press, the Rosenbergs were as good as dead. The next news item would be the news of their execution.⁶³

The console table had been a crucial part of the espionage tale told by the Greenglasses. They had "conveyed to the jury a frightening stereotype of secret agents, crowded over a table in a darkened room, snapping photographs of classified documents."⁶⁴ After the National Guardian published its discoveries about the ordinary nature of the table,⁶⁵ and after a French newspaper published evidence indicating that the Greenglasses had committed perjury,⁶⁶ the Rosenberg committee in the U.S. tried unsuccessfully

⁶¹ Ibid. The Nation and The New Republic later editorialized for clemency (p. 193).

⁶² Washington Star, April 12, 1951, p. A-23. Ibid., p. 176.

⁶³ National Guardian, June 29, 1953. Quoted in Belfrage & Aronson, op. cit., p. 190.

⁶⁴ Parrish, op. cit., p. 829.

⁶⁵ Contrary to Ruth Greenglass' testimony, it did not have a "hollowed out" section for a light bulb allegedly used to take photographs of secret documents. "The Missing Table: The Proof That Key Rosenberg Case Witnesses Lied." National Guardian, April 13, 1953, pp. 4-5. In Radosh & Milton, op. cit., p. 361.

⁶⁶ The confidential "Rogge memos" were stolen from the office of Greenglass' lawyer O. John Rogge. They were first published in Le Combat, April 18, 1953. Radosh & Milton, ibid., p. 366. Some of these memos are reproduced in Wexley, op. cit., pp. 537-546. One memo quoted Ruth Greenglass saying her husband had a "tendency to hysteria" and was known to make up stories.

to get this information into the press, according to the Schneirs.⁶⁷

The defense petition for a new trial in early June included evidence that Greenglass had stolen uranium from the Los Alamos atom bomb project.⁶⁸ Harold Urey was present in the courtroom. Asked his opinion by a reporter for the New York Times, he replied:

Now that I see what goes on in Judge Kaufman's courtroom, I believe the Rosenbergs are innocent. When I look in that courtroom I see no Kaufman but McCarthy...What appalls me most is the role the press is playing. The judge's bias is so obvious. I keep looking over at you newspapermen and there's not a flicker of indignation or concern. When are you going to stop acting like a bunch of sheep?⁶⁹

The judge's denial of the motion was reported without mentioning any details of the new evidence or Urey's remarks.⁷⁰

Philadelphia Bulletin Headline News - June 1953

Prior to the executions, book-burning became an issue following McCarthy's demand that books "by Communists and fellow travelers" be removed from U.S. overseas' libraries.⁷¹ A column by Joseph and Stewart Alsop pointed out that the banned list contained a book by Bert Andrews, the chief Washington correspondent for the New York Herald-Tribune, because it revealed "a certain heretical bias against the persecution of innocent people."⁷²

Political inquisitions and the firing of teachers were also in

⁶⁷ Schneir & Schneir, op. cit., p. 196.

⁶⁸ Ibid., pp. 210-111. Also Wexley, op. cit., pp. 110, 113, 124.

⁶⁹ National Guardian, July 6, 1953, p. 6. Quoted in Meeropol & Meeropol, op. cit., p. 193.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Bulletin, June 11, p. 3; June 15, p. 2; June 16, p. 2; June 17, - editorial and op-ed pages: p. 24 (column by Melvin K. Whiteleather) and p. 25 (column by David Lawrence).

⁷² Ibid., June 14, p. 15 - "The Book Burners - State Dept. Purge of Its Libraries Abroad Seen as Warning to Us at Home." The fact that the Rosenbergs were about to be legally electrocuted while protesting their innocence did not seem important to Bulletin columnists; the Rosenbergs were not mentioned on the editorial or op-ed page until after they were executed.

the news.⁷³ For example, Barrows Dunham, suspended chair of Temple University's philosophy department, had a secret hearing before a faculty-administration "loyalty" committee.⁷⁴ Ironically, Time publisher Henry R. Luce told Temple graduates that brainwashing "under the guise of anti-Communism has become a substitute for thinking in America."⁷⁵ Luce was awarded an honorary doctorate by a university that would soon fire Dunham for defying HUAC's questions regarding Communist Party membership.⁷⁶

Opposition to McCarthy's witch-hunts found expression in a number of Bulletin articles, columns and letters.⁷⁷ But a week after the Rosenbergs were executed, McCarthy broadened his redbaiting by issuing subpoenas to a list of prominent writers and artists.⁷⁸

Rosenbergs Due To Die on Their Anniversary⁷⁹

The Rosenberg case was front-page news in the Philadelphia Bulletin on 14 days in June 1953,⁸⁰ four of which had eight-column banner headlines.⁸¹ However, pictures of Ethel and Julius were not

⁷³ Ibid., June 9, p. 34; June 12, p. 10 - "Einstein Urges Intellectuals to Refuse Probe Testimony; June 16, pp. 29 and 45.

⁷⁴ Ibid., June 2, p. 11.

⁷⁵ Ibid., June 18, p. 3.

⁷⁶ Temple News, March 8, 1991, p. 1. Dunham was fired in September 1953 for "intellectual arrogance." He won reinstatement in 1981 as professor emeritus; see his account in Schutz & Schutz, op. cit., pp.127-139.

⁷⁷ Ibid., June 1, p. 42 - "McCarthy, Velde Assailed by Presbyterian Leader"; letters to the editor, June 5, p. 23 and June 21, p. 12; "Sen. Lehman of New York takes on McCarthy," June 11, p. 2, June 12, p. 2 and June 21, p. 6; June 11, p. 2 - "Ex-Spy Scolds Red Probers".

⁷⁸ Ibid., June 28, p. 4 - The list included Dorothy Parker, Anna Rochester, Mrs. Paul (Eslanda) Robeson, Corliss Lamont, Lillian Hellman, and Rockwell Kent.

⁷⁹ Ibid., June 4, headline at bottom of p. 1.

⁸⁰ Ibid., June 1, 2, 4, 5, 8, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21.

⁸¹ Ibid., June 17, 18, 19, 20.

published until the day of execution. The source for most stories was the Associated Press, supplemented by the United Press. Three articles by Robert Roth of the Bulletin's Washington Bureau covered Supreme Court deliberations on Douglas' stay, the only instances where wire service dispatches were not used.⁸²

In early June, reporting was heavily weighted toward prosecution and judicial sources, but as the execution date neared, defense sources were given more space. Prosecution sources were frequently blind and nonpersonified, e.g., "the Government said"; some attributions were embellished with emotional adverbs, e.g., "angrily retorted the Government."⁸³ A collective quotation was used to communicate the position of "official Moscow newspapers":

"At the trial of the Rosenbergs," the Moscow papers said, "there was not presented any convincing proof whatsoever of their guilt."⁸⁴

A series of three articles by Arthur Everett, Associated Press writer, were published consecutively June 15-17. Statements with no attribution were interspersed with passive constructions that obscured the identity of prosecution sources, e.g., "it was charged," "the crime alleged," "was depicted as," and "were said to have." The first article rehashed the prosecution's arguments, then said this was a case "the Communist Party was to label an American Dreyfus case."⁸⁵ The second article acknowledged that Greenglass, "the heart of the Government's case," had saved himself from the

⁸² Ibid., June 18 and 19 (two editions).

⁸³ Ibid., June 17, p. 16.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid., June 15, p. 1 - "Fuchs' Downfall in Britain Set Trap for Rosenbergs." This article did not mention Dreyfus' religion, nor the case's significance and notoriety in the history of European anti-Semitism.

death penalty by backing up "the Government's version of the spy plot to the hilt."⁸⁶ The third in the series quoted Kaufman branding the Rosenbergs' crime as "worse than murder," then singled out Ethel Rosenberg as the power behind "the worldwide Communist campaign":

As though at the rise of a baton, the Communists broke into a tremendous concert of propaganda against the death sentence. And the theme was the one Ethel Rosenberg suggested when she entered the deathhouse - frameup.⁸⁷

With no attribution, international sentiment against the death penalty was characterized as coming from Communist sources. However, near the end of the article Everett added:

Not all the protests were Communist inspired, however. Many sincere people took issue, not so much with the verdict as with the death sentence.⁸⁸

Although most Bulletin articles contained at least one sentence about the Rosenbergs maintaining their innocence, the couple's statements were not headlined, placed in lead paragraphs or on the front page. The Death House letters were not quoted, nor was the substance of several personal appeals to two presidents. However, Eisenhower was quoted saying the Rosenbergs had "deliberately betrayed the entire nation."⁸⁹ The day before, Bloch had charged "scandalous concealment from President Eisenhower" and that many

⁸⁶ Ibid., June 16, p. 76 - "Rosenberg and Wife Doomed By Her Brother's Testimony." Greenglass was sentenced to 15 years in prison the day after the Rosenbergs received the death penalty. His wife Ruth, a self-confessed accomplice, was not indicted at all. Schneir & Schneir, op. cit., p. 172.

⁸⁷ Bulletin, June 17, p. 16 - "Propaganda Barrage Set Off by Sentencing of Rosenbergs." The president also viewed Ethel in this light. In a June 16, 1953 letter to his son, then serving in Korea, Eisenhower wrote about the Rosenbergs, "...in this instance it is the woman who is the strong and recalcitrant character, the man is the weak one. She has obviously been the leader in everything they did in the spy ring." In D.D. Eisenhower (1963), The White House years: Mandate for change 1953-1956. New York: Doubleday, p. 225. Quoted in Schneir & Schneir, op. cit., p. 242.

⁸⁸ Bulletin, June 17, p. 16.

⁸⁹ Bulletin, June 16, p. 76. From the president's Feb. 11, 1953 statement denying clemency.

facts "have been shielded from the American public,"⁹⁰ but the substance of Bloch's remarks was not explained.

The only article with a lead and substantive information from the defense viewpoint was placed on page 4.⁹¹ It reported a press conference by the defense committee which charged that Greenglass was in trouble over his theft of uranium from Los Alamos, and that "a deal" had been made "between the Rosenberg prosecutors and the Greenglasses 'in exchange for perjured testimony.'"⁹²

Pejorative phrases such as "atom spies" and "man and wife spy team" were common.⁹³ Some articles said "convicted atom spies,"⁹⁴ but most omitted any qualifying words. Eisenhower was paraphrased saying the Rosenbergs had had a fair trial,⁹⁵ but defense motions about prosecutorial and judicial misconduct were not quoted at all. Only one article mentioned the evidence had been circumstantial.⁹⁶

The most common inconsistency concerned the charges on which the Rosenbergs were convicted. About half the articles mentioned the conspiracy charge, but most front-page copy stated the Rosenbergs "transmitted," "conveyed," or "passed" atom bomb secrets

⁹⁰ Ibid., June 15 (back page).

⁹¹ Ibid., June 4, p. 4 - "Lawyer Claims New Evidence In Plea To Save Rosenbergs."

⁹² Ibid. The phrases "a deal" and "in exchange for perjured testimony" appeared in the Bulletin in quotation marks. So did the name of the defense committee, which implied questionable credibility.

⁹³ Phrases that tended to diminish the subjects, such as "Julius Rosenberg and his tiny, 100-pound wife" (June 15, p. 1), and "the bold, snickering Rosenbergs" appeared in the Everett series along with rhetorical belittlements of other Jewish witnesses, e.g., "little," "mousy," and "a parlor pink."

⁹⁴ Ibid., June 1, p. 1.

⁹⁵ Ibid., June 15, p. 12.

⁹⁶ Ibid., June 15, p. 12.

or committed espionage.⁹⁷ Selected quotes from government sources tended to bolster these misinterpretations of the jury verdict.

The trial record had been published by the defense⁹⁸; it was cited twice by the AP,⁹⁹ proving its availability as a source. But the Associated Press articles did not balance the prosecution side by quoting the record on such omissions as: No trial witnesses testified that either of the Rosenbergs transmitted any classified information to anyone.¹⁰⁰ The testimony was strictly about conspiracy - conversations alleged between people, without any documentary evidence of acts of espionage linked to the Rosenbergs.¹⁰¹ Harry Gold, the self-confessed "spy courier" who testified he had contact with the Russians, admitted on the witness stand he had never met Julius Rosenberg.¹⁰²

Using the criteria of balance, accuracy, and fairness, there are qualitative differences between the Associated Press stories and the ones written by the Bulletin reporter.¹⁰³ Roth achieved balance in reporting both sides' arguments on whether the Supreme Court had the legal right to overturn Douglas' stay. He included substantial

⁹⁷ Ibid., June 1, p. 1; June 13, p. 24; June 15, p. 12; June 17, p. 1; June 18, p. 1; June 20, p. 1. In a 3/18/91 letter, Aaron Katz said that 40 years after the judge's sentence, "the press still reports inaccurately that the Rosenbergs were convicted of 'passing atomic secrets to the Soviets.' The indictment and the jury verdict said nothing about atomic secrets."

⁹⁸ Schneir & Schneir, op. cit., p. 239.

⁹⁹ Bulletin, June 4, p. 1 and June 16, p. 76.

¹⁰⁰ Katz, The Rosenberg case in a nutshell, p. 3.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.; also Schneir & Schneir, op. cit., p. 166.

¹⁰² Ibid., p. 234.

¹⁰³ Bulletin, June 18 (Sports Final), p. 1 - "Supreme Court Deliberates Plea to Upset Rosenbergs' Reprieve"; June 19 (Night Extra), p. 1 - "High Court Refuses to Save Rosenbergs"; June 19 (Sports Final), p. 1 - "High Court Cancels Rosenberg Reprieve, Execution of Atom Spies Set for Tonight."

quotes from the dissenting justices' opinions.

Reporting of domestic and international opposition to the death sentences began June 13 with mention of Harold Urey's request to meet with Eisenhower.¹⁰⁴ An article headlined, "Pickets March for Rosenbergs, A-Spies' Sons Join White House Throng," reported a count of 6,832 people in Washington, and several hundred in London near the American Embassy.¹⁰⁵ The visit by four clergymen to Eisenhower was given page-one play, but the story omitted that these emissaries represented 2300 ministers.¹⁰⁶ A June 18 article acknowledged that the Rosenbergs had "become the center of world wide controversy," but attributed this to the work of "Communist groups"; a sentence followed saying there were appeals "from church groups and individuals never accused of Red leanings."¹⁰⁷

Rosenbergs Die, Silent to the End...Refuse to Save Selves¹⁰⁸

The first hint in the June 1953 reporting of the case that "cooperation with the Government" would save their lives was a brief reference to the Rosenbergs' rejection of such an offer in the June 5 article.¹⁰⁹ It resurfaced ten days later in the form of a

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., June 13, p. 24; June 14, p. 9. This article also reported clemency pleas from the Archbishop of Paris, the French League of Human Rights, and Britain's Transport and General Workers Union.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., June 15, p. 12.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., June 16, p. 1 - "Clergymen Say Eisenhower Won't Spare the Rosenbergs." See Schneir & Schneir, op. cit., p. 242 for information on the clergy's petition for clemency.

¹⁰⁷ Bulletin, June 18, p. 2.

¹⁰⁸ Bulletin, June 20, p. 1, eight-column headline. Pictures of the couple were placed vertically in a column with the word "executed" over Ethel's picture.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., June 5, p. 52. No government official was quoted in this AP story either confirming or denying the offer. Meeropol & Meeropol (op. cit., p. 207) said the Justice Department responded publicly to the release by saying the prison visit had been routine, and that no deal had been offered. They included their parents' letters reporting the conversations with Bennett (pp. 207-218).

reporter's question to Bloch:

Asked if there was any chance that the Rosenbergs would talk to save their lives, Bloch said: "No, they still maintain their innocence."¹¹⁰

Everett said there was "the belief that the Government might commute the death sentences if the Rosenbergs would confess and name other spies who had escaped detection,"¹¹¹ but cited no attribution. When the article went on to say the Rosenbergs claimed an emissary of Brownell had offered them a deal, again no government source was quoted to confirm or deny it.¹¹² On June 19 Eisenhower's rejection of clemency was printed on page-one. An adjacent column quoted the president saying "only most extraordinary circumstances would warrant executive intervention," followed by:

This phrase seemed to hold open the possibility he would spare their lives if the Rosenbergs made full confessions and implicated all those who were associated in their espionage activities.¹¹³

Three large pictures crowned the top of page two: 1) White House press secretary announcing Eisenhower's rejection of clemency, 2) the empty Sing Sing electric chair, and 3) Manny Bloch reading Ethel Rosenberg's mercy letter to the president.¹¹⁴ A separate AP article, "A-Spies Hear Fate Calmly," said:

Government sources said the Rosenbergs' only hope for mercy was to tell all they knew concerning Soviet espionage in the United States. An informed source said a telephone line was open between the prison and Washington in case they should talk. But the Rosenbergs have claimed innocence and said they had nothing to tell.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁰ Bulletin, June 16, p. 76.

¹¹¹ Ibid., June 17, p. 16.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Ibid., June 19, p. 1.

¹¹⁴ See Meeropol & Meeropol, op. cit., pp. 224-226 for the complete text of this letter, which was quoted only briefly in the Bulletin.

¹¹⁵ Bulletin, June 19, p. 2.

None of the Associated Press reports quoted Attorney General Brownell, FBI Director Hoover, Prison Director James V. Bennett or any other officials as sources for this "confess or die" deal.

The executions were reported June 20 in four front-page stories. Page two was almost exclusively devoted to the Rosenberg case, and included the texts of the Supreme Court majority opinion and Douglas' dissent. Relman Morin, Associated Press correspondent, authored an excruciatingly detailed eyewitness account of the 8 p.m. Friday electrocutions. The second paragraph communicated that "neither of the spies talked" and the executions took place "shortly before sunset so the grim task would be finished before the beginning of the Jewish Sabbath."¹¹⁶ The fifth paragraph read:

A special telephone line had been kept open from the prison to the Justice Department...so that if either of the Rosenbergs opened up, a last-minute presidential reprieve would be possible.¹¹⁷

Julius was executed first, followed by Ethel - neither knowing when the other had been killed. Each separate procession into the death chamber was described as being led by Rabbi Irving Koslowe reading various Psalms (named in the story). The details of the electrocutions included the clothing worn by the couple, where the electrodes were placed, and how their bodies reacted to the jolts that killed them - while a "metallic rattle" and "humming buzz" filled the room. Ethel did not die right away and required two more jolts.¹¹⁸ Three news service representatives witnessed the executions and briefed other reporters immediately afterward.

A companion story acknowledged for the first time that month

¹¹⁶ Ibid., June 20, p. 1.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., p.2.

the Rosenberg case had "become a cause celebre" ever since Kaufman sentenced them.¹¹⁹ Curiously, however, this article (within inches of Morin's lead statement that they had been "executed for the crime of delivering atomic bomb secrets to Russia"), said they were sentenced to die "for having helped transmit" such secrets, a discrepancy that could reflect confusion among reporters as to the exact nature of the Rosenbergs' crime (emphasis added).

Sandwiched between the above leads was a headline, "London, Paris Mobs Protest, 1,000 Are Arrested In French Capital," the first time international protests were reported on the front page.¹²⁰ A later edition replaced the earlier factual lead with the following:

Communists on both sides of the Iron Curtain today fully exploited the execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. Even some pro-American newspapers in Western Europe criticized the executions.¹²¹

This story reported demonstrations in Italy, Germany and Austria, and, for the first time, acknowledged non-Communist European media criticisms.¹²² A small street-corner protest meeting by the Philadelphia Committee to Secure Justice for the Rosenbergs was reported, but the 5,000 demonstrators in New York City were not mentioned.¹²³ Justice Black's dissent was excerpted:

Without an affirmance of the fairness of the trial by the highest court of the land there may always be questions as to whether these executions were legally and rightfully carried out.¹²⁴

¹¹⁹ Ibid., June 20, p. 1 - "British Arrest Spelled Doom For Rosenbergs" - a rehash of the June 15 Everett article without his byline, and a different lead.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Ibid., p. 2.

¹²² Ibid. A June 21 story on page ten reported arrests in Rome and demonstrations in Vienna, Copenhagen, Tel Aviv and London.

¹²³ Ibid., June 20, p. 2. See Schneir & Schneir, op. cit., p. 251.

¹²⁴ Bulletin, June 20, p. 2.

"Government Is Denounced In Rosenberg Funeral Oration" was the June 22 headline appearing under a photograph showing a long line of people in front of a Brooklyn funeral parlor.¹²⁵ Ten thousand people waited to view the bodies in 93-degree heat; a procession of 300 cars drove to the cemetery.¹²⁶ Julius Rosenberg's 71-year-old mother, "a black shawl around her head and under her chin, wailed in Yiddish," but the next paragraph quoted her in English.¹²⁷ In his funeral oration, Bloch said the executions were "an act of cold, deliberate murder" that he placed "at the door of President Eisenhower, Attorney General Brownell and (FBI director) J. Edgar Hoover."¹²⁸ The words became grounds for the New York Bar Association to begin a disciplinary investigation.¹²⁹ On January 30, 1954, not long after disbarment proceedings were announced, Manny Bloch was found dead at 52 in his Manhattan apartment.¹³⁰

Post-execution Editorials and Opinions

A June 20 Bulletin editorial, "Justice at Last," acknowledged there were "many persons conscientiously opposed to capital

¹²⁵ Ibid., June 22, p. 1.

¹²⁶ Ibid. Omitted from the story were the words of W.E.B. DuBois at the funeral, "These people were killed because they would not lie." Quoted in Aronson, op. cit., p. 62.

¹²⁷ Bulletin, p. 2. At best this depiction of Mrs. Rosenberg's grief over the loss of her son and daughter-in-law, and the orphaning of her grandchildren, was insensitive and voyeuristic. The reference to her "wailing" in Yiddish when no reference was made to her words being translated for the reporter, served no purpose other than to communicate an inappropriate, stereotypical image of an elderly Jewish woman stricken with grief.

¹²⁸ Ibid., June 22, p. 2. Omitted from this AP report of the funeral were the words of W.E.B. DuBois as the Rosenbergs were being lowered into their graves. He said, "These people were killed because they would not lie." Quoted in Aronson, op. cit., p. 62.

¹²⁹ Ibid., June 25, p. 7.

¹³⁰ Belfrage & Aronson, op. cit., p. 190.

punishment" for the Rosenbergs.¹³¹ Asserting there was "no shadow of doubt that the Rosenbergs were spies," and that they "were fairly tried, convicted and sentenced," the editorial concluded their execution was a triumph of law over "pressure and propaganda."¹³² Columnist David Lawrence penned a "Note to Rosenberg Partisans" directed at "skeptics abroad" who felt the U.S. "did not give the fullest opportunity to the Rosenbergs to prove their innocence and to make a confession that would have spared their lives."¹³³

While angry demonstrators massed at U.S. embassies around the world protesting the executions, even burning Eisenhower in effigy and smashing windows,¹³⁴ a series of three copyrighted articles by Drew Pearson expressed European fears that the U.S. was becoming "a Fascist state."¹³⁵ Referring to McCarthy's book-burning, he acknowledged the U.S. had permitted some "semi-Fascist" tactics "which have been exaggerated in the news of Europe."¹³⁶ But he did not tell his U.S. audience specifically what the European press was telling its readers. For example, before the executions, writing from Washington, Henri Pierre described the United States as a "disturbed community" about to rid itself of its worries and fears by a "ritual murder" of the Rosenbergs, whom he called "the

¹³¹ Ibid., June 20, p. 6.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Ibid., June 23, p. 25. This columnist forgot that the foundation of our system of justice puts the burden of proof of guilt on the prosecution; the accused do not have to prove their innocence by confessing.

¹³⁴ This was reported in an AP story datelined Madras, India, *ibid.*, June 23, p. 64 - "Pro-Rosenberg Reds Stone U.S. Consulate."

¹³⁵ Ibid., June 22, p. 53 - "U.S. Viewed As Losing Leadership of World." Pearson's syndicated column was called "Washington Merry-Go-Round."

¹³⁶ Ibid., June 23, p. 64.

expiatory victims of the cold war."¹³⁷

Findings: The Responsibility of the Press

The Philadelphia Bulletin relied almost exclusively on the Associated Press for information on the Rosenberg case. The Associated Press became an arm of the federal government in promoting the prosecution's side, thereby molding public opinion not to question or oppose the executions. Radio was a popular source of news at this time and the wire services provided most of its copy, the lion's share of which was generated by the AP.¹³⁸ It is thus fair to assume that Americans in all the nooks and crannies of our vast country received the same information provided readers of the Philadelphia Bulletin. Whether this newspaper chose not to print wire stories reporting international opposition to the executions, or whether such information was suppressed by wire service executives cannot be proven by this study. However, the sudden availability of information on the clemency movement after the executions suggests the suppression of news for U.S. consumption before June 19, 1953.¹³⁹

While the stories filed by Bulletin reporter Robert Roth adhered more to objective journalistic standards of balance, fairness and accuracy, the paper's headlines and editorial commentary indicated its line did not vary from that of the Associated Press. For example, the Bulletin, not the AP, decided not to print the pictures of the Rosenbergs until execution day,

¹³⁷ Le Monde, June 17, 1953. Quoted in Schneir & Schneir, op. cit., p. 241.

¹³⁸ Bayley, op. cit., p. 66.

¹³⁹ The Pope's call for clemency, however, was not reported to Bulletin readers at all.

after the Supreme Court had closed the last door to saving them, and public sympathy with their plight could have little effect.

Expressions of prejudice in the AP stories can be traced directly to acceptance of anti-Communist paranoia and stereotypes. For example, the Everett articles were the only ones to address the issue of anti-Semitism. After implying that Ethel was the mastermind of the frameup charge, the writer accused "orators of the left" of propagandizing that "the Rosenbergs were condemned to die because they were Communist sympathizers and because they were Jews."¹⁴⁰ Everett attempted to address this allegation of prejudice:

Judge Kaufman himself was Jewish. He had spent time in prayer in his synagogue before he passed sentence. Irving H. Saypol... prosecuted the Rosenbergs for the Federal Government and he was Jewish. Like Kaufman he went in a synagogue to seek Divine guidance before sentencing.¹⁴¹

No attribution was offered for this knowledge of the personal life of the judge and prosecutor, but the old anti-Semitic stereotype thus communicated to readers is that Jewish people use their religion as justification for killing their own people.¹⁴² None of the non-Jewish, top Justice Department officials who exercised the power of life and death over the Rosenbergs in June

¹⁴⁰ Bulletin, June 17, p. 16.

¹⁴¹ Ibid. The AP writer's imagination regarding Kaufman and Saypol's need for "Divine guidance" actually obscured the reality of what happened: J. Edgar Hoover, the prosecutors, and the judge decided on a strategy of using the death penalty as a "lever" to extract a confession of guilt. Radosh & Milton, op. cit., pp. 275-290. On April 5, 1951, with the Rosenbergs standing before him, Kaufman announced that he was taking the unusual step of asking Saypol not to submit any sentencing recommendation, thereby relieving him of any public responsibility for the death sentences. (p. 276)

¹⁴² The myth of the "international Jewish conspiracy," the slander that Jews are "Christ-killers," and the hyphenated pejorative "Jew-Communist" were potent factors in the racial doctrines of Nazi Germany and its U.S. supporters. Since the 1950-53 period of the Rosenberg case was just a few years after the Holocaust, it is not surprising that anti-Semitism would be communicated (perhaps unconsciously) by a journalist trying to defend or cover up the prejudices of government officials.

1953 were quoted in the Associated Press articles under study.¹⁴³ This omission suggests the press' protection of high government officials from public accountability for using psychological torture on these parents of young children -- in a post-war period reeling from the shocking details of Nazi Germany's genocide against Jews and other nationalities. How could the revival of medieval practices have been sanctified by a democratic and civilized society -- if it had been exposed as such in the press? Abdication of any moral responsibility in the Rosenberg case led the press into assisting a real conspiracy among government officials to rush the execution before saner heads could prevail. Sharlitt wrote:

"In the thousands of column inches of front-page coverage given the case in June of 1953, practically nothing was said of the singular reason why three justices of the United States Supreme Court were moved to highly unusual language for them and for the Court when they opposed the government's basis in executing the Rosenbergs."¹⁴⁴

The corruption that Sharlitt addressed in his book affected everyone who dared to think and question government policy. The executions produced great fear among the people as an example of what might happen to others brave enough to defy McCarthyism.

Sexist portrayals of Ethel Rosenberg as cold-blooded, heartless and possessed of more power than her husband were also found in the Associated Press dispatches; acknowledging in a way the existence of opposition to executing a mother of small children, some reports blamed her for orphaning her children since she didn't "save

¹⁴³ On June 5, 1953, following Bennett's visit to Sing Sing and the installation of an open telephone line to the prison, Hoover and other officials waited in Hoover's office hoping for word the Rosenbergs had cracked. Schneir & Schneir, op. cit., p. 477, described participants in this office party as "the deathwatch guests."

¹⁴⁴ Sharlitt, op. cit., p. 9. The dissenting justices believed the Farmer-Marshall legal arguments to be "substantial" enough to warrant upholding Douglas' stay of execution -- pending a review in the lower courts.

herself" according to the government's formula (even the Bulletin's June 20 headline - "Refuse to Save Selves" reflected this). This writer could find absolutely no compassion for her plight as wife and mother in the articles studied.

If the press had not accepted and promoted the government's "confess or die" posture toward the Rosenbergs, with its unconstitutional "guilty until proven innocent" tag, if they had not withheld information that would have helped strengthen the clemency movement, Ethel and Julius might have lived to win a new trial. What went on behind the closed doors of the Associated Press when they read the following eloquent press release from the Rosenbergs and then decided to suppress its substance?

Our respect for truth, conscience and human dignity is not for sale. Justice is not some bauble to be sold to the highest bidder. If we are executed it will be the murder of innocent people and the shame will be upon the Government of the United States. History will record, whether we live or not, that we were victims of the most monstrous frame-up in the history of our country.¹⁴⁵

Belfrage ended his retelling of the Rosenberg story by quoting a 1975 review in the Chicago Tribune of the Meeropols' book:

It eloquently emphasizes what was clear previously: that, guilty or innocent, the Rosenbergs were shamefully treated and their execution was a tragic scandal.¹⁴⁶

Reminiscing with biting sarcasm that no paper had "howled louder" for the Rosenbergs' blood than the Tribune, Belfrage concluded, "I would be more moved by these changes of heart about the shedding of 'guilty or innocent' blood if our media would look at their back files and show a trace of remorse."¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁵ From the release issued after the June 3, 1953 visit of Bennett to Sing Sing Prison. Only a few phrases from this release were printed in the Bulletin on June 5. See Schneir & Schneir, op. cit. p. 195.

¹⁴⁶ Quoted in Belfrage & Aronson, op. cit., p. 193.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

Ethnic Community or Workers' Solidarity?
Class and Ethnicity in the Foreign-Language Press

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Presented at:

American Journalism Historians Association
October 1991, Philadelphia

Abstract

This paper offers an exploration of the ways in which notions of class and ethnic solidarity intersected and were debated in Chicago's foreign-language press. Particular attention is paid to the Polish and Czech press, as these groups sustained an extraordinarily rich variety of ethnic institutions and newspapers in the early decades of this century. These newspapers illustrate the conflict between religious, nationalist, free-thought and socialist groupings within communities that might seem quite homogenous to outsiders.

While editors of most foreign-language newspapers recognized that their readers were predominantly laborers, their responses differed sharply. While socialist editors spoke of class consciousness and solidarity as the road to improved conditions, their nationalist and religious counterparts were more likely to advocate self-improvement and educational efforts, and to blame their compatriots poverty and oppression upon other nationalities.

ETHNIC COMMUNITY OR WORKERS' SOLIDARITY?
CLASS AND ETHNICITY IN THE FOREIGN-LANGUAGE PRESS

Chicago was a city of immigrants for most of its history. In 1880 nearly half of Chicago's half-million residents were born abroad. The city was often referred to as one of the largest German cities in the world—there were more first and second generation German immigrants than native-born residents.¹ At the turn of the century, three-fourths of Chicago's 1.7 million inhabitants were either immigrants or the children of immigrants. The German community remained the city's largest (there were more first and second generation German immigrants than native-born residents), although substantial Polish, Swedish, Czech, Russian, and Italian immigrant communities had also developed. By 1930 the first and second generation immigrant population had declined to slightly more than half the city's population. Still, less than a third of Chicago's 3.4 million residents were born to native-born, white parents. And new immigrant communities had sprung up—of Greeks, Hungarians, Lithuanians and Yugoslavians.²

These immigrants lived in often tightly-integrated communities:

Each community spawned its own... religious, fraternal and political groups, all organized along ethnic or racial lines. Polish workers attended Polish parishes, socialized with one another in the Polish Falcons or other fraternal groups, drank together in Polish neighborhood bars, married within their own ethnic group, and sent their children to Polish Catholic schools. Lithuanians, Bohemians, and other immigrant communities all had

1. Twelfth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1900, Volume 1, tables 35, 60, 24 and 23; Washington 1902.

2. Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Tenth Census, Volume 1 tables XV and XVI, Washington 1883; Twelfth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1900, Volume 1 tables 35, 60, 24 and 23, Washington 1902; Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Volume III tables 15, 18 and 19, Washington 1932.

comparable networks.³

But what may have seemed like monolithic ethnic communities to outsiders were riven by class, religious and ideological differences. Each ethnic group supported a rich mosaic of cultural and other institutions, but these only occasionally (at least until declining numbers and the pressures towards assimilation required consolidation) cut across the divides. Instead religious ethnics developed networks of mutual aid societies, fraternal associations, educational institutions, singing and athletic societies, parallel to similar institutions developed by their nationalist or socialist compatriots. Ethnically-based Catholic societies fought against providing free text books to public school students; their free-thought compatriots and other non-religious ethnic societies supported free texts just as vigorously.⁴ Ethnic communities supported competing newspapers (and later radio programs) tied to these networks. They might come together for a time to provide relief to the old country or to battle nativist efforts to cut off immigration, but ethnic ties were often only one of many threads making up their self-identification.

Chicago's immigrants might define themselves by ethnicity, religion, ideology, or class, or most likely some combination of the four. Definitions overlapped and their meanings were hotly contested. Nationality was by no means cast in stone. Chicago Lithuanians, for example, might consider themselves Russians, Poles or Lithuanians--the Polish community, at least, actively courted them before a Lithuanian nationalist consensus of sorts

3. James Barrett, "Unity and Fragmentation: Class, Race, and Ethnicity on Chicago's South Side," Journal of Social History, Fall 1984, p. 43.

4. John Walsh, "The Catholic Church in Chicago and Problems of an Urban Society," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1948, p. 280.

ultimately developed in the wake of the first World War.

Chicago's immigrant populations were overwhelmingly working-class, and knew it. But that awareness could lead in many directions--towards self-help programs aimed at escaping from the class; organizing workers into ethnically-based unions which would rely on community-wide support (especially from merchants and small business) to improve their situation; or more class-based strategies aimed at uniting workers across ethnic lines for common struggles against employers. While it is possible to identify partisans of each position in many immigrant communities, they often overlapped. Ethnically-based unions might find themselves striking alongside fellow workers of other nationalities--particularly when they worked together in the same shops or the same industries. Publications inclined to oppose unions often supported particular strikes when their compatriots were involved. Socialist unions espousing class-wide solidarity often organized ethnic locals, and sponsored building and loan societies to assist their members in building their own homes and, sometimes (especially for blacklisted activists), small businesses. In turn, ethnic businessmen often felt an obligation to support workers in their struggles. During a 1904 meatpacking strike, for example, scabs could neither drink nor cash their paychecks in the Packingtown saloons.⁵

Different ethnic groups often lived together--and sometimes shared institutions--in the same neighborhoods.⁶ They might come into conflict with one another at times, but they could also unite to carry out often-militant labor struggles, to build Chicago's active socialist and labor parties, or to

5. Barrett, "Unity and Fragmentation," p. 47.

6. Adam Walaszek, "Was the Polish Worker Asleep? Polish Immigrants and the Labor Movement in the United States, 1900-1922." University of Illinois History Colloquia, Nov. 13 1989.

battle the ever-present Prohibitionist danger.

This paper offers an exploration of the ways in which this often-complex intersection of notions of class and ethnic solidarity were played out in Chicago's Polish- and Czech-language press. To do so it draws upon the Chicago Foreign Language Press Survey, comprising 68 microfilmed reels of systematically translated extracts from Chicago newspapers published in twenty languages from 1871 through the 1930s.⁷ These translations offer an invaluable window into newspapers generally inaccessible to researchers, whether because many have not been preserved or due to language difficulties. There is extensive material on ethnic political involvement, businessmen and parochial schools, and on attitudes towards assimilation, labor and big business, although the process of excerpting, translating and reorganizing the articles inevitably divorces them from their original context.

A Competitive "Marketplace of Ideas"

Chicago's immigrant communities were in many ways typical of American urban ethnic communities. The city was home to dozens of weekly and daily foreign-language newspapers published in several languages. And since Chicago was an important cultural and publishing center for many ethnic groups, many of these papers were published for national audiences. Chicago Swedish-language papers, for example, circulated nationally, and printed local news of the various Swedish communities throughout the country.⁸ Similarly, Chicago's Lithuanian press relied on national circulation to sustain competing daily

7. James Monaghan, "A New Source of Information for Historians," Illinois State Historical Society Journal 30, July 1937, p. 163.

8. e.g., Haldor Hove, "Five Norwegian Immigrant Newspapers, 1870-1890: Purveyors of Literary Taste and Culture," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1962, p. 22; Gustav Johnson, "The Swedes of Chicago," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1940.

publications that could not have been supported solely by Chicago's Lithuanian-speakers.⁹ Many papers circulated throughout the midwest, and some published daily or weekly editions intended for other parts of the country.

This was by no means a one-way flow of publications. Foreign-language papers (like other periodicals) published outside of Chicago circulated freely within the city. In the 1930s, for example, two New York-based Italian daily newspapers each had a larger Chicago circulation than did the locally-published L'Italia, which had offended many in Chicago's working-class Italian communities through its support for the Fascist movement.¹⁰ Even Chicago's German community, amply served by several competing daily newspapers (ranging from Anarchist to Republican), had access to German-language newspapers from New York and Germany available at working-class halls, by subscription or through the Arbeiter-Zeitung.¹¹

Few foreign-language newspapers enjoyed a monopoly which might enable them to count on the support of readers who might disagree with their editorial stance but had nowhere else to turn for news in their language. Immigrant workers generally had a wide choice of newspapers, ranging from religious journals to labor and socialist newspapers to papers well ensconced in the American political mainstream. Lithuanian workers, for example, could choose between the socialist Naujienos or the Catholic Draugas (which

9. John White, "Lithuanians and the Democratic Party: A Case Study of Nationality Politics in Chicago and Cook County," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1953, p. 45.

10. Virgil Puzzo, "The Italians in Chicago, 1890-1930," M.A. Thesis, University of Chicago, 1937, p. 62.

11. Renate Kieseewetter, "German-American Labor Press: The Vorbote and the Chicagoer Arbeiter-Zeitung," in Hartmut Keil (ed.), German Workers' Culture in the United States, 1850 to 1920, Washington 1988.

generally supported the Democratic party).¹²

Chicago's immigrant Jewish community had even more alternatives. It was first served by the Courier, which stressed ethnic ties and denied the possibility of class struggle between Jews. But a burgeoning Jewish labor movement emphasized the growing class cleavage, contending that "be the employer Jew or gentile, labor was engaged in a titanic struggle against the capitalistic system."¹³ The Yiddish-language working-class press became firmly established with the launching of the Yiddishe Arbeiter Welt (Labor World) in 1908. The Arbeiter Welt was supported by an extensive network of clubs and societies, running the gamut from cultural and fraternal associations to women's clubs and political organizations. It began daily publication in 1917, became the Chicago edition of Vorwaerts (the Jewish Daily Forward) in 1919, and continued publication until 1951. While many of the news columns and features in this latter period were written in New York, the Chicago edition carried extensive local material and maintained both editorial and printing facilities in the city.¹⁴ By 1920, Chicago boasted four Yiddish-language dailies with a combined estimated circulation of 115,000 copies. The morning Jewish Call and Jewish Courier espoused an independent political stance, the evening Jewish Press backed the Republicans, while Vorwaerts was

12. Antanas Van Reenan, "Lithuanian Diaspora: Koenigsberg to Chicago," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1986.

13. Seymour Ponirenz, "Aspects of Chicago Russian Jewish Life, 1893-1915." Unpublished manuscript in Bessie Louise Pierce papers, Chicago Historical Society, Box 149 folder 8.

14. Ida Selavan, "Jewish Migrants from Eastern Europe," in Dirk Hoerder (ed.), The Immigrant Labor Press in North America, Westport 1987, volume II pp. 661-62, 665.

aligned with the city's Socialist and labor movements.¹⁵

Atheists, Catholics & Socialists

Similar ideological competition flourished in Chicago's other ethnic communities. Czech readers had, for many years, their choice of four daily newspapers.

From the very beginning... the press and its editors were forces to be reckoned with... Nearly all Czech homes subscribed to one or more Czech dailies... Each of these four journals was spokesman for a well-defined political and social attitude, and represented a distinctive segment of political opinion.¹⁶

The oldest, Svornost (Concord), was the organ of the city's Czech "free-thought" (atheist) movement, drawing support from a dense network of free-thought societies. Czech free-thinkers drew upon a long tradition of Bohemian nationalist anti-clericalism, but it was only in the United States that the free-thought movement sunk deep roots in the Czech working-class—spawning a network of free-thought institutions ranging from mutual aid societies to athletic societies to free-thought schools. These societies not only served to weld together a vibrant Czech culture, they commanded impressive resources in their own right. The Bohemian Workingmen's Singing Society—one of eight Chicago free-thought choirs—purchased its own hall in 1902 which it used for rehearsals, concerts and its singing school, and also made available for community functions.¹⁷

In 1904, Svornost published a list of 259 lodges of sixteen free-thought fraternal orders and societies operating in Chicago. They sponsored

15. Ayer's Newspaper Annual, 1921.

16. Alex Gottfried, Boss Cermak of Chicago, Seattle 1962, p. 41.

17. "Round an Important Anniversary," Denni Hlasatel, Dec. 5 1915; "Convention of the Ceska Ustredni Pevecka Jednota," Denni Hlasatel, May 19 1913; Chicago Foreign Language Press Survey (henceforth CFLPS) reel 3.

social and cultural affairs, provided a variety of essential services to their members, and provided an indigenous resource base to sustain Czech free thinkers—and a socialist movement that had its origins in, and drew much of its strength from, the larger free-thought movement. The Bohemian National Cemetery Association, for example, not only operated a cemetery (atheists could not be buried in the Catholic cemetery), but also contributed tens of thousands of dollars to the support of free-thought schools, newspapers, and other causes. A bazaar held in 1920 by several mutual aid societies, unions and other groups raised more than \$18,000 for Czechoslovak relief projects.¹⁸ Building and loan associations, most organized by socialist free thinkers, made it possible for Czech workers to build their own homes. Free-thinkers dominated Chicago's Czech press, benevolent societies, and most other cultural institutions—even Catholic societies often found themselves forced to join in celebrations and societies organized under free-thought auspices.¹⁹ Despite occasional cooperation, ongoing conflict between Czech Catholics and free thinkers was so bitter and intractable that some researchers insist that no Czech community existed.²⁰

18. Richard Schneirov, "Free Thought and Socialism in the Czech Community in Chicago, 1875-1887," in Dirk Hoerder (ed.), "Struggle a Hard Battle", DeKalb 1986; "Financial Report of the Bazaar Svobody," Denni Hlasatel, Dec. 21 1920, CFLPS reel 3 (receipts totalled nearly \$25,000, the net proceeds were \$18,455.95); Eugene McCarthy, "The Bohemians in Chicago and their Benevolent Societies: 1875-1946," M.A. Thesis, University of Chicago, 1950, pp. 35-62. By 1937, after sixty years, the Cemetery Association had contributed \$120,000 to free-thought schools and other causes.

19. Schneirov, "Free Thought," pp. 127-31.

20. Karel Bicha, "Community or Cooperation? The Case of the Czech-Americans," in Charles Ward et al. (eds.) Studies in Ethnicity, Boulder 1980, pp. 96-98. As late as 1978 Catholic and free-thought societies could exist in the same sparsely-populated county without even being aware of each other's existence, though Bicha argues that the press exaggerated the extent of the division.

Czech workers nonetheless developed a rich associational life, and occasionally united across this divide in response to external threats to Czech traditions, language and institutions. Czech societies joined with their German counterparts in repeated campaigns against Prohibition (which Denni Hlasatel linked to capitalist exploitation (in 1910) and later to Bolshevik revolution, famine and cultural degeneration).²¹ Free-thinkers joined with Czech Catholics to fight Bible reading in public schools, arguing that reading the Bible "would spoil the young hearts of our children, would deprive them of pity for humanity... and tolerance of others, of morals, liberty and education."²²

Svornost originally backed Chicago's Socialist movement. Its editor, an active member of the Socialist Labor Party, condemned the Democrats and Republicans as "upholding the interests of the ruling classes... and their methods of oppression." But when Democratic Mayor Carter Harrison began offering patronage jobs to Czechs, Svornost (and its editor) soon abandoned the socialists to adopt a more conservative editorial position.²³ In 1886, Carpenters union local 54, meeting at a Czech free-thought school, voted to boycott Svornost "as its stand was not favorable to the workingman" and to issue their own daily, Prace (Labor). The carpenters then appealed to other Czech unions for support, but were unable to secure the necessary funds and soon retreated to weekly publication, surviving through July 1887. Svornost faced stronger competition from Chigaski Listy (Chicago Paper), an

21. Denni Hlasatel, Feb. 28 1910; Nov. 3 1921; CFLPS reel 1.

22. "Against the Bible in School," Svornost, May 8 1896, CFLPS reel 1; Elizabeth Cohen, Making a New Deal, New York 1990, pp. 67-69; Eugene McCarthy, "The Bohemians in Chicago," p. 91.

23. Schneirov, "Free Thought," pp. 134-36.

independent labor daily which briefly added an evening edition in 1887, and was published until 1892.²⁴

Czech Labor Dailies

If workingmen would remember every morning each blow which they have received from the capitalists and their allies the politicians,... not only the working-men but the whole world would be better off.²⁵

Denni Hlasatel (Daily Herald) was launched by Czech Typographical Union local 2 as a co-operative free-thought daily in 1891 during a strike against Svornost. Hlasatel aggressively proclaimed itself to be a labor daily, but was primarily committed to the cause of ethnic solidarity—in politics as in labor.²⁶ Thus, Hlasatel campaigned for Czech candidates regardless of party affiliation and its staff was organized in the Bohemian Printing Trades Central Union, derided by both Svornost and the socialist daily Spravedlnost (Justice)—whose printers belonged to the International Typographers Union—as a company union.²⁷ The entire staff originally held shares in the newspaper, but as time passed many shareholders retired while holding on to their stock. This led to repeated conflicts as newer workers demanded a share

24. Frantisek Bielik, "Czechs," in Hoerder, Immigrant Labor Press, p. 242; Dejiny Tesarsko-Truhlarske Unie cis. 54, United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of America papers, Chicago Historical Society, box 9 folder 5. Svornost endorsed the Socialist ticket in 1879 ("Before the Battle," March 31 1879, CFLPS reel 2), but on May 27 1884 (CFLPS reel 6) quoted a minister citing its firm stance against "dynamiters and anarchists."

25. "A Gentle Admonition," Denni Hlasatel, Feb. 8 1910, CFLPS reel 1.

26. "Tenth Anniversary," Denni Hlasatel, May 1 1901, CFLPS reel 4. The paper opposed both "obstinate reactionaries" and "fire-eating radicals."

27. See, e.g., "Standpoint of an Editor," Svornost, March 22 1900, CFLPS reel 4. Denni Hlasatel responded to these attacks on March 12 1911 by attacking poor working conditions at Spravedlnost and insisting that the BPTCU was "founded through necessity, so as to resist the often nonsensical orders and fancies of various self-styled saviors of workingmen." A Nov. 7 1917 article (CFLPS reel 1) celebrated the victory of a Czech democrat over a Socialist candidate.

in the paper's ownership and/or union wages and working conditions.

All three dailies proclaimed themselves friends of the Czech workingman, publishing notices of union meetings and strikes. Svornost sought the support of "our enlightened workingmen," who made up the vast majority of the Czech community, but denounced socialist "pseudo-workingmen's newspapers." While Svornost recognized that most Czechs were workers, however, it was primarily concern with issues of ethnicity and free-thought. "A new era is approaching," it proclaimed:

It will be better than the old; it will be more progressive, more cultured and happier—but only for those who free themselves of prejudices, superstitions and ecclesiastical bug bears.²⁸

The 1890s also saw the launching of a short-lived socialist daily, Hlas Svobody (Voice of Freedom), published from January to May 1896 and succeeded by the weekly Pochoden (Torch) published until May 1899 with support from the Central Committee of Czech Unions (including the Carpenters), which sponsored benefit programs, sold subscriptions to their members, and declared repeated boycotts against Svornost and Denni Hlasatel.²⁹ A few months after Pochoden failed, Czech socialists launched Spravedlnost--first as a weekly and then daily from July 1905 until August 15 1930, when it reverted to weekly publication. Spravedlnost, though ethnically-based, identified itself with broader, international and trans-ethnic working-class struggles. Thus, Czech

28. Svornost, "Churches in Decline," March 29 1899, CFLPS reel 1.

29. Dejiny Tesarsko-Truhlarske Unie cis. 54. When Pochoden failed, the Carpenters transferred their support to Spravedlnost, resolving in 1902 to advertise only in that paper because Svornost and Hlasatel declined to publish a resolution denouncing two Czech politicians. The boycott was resumed in 1906, during a strike against the papers, again in 1913 because of hostile labor coverage, and again in 1915 for employing non-union printers. In 1923 and again in 1924, Czech carpenters voted \$50 to Spravedlnost as a May Day gift, also contributing, in 1924, \$100 to a Spravedlnost bazaar and another \$50 to editor Frank Kosumplik's campaign on the Socialist ticket.

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socialists rallied in 1892 to protest repression against the Spanish workers' movement, joined the city's active Socialist Party, backed the Chicago Federation of Labor over ethnic and radical unions, and mounted an aggressive campaign against U.S. participation in World War I.³⁰

Spravednost carried out a running battle with Denni Hlasatel over which was the more consistent defender of working-class interests. Hlasatel's editors wrapped themselves in the mantle of the Haymarket martyrs—proclaiming that the paper had always supported progressive labor while maintaining its love for the Czech nation. Looking back on their first twenty years, Hlasatel's editors recalled,

a group of young typographic workers [who] decided to publish a newspaper which would be the champion of everything good and noble; which would fearlessly fight for the greatest good of humanity, the Bohemian people, and the working class...³¹

Even as Hlasatel's editors denounced Chicago's socialist movement for opposing World War I, they advocated recognition of the Soviet Union and celebrated "May first, the holy day of international labor." Ironically, they themselves had initially been reluctant to enter the war. When the Lusitania was sunk, Hlasatel compared it to the capsizing of the Eastland in Lake Michigan:

The first denotes the utmost in barbarous warfare; the other, the utmost in barbarous greediness of capitalism... In both of these catastrophes hundreds of innocent, helpless human beings were sacrificed to the insatiable, bloodthirsty god Moloch, but the "Eastland" catastrophe is much more tragic...

The Lusitania, after all, had been carrying munitions, and its passengers had some warning of their danger.

Catastrophes such as that of the "Eastland will recur with the same dreadful regularity as peace-time catastrophes in mines, on

30. Chicago Tribune, 22 Feb. 1892, 1 Aug. 1914; CFLPS reel 1.

31. "Volume Twenty-One," Denni Hlasatel, May 1 1911, CFLPS reel 4.

railroads, in factories, if we do not put a stop to the savage greediness of big business that values dividends above everything else, and hundreds of lives not at all.³²

But the paper's concern was first and foremost for Czech workers and Czech unions. In 1901, a Denni Hlasatel headline proclaimed that it was "The Only Union Bohemian Daily in Chicago." (The article explained that its typesetters—who walked out the previous day "when we refused to divide with them the results of ten year's work," i.e. to make them share-holders in the paper—could "be called by any other name except strikers.") The Catholic daily, Narod (Nation), never had had a union label, while "That friend of labor, darling and patron of Bohemian Socialist Democrats, Mr. August Geringer," had his label revoked because he did not pay union wages or work union hours. (Spravedlnost had yet to begin publication.)

Geringer replied in kind, asserting that his shop worked a straight 8-hour day, and proclaiming that he was a much better "friend of workingmen... than those fops on Ashland Ave." Moreover,

So long as the employers and bosses of Hlasatel can be the members of the Bohemian Printers' Union, this kind of union can never be

32. Denni Hlasatel, "Masaryk and the Bolsheviks," May 22 1918; "First of May," May 1 1917, CFLPS reel 1. See "Bohemian Musicians Barred," Jan. 22 1901 for an example of the paper's inclination towards ethnically-based unions. Hlasatel argued that the war was "Against Militarism" (May 29 1917, CFLPS reel 1; this editorial responds to an article in the Arbeiter-Zeitung) and that "oppression of other nations, and autocracy, with its exploitation of the working classes, are bound to fall with the destruction of militarism." Hlasatel called for changing street names, removing statues and similar measures against German influence (April 20 1918, CFLPS reel 1), and compared Senator LaFollette to Benedict Arnold (March 6 1917, CFLPS reel 2). But see "Eastland and Lusitania," July 28 1915, CFLPS reel 1; "An Important Manifestation for Peace," Oct. 4 1914, CFLPS reel 2. Czech socialists later urged the Party to reverse its anti-war stance and endorse Wilson's 14 points. "American Socialist Party and Its Slav Membership," Bohemian Review 2(10), Oct. 1918, p. 166, CFLPS reel 2.

regarded as an honest and solid workingmen's union body.³³

Hlasatel responded,

with us the shareholders in the business works alongside another worker, respects him as a fellow worker, and allows him all the rights and privileges which he himself enjoys....

Our paper is union. All work on it is done by union labor. The entire present affair results from the fact that nine typesetters quit work... handing us the previously mentioned ultimatum [demanding shares in the paper] to the amusement of ourselves and the entire public...³⁴

The Hlasatel strikers published the daily Lidove Nivony (People's News) on a co-operative basis for the next two-and-a-half years, before going bankrupt.

Hlasatel eventually came to terms with the International Typographical Union, before again breaking away to form an independent union, which Spravedlnost

33. Svornost claimed that while its staff worked a straight 8-hour day, Hlasatel's typesetters worked long hours to get enough overtime pay to feed their families. "Standpoint of an Editor," March 22 1901, CFLPS reel 4. Denni Hlasatel, "Strike at Svornost," April 3 1901; "The Only Union Bohemian Daily in Chicago," April 6 1901; CFLPS reel 1. The Typographers termed Narod "the chief enemy of union labor... issued by an association of priests, which since time immemorial has been known for its unfriendliness to all union activities" and reminded advertisers that Narod had a smaller circulation than any other Czech paper. Denni Hlasatel, "From the Office of the Bohemian Typographical Union #330, ITU," Dec. 5 1901, CFLPS reel 1.

This fight also descended into anti-Semitism, with Svornost accusing Hlasatel of being owned by Jews and politicians. Hlasatel responded in kind: "There are employed by Svornost yellow, sensation-seeking Jewish reporters; it has a Jewish agent... Its chief patron is the Jew Krause... [and] is published... in the center of Chicago's Jew-town." ("About Jews and Jewish Newspapers," March 5 1901, CFLPS reel 1) Seventeen years later Hlasatel ridiculed efforts to use the Jewish origins of many Bolshevik leaders to attack that regime: "Such insignificant arguments should not be advanced by a people which was awakened to national consciousness by a man named Jungmann." ("Masaryk and the Bolsheviks," May 22 1918, CFLPS reel 1)

34. Denni Hlasatel, "Typesetters' Union Makes New Demands," March 22 1901; "A Fighting Reply to the Clumsy Attacks of the Typograf Against the Bohemian Printing Trades Central Union," March 12 1911; CFLPS reel 1.

derided as a company union.³⁵

Each paper was quick to denounce the others, whether for using non-union printers, publishing advertisements for strike-breakers, yellow journalism or opportunism. Spravedlnost denounced Hlasatel for publishing advertisements urging striking tailors to return to work. Hlasatel responded that the strike had been lost because its direction had been taken over by the socialists. "Thousands of workers and their families, and the whole city of Chicago, have become the victims of unscrupulous socialistic politicians."³⁶ On another occasion, Hlasatel charged that the Socialists were "first-class know-nothings... howling wolves in sheep's clothing" who "fatten[ed] on trusting people."³⁷ It repeatedly charged Spravedlnost and the Socialist Party with failing to uphold workers' interests (particularly Czech workers' interests), at times allying itself with radical labor groups such as the Industrial Workers of the World, which published a Czech-language monthly throughout the 1920s. "Be consistent in the principles of socialism," they

35. Denni Hlasatel, "Labor Matters," April 17 1902; "Czech Paper Stands Up for Its Printers," Jan. 22 1911; CFLPS reel 1. The latter denounced "the abusive and malevolent eruptions of those evil-minded elements who try to enhance their interests by inciting unrest among our workers." The Typographers reorganized the Denni Hlasatel staff in 1919, the stockholders returned from retirement to break the resultant strike. The New Majority, "Printers Strike on Bohemian Daily," Sept. 20 1919. Denni Hlasatel gleefully reported Lidove Nivony's bankruptcy Dec. 10 1903 (CFLPS reel 4), claiming it had shamed Czech journalism.

36. Denni Hlasatel, Feb. 2 1911; "Two Czech papers at Loggerheads," Jan. 29 1911; CFLPS reel 1. In the latter, the editors said that they had published appeals for strike relief and supported the strikers, but were trying to calm passions in order to avoid a catastrophic defeat.

37. "We Protest An Inconsiderate, Shameless Attack Against the Bohemian People by the Socialist Newspaper, Daily World," Denni Hlasatel, July 5 1912, CFLPS reel 6. The World had published an article portraying Bohemian women attending a prize fight as picturesque characters dressed "a la Ellis Island."

chided Spravedlnost, "and no one will criticize you."³⁸

At one point Hlasatel called upon Chicago unions to establish their own English-language daily to counter the "garbled news" published in the "capitalistic press."³⁹ But Hlasatel's primary allegiance was always to ethnic solidarity. Even as it denounced the local clergy, who "care about nothing except that they should be able to live well and merrily without working," the paper printed news of Catholic societies (which could hardly hope to reach the bulk of Czech catholics through their official organ's minuscule circulation).⁴⁰

Rounding out the roster of Czech-language dailies was the stridently anti-socialist Catholic daily Narod, published by the Bohemian Benedictine Fathers. Narod was fiercely anti-semitic and anti-socialist--often combining the two themes, as when it proclaimed "Behind all socialist and communist actions stand the supporters of the Talmud... The socialist and communist parties all form branches of the 'Jewish Great Council,' similar to the one which condemned Jesus Christ to death."⁴¹ Narod ran a distant fourth in daily

38. Svornost, March 22 1900; Denni Hlasatel, May 19 1914; May 1 1901; "Spravedlnost Against Labor," Feb. 17 1911; A. Uzlik, "Labor Matters," Feb. 5 1911; CFLPS reel 1. Denni Hlasatel also attacked Svornost (June 2 1905, CFLPS reel 4) when that paper recruited scabs to help break a teamsters strike. "Mr. Geringer... is a good businessman... When rosaries were in fashion, he sold them; today rabid free-thinking is in vogue" and so he denounces the clergy.

39. Denni Hlasatel, "Editor Lashes Anti-Labor Press," June 20 1905, CFLPS 1.

40. Denni Hlasatel, "Jesuit Tricks," Jan. 4 1902, CFLPS reel 4. For examples of friendlier coverage of the Catholic community see "Convention of the Narodni Svaz Ceskych Katoliku v Americe," June 2 1920, CFLPS reel 6; "5th Bohemian National Pilgrimage Held in the Parish of the Blessed Angels," July 31 1910, CFLPS reel 1. Such articles became more common during and after World War I, and denunciations of Catholicism became less frequent.

41. Cited by Joseph Lichten, "The Foreign Language Press," p. 92. In Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith: Anti-Semitism in the United States in 1957, New York 1948. Horace Marston concluded that Narod was more liberal than other

circulation, but was supplemented by agricultural, religious, and children's periodicals published to countering the antireligious propaganda bombarding their compatriots. Despite free-thought and radical dominance of the newspaper market, however, each Czech neighborhood was home to both a Catholic church and a free-thought school—offering Czech workers a choice between religious and social redemption.⁴²

Socialism, Catholicism, or Nationalism?

Despite common perceptions of a solidly Catholic Polish community, Chicago Poles sustained similarly diverse political cultures. In 1920, Polish workers could choose between five daily newspapers, from the Socialist Dziennik Ludowy to the Polish National Alliance's Zgoda (still published to this day).⁴³ Poles saw their press as "one of the four wheels needed to make the Polish community run" (the others being the church, school, and fraternal societies).⁴⁴

Polish newspapers were closely tied to the various fraternal societies aligned with the Catholic church, the Polish nationalist movement, and the

Catholic organs "in that it does not oppose Benesh's official policies, although it does not like Communism... less friendly to the Jews than other Czech organs." At that time, Narod had 1,788 subscribers, compared to more than 50,000 for both Denni Hlasatel and Svornost. A Concentrated Analysis of the Major Foreign Language Papers in the United States in Twenty Languages, New York 1945.

42. Eugene McCarthy, op cit.; Ayer's Newspaper Annual, 1901. Gottfried, Boss Cermack, claims (without citation or specifics) that Narod "had a large circulation, well organized by the parishes." (p. 42) Circulation figures in Ayer's tell a very different story.

43. Ayer's Newspaper Annual, 1921; Gale Directory of Publications, 1989, Detroit 1989.

44. Joseph Nowack, "Polish Fraternal Organizations and their role in the Polish Community in Chicago," p. 1, in Bessie Louise Pierce papers, box 149, folder 9. See also Edward Kantowicz, "Polish Chicago: Survival Through Solidarity," in Holli and d'A. Jones (eds.), The Ethnic Frontier, Grand Rapids 1977.

Socialists; societies which were often the main shareholders in the papers.

As Franciszek Barc, chief editor of the Polish Roman Catholic Union's Dziennik Zjednoczenia, put it:

Whenever an organization is being formed a champion is necessary in its behalf.... Such an organ contains not only official information, but also accounts of the Central Officers meetings, those of the Councils, and the various societies... Besides this, the columns of the organ always serve as an inspiration to work.⁴⁵

Polish-language newspapers were closely tied to, and generally issued directly by, Polish fraternal societies; their editors often elected by delegates to the societies' annual national conventions. This press was often part of a far-ranging program of workers education, including the press, scientific and political lectures and organized courses of study. New Polish-language periodicals were launched nearly every year. Although half of the 112 new journals launched between 1872 and 1930 ceased publication within their first five years, the average life-span was nearly 12 years. The number of journals rose steadily until 1915 (when 41 Polish-language periodicals were being published in Chicago), before entering a decline that saw the numbers of Polish-language journals reduced to 21 by 1930.⁴⁶

45. quoted by Edmund Olszyk, The Polish Press in America, Milwaukee 1940, p. 17. For an overview of the role played by Polish Fraternal orders see Frank Renkiewicz, "An Economy of Self-Help: Fraternal Capitalism and the Evolution of Polish America," in Ward et al. (eds.), Studies in Ethnicity, Boulder 1980; and Renkiewicz, "The Profits of Nonprofit Capitalism," in Scott Cummings (ed.), Self-Help in Urban America, Port Washington 1980.

46. Nowack, "Polish Fraternal Organizations," Pierce papers box 149, folder 9; William Cates, "The Poles in Chicago," same folder; Jan Kowalik, The Polish Press in America, San Francisco 1978. The Polish People's University was organized in 1908, offering lectures and courses in history, literature, natural science, and training classes. The University also housed the New Life choir and drama circle. Mary Cygan, "Political and Cultural Leadership in an Immigrant Community: Polish-American Socialism," Ph.D. Dissertation, Northwestern University, 1989, pp. 61-62.

"God did not give the pig horns"⁴⁷

Like Czechs, nearly all Poles were solidly ensconced in the working class. Polish newspapers supported their struggles for better wages and working conditions. During the 1922 stockyards strike, the Polish Roman Catholic Union (a Church-dominated mutual benefit society) daily, Dziennik Zjednoczenia (Polish Union Daily), boasted that it employed union labor, paid the union scale, had always guarded workers' interests, and actively raised funds for strike relief.⁴⁸

The Poles in the United States constitute a working class... We have very few employers among us. The Polish press does not represent Capital, because it does not have it... It is no wonder that the sympathies of the entire Polish Society, and in no less a measure of the press, are on the side of the worker...

The independent Catholic daily, Dziennik Chicagoski, similarly supported the strike, which it portrayed more as an ethnic than a class battle. Chicagoski's coverage stressed the assistance provided strikers by Polish societies, Polish unions, and Polish businessmen.⁴⁹ Victory for the strikers, Zjednoczenia wrote, would better "that entire part of society which is of Polish descent." But at the same time, they urged Poles to establish their own "purely Polish" labor organizations so that they would no longer be abused by union leaders:

Strikes... are a calamity for everybody. Neither the workers, the employers, nor the country benefit from them. The fraudulent and

47. Narod Polski, Sept. 18 1901, CFLPS reel 50. The Catholic weekly was denouncing a new paper: "Instead of playing at Socialism they should turn to honest labor.... God did not give the pig horns. There are the poor and the rich; the wise and the ignorant; and it will remain thus to the end of the world.... It would be better for our community if all the Polish socialists and anarchists were herded together on some unpopulated island, there to create their kingdom."

48. Dziennik Zjednoczenia, "The Polish Union Daily Helps the Strike Victims in Stockyards," Feb. 15 1922, CFLPS reel 49.

49. "From the Strike Front," Dziennik Chicagoski, Jan. 9 1922, CFLPS reel 49.

greedy individuals are the ones who benefit... Among these there are not any Poles. There are only Jews.⁵⁰

Anti-semitic ravings were frequent featured in the PRCU press, often tied to its equally fierce anti-socialism. "Socialism kindles the flames of class prejudice and hatred.... Socialism, directed from under cover by an internationally organized capital, is making war on the national capital," weakening nations from within to open the way to the enemy. "The principles of socialism," Dziennik Zjednoczenia announced,

were created in the clever minds of the semitic race for the purposes of destroying Christianity and civilization in order to gain... control of the Aryan races and to make slaves out of them.

Meanwhile, the PRCU's weekly organ proclaimed that "Jews Are the Spreaders of Bolshevism in America," and editorialized that progromists "are beating Jews because they have earned it." (Though it did urge readers to behave peacefully despite provocations by Jews and Blacks.)⁵¹

The Polish National Alliance's daily, Dziennik Zwiaskowy, was also prone to anti-Semitism, proclaiming that Poland had been a haven for Jews—and had been sorely abused in return. "The motto 'Down with the Jews!' is a general outcry of the exploited nation."⁵² The socialist Dziennik Ludowy (People's

50. Dziennik Zjednoczenia, "Strikes and the Poles in the United States," July 24 1922, CFLPS reel 49.

51. "Socialism and Bolshevism," Dziennik Zjednoczenia, Aug. 23 1922, CFLPS reel 50; "A Fight for the Spirit of the Ignorant Masses," Dziennik Zjednoczenia, Sept. 23 1921, CFLPS reel 50; "Jews are the Spreaders of Bolshevism in America," Narod Polski, Aug. 17 1921, CFLPS reel 50; "Progroms of Negroes," Narod Polski, Aug. 6 1919, CFLPS reel 49; "Loathsome Jewish Attacks on Poland" (Hearst is a Jew), Narod Polski, Aug. 18 1920, CFLPS reel 49; Dziennik Zwiaskowy, Oct. 20 1913, CFLPS reel 49. Chicago's Jewish community took these outbursts of anti-Semitic agitation quite seriously. See, e.g., Jewish Courier, "Incitement of Polish Press Flares Up Race Hatred in Chicago," May 28 1919, CFLPS reel 32.

52. Oct. 20, 1913, CFLPS reel 49. "Bolshevism in America" (Zwiaskowy, Feb. 15 1919, CFLPS reel 50) called for government action against "this red plague.... conducted by the Jews... who are the brains of this movement." "The Jewish

Jon Bekken/21

Daily) was contemptuous:

There is no shortage of 'demons' among the Poles. In almost every nationality there are... rich and poor, sincere people and cheaters... We Christian workers follow the Jewish workers and others against exploitation.⁵³

Dziennik Zjednoczenia published its first daily issue Sept. 22 1921, though it was numbered volume 25 number 37, reflecting the weekly Narod Polski's 25-year run. The Polish Roman Catholic Union's chaplain was the main speaker at the dedication of the paper's offices and printing plant,

stressing the importance of the newly-established newspaper, the chief supporter of... our poor working people... [The] newspaper must protect the Polish spirit and Polish language, and stand guard over that lofty adherence of our people to the Roman Catholic faith.⁵⁴

Even when Narod Polski editorialized in favor of unions—arguing that Polish workers earned lower wages and suffered more injuries than better organized groups—it concluded that it was disgraceful for Polish workers to

plague [which] has made itself felt for many years" could best be combatted by American business methods, employed to eliminate Jewish control of industry. "The Duties of Emigres Toward Free Poland," Zwiaskowy, Nov. 14 1914, CFLPS reel 58.

But in 1916 the paper protested the British military's refusal to allow relief supplies into Poland. "Why are these miserable ones refused aid and left to suffer and die? Why? Because they are Jews! It is the deliberate plan of the cruel Russian autocracy to let these people perish.... Jew or Gentile, they are human beings... and our souls rebel against the thought that they should be left to perish in their agonies when we are so ready and so able to provide them with the means of life." "The Right to Aid War Sufferers," Dziennik Zwiaskowy, Feb. 26 1916, CFLPS reel 54. A week earlier (Feb. 17 1916) it asserted that "Britain has acted with commendable humanity" towards Poland.

53. "Attention," May 7 1907, CFLPS reel 49. Twelve years later Dziennik Narodowi stated that all Polish papers were, with the exception of Ludowy "which constantly defends the Jew, agreed and strong against Jewish aggression." Quoted in Jewish Courier, May 25 1919, CFLPS reel 32.

54. "Dedication of the Headquarters and Printing Establishment of Dziennik Zjednoczenia," Sept. 23 1921; "The Initial Number of Dziennik Zjednoczenia," Sept. 22 1921; "The Dziennik Zjednoczenia," Narod Polski, Sept. 14 1921; CFLPS reel 53.

join unions under Jewish leadership.⁵⁵ While proclaiming its support for union organization, the PRCU was uncomfortable with actually-existing unions, and indeed with class consciousness. "A true friend of the working man," they argued, does not rouse class hatred; for "the true cause of his poverty and exploitation [is] due to his low mental level... and gullibility."

Enlightened workers recognized that there was no fundamental division between labor and capital—any intelligent worker could, through diligent work and study, become a professional, or even wealthy. The road to betterment lay through education and self-improvement, not through class struggle.⁵⁶ The solution to unemployment was for married women to give up their jobs. When strikes broke out, the PRCU defended the right to picket—but only to observe how many people were going in to work. Any effort to shut down the struck plant was both illegal and immoral.⁵⁷

"A Thorn in the Side of the Impudent Exploiters"⁵⁸

The socialists' Dziennik Ludowy was a 12-page daily offering broad coverage of international and national news, especially labor news, some of it

55. "Professional and Labor Organizations," Jan. 4 1911, CFLPS reel 49.

56. "Friends and Enemies of the Working Man," Dziennik Zjednoczenia, Oct. 25 1921, CFLPS reel 50; "Labor Day and Polish Labor in America," Dziennik Zjednoczenia, Sept. 4 1926, CFLPS reel 56. The weekly Narod Polski similarly argued that "The only means of changing this humiliating condition under which the majority of our brothers in factories live is the learning of the English language, putting our minds on a higher level, and educating ourselves to become skilled workers." ("Bosses," Dec. 18 1912, CFLPS reel 50)

57. Dziennik Zjednoczenia, "Capital, Labor and Society," Dec. 10 1921, CFLPS reel 49; "A Warning to Polish Strikers," Dec. 9 1921, CFLPS reel 49; May 12 1928, CFLPS reel 50.

58. Dziennik Ludowy, "American Civilization," April 4 1908, CFLPS reel 50. The American press, despite (increasingly endangered) free speech guarantees, was thoroughly corrupted and beholden to the capitalists. Such papers would not be missed, but "a loss of only one propagator of freedom, equality and brotherhood would be a great blow."

translated from the American socialist press. Readers from around the country sent in detailed reports of working conditions and strikes. Ludowy supported Polish independence, but opposed premature military struggles—the Polish revolutionary movement must first organize mass support and ally itself with revolutionary movements in the occupying powers.⁵⁹ Similarly, Dziennik Ludowy was committed to the broader American working-class movement from the start, waging an ultimately successful campaign to persuade the independent Polish Socialist Alliance to join the Socialist Party (though a minority faction remained independent, moving their organ, Robotnik [Worker], from Chicago to New York).⁶⁰

Polish workers were in the United States for a long time, if not for good.

In splintering a handful of emigrants into tiny branches of old country parties we not only hamper the larger American socialist movement, but we also harm ourselves... We need to protect ourselves from the despicable actions of strikebreakers and from the exploitation of American capitalism.⁶¹

Ludowy was concerned not only with Polish workers, it also devoted its columns to the problems of Italian construction workers in Germany, Asian contract labor in South America, and South African miners. All capitalists are the same, it argued, "regardless of their nationality or religion; workingmen should not read capitalistic papers, but their own." Workers were treated even more shabbily than were slaves before the Civil War, who at least could

59. Cygan, "Polish-American Socialism," pp. 50-51.

60. Cygan, "Polish-American Socialists," pp. 47-50.

61. quoted in Cygan, "Polish-American Socialists," p. 53.

expect to be fed and housed so as to be kept fit for work.⁶² "Where is Hell?," another issue asked:

Hell exists in every working man's home because misery and hunger lead to dissension, quarrels and crime. Heaven exists in the homes of the capitalists and the priests, because there is abundance and luxury.

People would do better to follow the example of the bees, to rid themselves of drones and to share the fruits of their labor. "Are drones more numerous than bees? Let the bees clip the wings of the drones at the election box and they will be exterminated forever."⁶³

Disregarding their compatriots' religious sentiments, Ludowy castigated "our dear priests and the 'patriotic' saloonkeepers." When workers discover they are

being terribly cheated and kept in ignorance, [they] will reject today's teachings of the "Black Ravens" and saloon patriots, and will join the ranks of the Socialists, where there is light and truth.⁶⁴

When Socialist Party standard-bearer Eugene Debs visited Chicago Ludowy arranged a demonstration and march. A Polish workers' choir sang the Marseillaise, the orchestra played Polish and international revolutionary anthems, and hundreds of Polish workers marched under the party's red banners.⁶⁵ Debs received an estimated 11 percent of Chicago's Polish vote in 1904 (running as high as 20 percent in steel districts), and 12.5 percent in

62. "Is Our Present-Day Working Man Better Off Than The Old-Time Slave?" Dziennik Ludowy, Aug. 11 1908, CFLPS reel 50.

63. A. Szturowski, "Where Is Hell?," Dziennik Ludowy, June 30 1908, CFLPS reel 50.

64. "The Results of Enlightenment," Dziennik Ludowy, Aug. 26 1908, CFLPS reel 55.

65. Dziennik Ludowy, "Demonstration of Polish Socialists," Nov. 3 1908, CFLPS reel 50.

1912—compared to a city-wide 13.2 percent.⁶⁶

Polish socialists joined their fellow socialists of other nationalities for street meetings, demonstrations, and political campaigns.⁶⁷ But they were also strongly concerned with nationalist issues. The Polish Socialist Alliance was forced from the Socialist Party in 1916 because of its support for Pilsudski's Polish Legion (then aligned to the Central Powers, later switching sides), and a much smaller Internationalist faction became the the Party's Polish section (it soon left to join the Communist Party). Both factions had significant support in Chicago, though Ludow backed the Alliance, even while criticizing Pilsudski's emphasis on military activity.⁶⁸

As with other Polish papers, Dziennik Ludowy was part of a dense network of unions, singing societies, the People's University and similar institutions (though socialists generally did not maintain their own mutual benefit societies, instead joining the PNA or kindred organizations).⁶⁹ Socialists

66. Cygan, "Polish American Socialism," p. 66.

67. Dziennik Ludowy, "A Sunday Demonstration," May 16 1907; "Attention, 16th and 28th Wards," March 21 1907; CFLPS reel 50.

68. Cygan, "Polish-American Socialism," pp. 70-115; M.B. Biskupski and Joseph Hapak, "The Polish National Defense Committee in America," Polish American Studies 44(2), Autumn 1987, pp. 70-75. This was controversial not only among socialist Poles; the entire Polish community was deeply divided between supporting Paderewski's pro-Entente (supported by the PNA and PRCU) and Pilsudski's (which ultimately prevailed in Warsaw) policies. During the controversy, Zwiazkowy (April 3 1917, July 16 1915, CFLPS reel 51) denounced the Socialists as pro-German—"They take their rusty doctrine out of their pockets only when it can serve as a convenient means of covering up their baseness"—and on the Austrian payroll.

69. Zeb Zarnicki discusses his participation in various Socialist educational activities, and the importance of the various Polish newspapers within the community. His and other interviews make it clear that Poles had a wide variety of motives for participating in socialist, nationalist and religious organizations—and were not always cognizant of the doctrinal differences. Zarnicki, ZAR-121; "Anon" #089 (Panek); Oral History Archives of Chicago Polonia, Chicago Historical Society.

addressed their supporters not as Poles who happened to be workers, but as workers who happened to be Poles. They were exploited as workers, and as workers would secure their emancipation:

Every time the American citizen who has the misfortune of being a proletariat compares that which the present government gives him with that which he should get, so many times must he clench his fists and say: 'This government is my enemy'... There is no field in which the American workman has not been wronged... The police, the courts and the legislature are the servants of the Moloch God... Capital and the present government are like master and servant.⁷⁰

When the Chicago Federation of Labor launched its own Labor Party to contest local and statewide elections, Dziennik Ludowy broke with the Socialists to endorse the CFL ticket and work for its election.⁷¹ But whichever ticket it endorsed, the bottom line remained the same:

The Republicans as well as the Democrats... are the servants of capital and must obey... We should side with the party that protects the worker.... It is better to vote for justice and right, no matter what the outcome may be, than to support a mass of criminals.⁷²

Later, when Dziennik Ludowy encountered financial difficulties, several Chicago unions (including the ILGWU, Laborers, Meatcutters, Machinists, and Amalgamated Clothing Workers) worked to increase its circulation and made substantial outright donations. Ludowy continued publishing until April 20 1925, when it declared bankruptcy.⁷³

70. Editorial, Feb. 4 1908, CFLPS reel 50.

71. Henry Anielewski to John Fitzpatrick, Feb. 14 1919; John Fitzpatrick Papers, Chicago Historical Society.

72. Dziennik Ludowy, "Who Shall Rule the City?" April 1 1907, CFLPS reel 50.

73. "Unionists Consider Aid for Chicago Polish Labor Daily," The New Majority, March 29 1924, p. 2; a half-page advertisement in The New Majority (Sept. 3 1921, p. 32) noted Ludowy's role in producing the CFL organ; "Dressmakers Ask Schlessinger to Negotiate with Manufacturers" (Noted Ludowy editor among speakers), Jewish Courier, July 18 1919, CFLPS reel 33; "End of Dziennik Ludowy,"

The Polish National Alliance

The Polish National Alliance trod the middle ground between the Polish Roman Catholic Union and the Socialists (indeed, socialists were often members of the PNA)—and came to be the dominant force in the Polish community. Like the PRCU, the PNA drew the bulk of its membership through its mutual benefit insurance plan and social/cultural activities. But the Alliance held to a secular definition of Polishness, rejecting in 1889 a proposal to ban "Jews and other notorious infidels" from membership. Its daily newspaper, Dziennik Zwiaskowy began daily publication in 1908 as a forceful advocate for the "purely Polish stand... that Poland must be united, independent, self-governing, with an outlet to the sea."⁷⁴ Offering news from the U.S. and Poland, reports on scientific and technical developments, and serialized fiction in their native tongue, the paper was sent to each PNA member, serving most as their primary newspaper.

The Alliance was more sympathetic than the Catholic Union to labor unions, vigorously protesting when Dziennik Ludowy questioned its commitment to workers' struggles:

Behold, brethren! Who would ever suspect that these so-called "comrades" would make such a miraculous discovery! ... Dziennik Zwiaskowy is an enemy of the workers!... A newspaper edited by the working class, directed and published not by tycoons and millionaires but by working men writing for the working class—is a foe of the laboring cause....

Whoever reads Dziennik Zwiaskowy knows well that it... always defends workers.... This newspaper is of the opinion that strikes are the only weapon of defense against exploiters.... [but]

Vilnis, April 28 1925, CFLPS reel 42. Vilnis, a communist organ, concluded that "Polish workers have discarded this treacherous daily and it has died. The working people have lost nothing... Rather, they have one fool less."

74. S. Orpizewski, "The History of Dziennik Zwiaskowy," Jan. 15 1918, CFLPS reel 53.

nothing can be gained by smashing windows in factories, destroying materials and machines, and engaging in street brawls.⁷⁵

"Unions are a great thing," the paper editorialized on another occasion, "they are the laborer's wall of defense against ruthless capitalism."⁷⁶ Although America could be proud of its great humanitarian tradition, it had become "an Eden for capitalist exploiters, and a hell for the common people... Today we... have the government of the money, by the money, for the money."⁷⁷ The Polish Women's Alliance also enthusiastically supported strikes. "The lot of the workers is indeed heavy in the famous land of freedom," they concluded. "The economy of this free country sacrifices a greater number of lives than the war in Europe."⁷⁸

But after a period of cooperation, Alliance organs carried out a long-running feud with "Polish Socialists or, to be more truthful, international Socialists using the Polish language." Socialists were less interested in promoting their ideas than in seizing control of the "well-organized and wealthy" Alliance and "kill[ing] religion and patriotism in our people."⁷⁹ Socialists "hate work of any type and avoid it as if it were some disease. None of these half-wits has ever attempted hard work... They have never even as much as looked into the factory hells..." Instead, socialist "indigents

75. "Socialist 'Comrades,'" Nov. 3 1910, CFLPS reel 50; Renkiewicz, "An Economy of Self-Help," p. 77.

76. "Labor Unions," Nov. 11 1911, CFLPS reel 49.

77. "Then and Now," Dziennik Zwiazkowy, Nov. 21 1913, CFLPS reel 51.

78. Thaddeus Radzialowski, "'Let Us Join Hands': The Polish Women's Alliance." In Maxine Seller (ed.), Immigrant Women, Philadelphia 1981, pp. 178-79.

79. "How to Oppose Foes of the Polish National Alliance," Dziennik Zwiazkowy, Nov. 14 1910; "Socialists and the Polish National Alliance," Zwiazkowy, Dec. 12 1910; CFLPS reel 55.

and racketeers" devoted their time to attacking other Poles; the bulk of the generous donations they collected from the community for labor's cause was diverted to socialist propaganda. Polish businessmen, the editor concluded, were more sincere and generous supporters of Polish workers than were the "degenerates who call themselves Polish socialists."⁸⁰ The over-riding issue for the Alliance was ethnic solidarity. In 1914 Zwiazkowy endorsed every Polish candidate standing in the election—regardless of program. The list included Democrats, Republicans, and even one Socialist. Similarly, the paper urged readers to "patronize Polish businessmen as much as possible, and not [to] patronize strangers."⁸¹

Rounding out Chicago's major Polish dailies was Dziennik Chicagoski, an independent Catholic daily established in 1890.⁸² Unlike its competitors, Chicagoski was not formally tied to community institutions—it was an unabashedly profit-seeking paper modelled more on the English-language general-circulation press than on its Polish counterparts.⁸³ Chicagoski was

80. "The Socialists and Labor," Dziennik Zwiazkowy, Dec. 5 1910, CFLPS reel 50. No substantiation for the charge of misappropriation of funds was provided.

81. Dziennik Zwiazkowy, Sept. 4 1914, CFLPS reel 50; Nov. 11 1910, CFLPS reel 49; Dec. 12 1910, CFLPS reel 49.

82. Although the oldest Chicago Polish daily, its circulation was well behind Dziennik Zwiazkowy's. The fifth Polish daily was the Republican Dziennik Narodowy, established in 1899 according to Ayer. Virtually no information is available for this paper despite its apparent 30 years of publication.

83. See, e.g., "News in Chicagoski," Dziennik Chicagoski, Jan. 11 1922, CFLPS reel 53. This editorial boasted that Chicagoski printed more news, refused to print "asininities" submitted by its readers (even though other papers did), published the latest news from Poland (received by mail) and U.S. and international news culled from its exchanges, and printed a variety of features including serialized novels, a history of the United States, and Women's, Children's and Science departments. A month earlier ("The Oldest and the Newest," Dec. 3 1921, CFLPS reel 53) it defended itself against a charge of padding the dates on foreign news, explaining that the dateline indicated not when an event happened, but rather "when the news was received by that particular

generally reluctant to support strikes, but in 1895, when wages in South Chicago steel mills fell to as low as fifty cents a day, it concluded that under such conditions hunger left workers little alternative.⁸⁴ But Chicagoski opposed sympathetic strikes, argued that contracts must be honored, urged Poles to return to their jobs rather than stay out in prolonged strikes, and refused to employ union typesetters.⁸⁵ Its strike coverage stressed ethnic solidarity—and in particular efforts by Polish businessmen to provide relief. When conflicts broke out between local Poles and the Catholic clergy, Dziennik Chicagoski told readers they should learn their place and stop making trouble. Its advice on labor matters often took a similar tone.⁸⁶

A satirical magazine ridiculed its support for authority, reporting that Chicagoski had discovered one particularly advanced Polish student in the parochial schools who had:

succeeded in signing his name without any assistance. This very important act was verified by our Chicago stupefier [Chicagoski] A very careful investigation was made in order to determine if there are any more such pearls among our parochial students. The investigation failed to find another one... but all of them know how to say prayers...⁸⁷

paper," noting that the Herald and Examiner followed the very same practice.

84. "A Few Words About the Strike," May 10 1895, CFLPS reel 50.

85. "Unions and Strikes," May 19 1897, CFLPS reel 50; "The Labor Front," Feb. 22 1922, CFLPS reel 49; Association of Polish Printers 546 I.T.U., "Attention, Printers of Dziennik Chicagoski!," Dziennik Ludowy, Jan. 29 1908, CFLPS reel 50. Chicagoski did argue that Poles "for our own good and for the preservation of our honor, [should] have left the role of scabs, the drudges of capitalism, to the Negroes and the Chinese." (July 27 1893, CFLPS reel 50)

86. A. Melin, "What Our Citizens Think of the Attacks by Dziennik Polski on St. Stanislaus Kostka Parish," Jan. 9 1896; "From the Strike Front," Jan. 9 1922; July 9 1892; Chicagoski, CFLPS reel 49.

87. Bicz Bozy (God's Whip), "Telegrams," April 21 1912, CFLPS reel 48. Bicz Bozy was an anti-clerical socialist weekly which blasted the clergy at every opportunity. (Cates, "Poles in Chicago") When five murderers were hung, Bicz

But while the satirist may have had little use for Chicagoski, it had even less use for labor militants. "A.K." wrote a lengthy "Warning to the Poles" arguing that Polish workers should work for the motherland, rather than joining Chicago's often-militant labor movement:

We all have the right to live, and we should protect and defend this right. But we should defend this right by lawful means and common sense. We should not mix with socialists or anarchists; neither should we accept and follow their doctrines... The object of these ignorant instigators who try to ensnare the Polish working people is not to improve their condition... but to mislead them, deprive them of their faith... and use them as tools of crime for overthrowing our social order...

A socialist does not work for the cause of any nation; he works for the "international cause"... From a practical point of view and for patriotic reasons, we American Poles have no right to join the ranks of socialists or anarchists... We have found hospitality here and we should not abuse it...⁸⁸

Indeed, Dziennik Chicagoski was not convinced that its opponents were truly Polish. "To be a Pole one does not necessarily have to be a Catholic; that is true. Yet the least indifference to Catholicism is harmful to our nationality." One could not be a good patriot without being a Catholic.⁸⁹

Bozy noted "The Chicago Blinder lost five readers last week... If this shall continue, then the Chicago Blinder will run short of readers. For practical reasons, for there is no use of even dreaming of humanitarianism, these gentlemen should join the anti-capital punishment movement." ("Dziennik Chicagoski," Feb. 4 1912, CFLPS reel 53)

In 1911, Chicago catholics brought an obscenity indictment against the Polish People's Publishing Co. for a cartoon depicting a priest carrying a nun (both in full clerical garb) over the caption "Porwanie Sabineek" (Abduction of the Sabines). Judge Landis rejected a demurrer, but the trial judge directed a verdict of not guilty. (Theodore Schroeder, "Prosecuted for 'Obscenity,'" Truth Seeker, April 29 1911, p. 266) An article in Dziennik Zwiazkowy (Dec. 5 1910, CFLPS reel 50) charged that the socialists raised nearly \$600 to defend themselves in court on charges of "using the mails to distribute their obscenely illustrated periodical."

88. A.K., "Warning to the Poles," Dziennik Chicagoski, Feb. 12 1894, CFLPS reel 50.

89. "Religious Indifference," Dziennik Chicagoski, July 25 1892, CFLPS reel 57.

Belonging to the Polish National Alliance was a sin for which absolution could not be granted.⁹⁰ Nor was the Alliance's Zgoda a Polish paper; it attacked the clergy, ignored events organized by Catholic societies and filled its columns with articles about PNA projects. A "loyal Polish paper," in contrast, would "publish all the news pertinent to the Poles" before presenting arguments and polemics.⁹¹ Nor could Socialists be good Poles:

Socialists of Polish descent have as much in common with the ideal of Polish nationalism as the Zulus or Hottentots of Africa.... The Socialists, who call themselves Poles, are the enemies of Polish ideals... they are creatures who take advantage of the Polish people in a most contemptible manner.⁹²

But while Chicagoski advised Poles to submit to their fate, remember their place and trust in God, such meekness was certainly not universal. Chicago's Polish community supported Catholic and nationalist organs, but it also sustained several Socialist papers (including, for 18 years, Dziennik Ludowy), and communist, anarchist, IWW and anti-clerical organs—all of which questioned the extent of the hospitality they had found, and insisted that the social order be at least transformed, if not overthrown.⁹³

90. Dziennik Chicagoski, March 1 1892, CFLPS reel 57. Dziennik Zjednoczenia similarly equated "true Polish patriotism" and "good Catholicism," arguing that its critics "care more for the pocketbooks than the souls of their adherents." "The Press About Our Newspaper," Oct. 19 1921, CFLPS reel 53. Many members did not share this antagonism. Political activist Joseph Ruszkiewicz was one of many Poles who belonged to both the Union and the Alliance. (Dziennik Zjednoczenia, March 31 1923, CFLPS reel 58)

91. "Is the Zgoda a Polish Paper?" Dziennik Chicagoski, Feb. 23 1897, CFLPS reel 53.

92. "What the So-Called Polish Socialists Think of Polish Nationalism," Dziennik Chicagoski, Feb. 6 1896, CFLPS reel 50. The bulk of the article was devoted to extracts from a debate in a Polish Socialist Party journal on alliances with Polish nationalists.

93. Martha Wojciechowski, for example, concluded that she had been better off in Poland. In Chicago rents were higher, and wages low—though conditions did improve after the war. Oral History Archives of Chicago Polonia. For an

Conclusions

Joining a mutual aid society, visiting an ethnic hall or reading a newspaper was not merely a reaffirmation of ethnic identity; it raised broader issues of class, of religion and of one's place in American society. Certainly the decision to subscribe to a newspaper, or to join a mutual aid society, was often made for reasons that went beyond specifically ideological concerns. Price, breadth and quality of coverage, and the influence of friends and co-workers all figured in the mix. But when a Czech worker subscribed to Narod he reaffirmed a commitment to the Church and its leading role--and it was an affirmation that relatively few Chicago Czechs were willing to make (circulation peaked at 3200 copies in 1920, compared to 9100 for Spravedlnost, and more than 25,000 for Svornost and Denni Hlasatel).⁹⁴

Similar choices were available to Chicago's Slovak, German, Russian, Greek, and Italian readers.⁹⁵ As Nelson points out, in his study of Chicago's anarchist movement in the 1880s, the decision to subscribe to and read one of the movement's eight papers (published in German, English, Czech and Scandinavian) was an active and conscious one.

The anarchist press did not entrap its readership. Each paper proclaimed its radical politics; the front page of Budoucnost, for example, carried the slogan "From agitation comes organization, from organization [comes] revolution!" Nor was the anarchist press the only ethnic press in Chicago. On the contrary, each paper had to compete with other foreign-language papers, some of

annotated bibliography of Polish labor and socialist periodicals see Jan Wepsiec, "Poles," in Dirk Hoerder (ed.), Immigrant Labor Press, volume II.

94. Ayer's directory, 1921.

95. See, e.g., Mary Zahrobsky, "The Slovak in Chicago," M.A. Thesis, University of Chicago, 1924; Thomas Hall, "Russians in Chicago," Unpublished manuscript in Bessie Louise Pierce papers, Box 149, folder 10; "About the Croats of Chicago," Pierce papers, Box 149 folder 2; Andrew Kopan, "Education and Greek Immigrants in Chicago," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1974.

which were long and firmly established.⁹⁶

Nor, despite the emphasis here upon foreign-language papers, were these issues confined to immigrants. Immigrant workers faced a choice between conceptions of community based upon class and ethnicity, each of which lent itself to different alliances and different strategies. American-born workers faced similar choices—between nativism and internationalism, self-improvement and class struggle. Workers developed a sense of who they were, and of what sort of society they lived in, in the interplay between these options. These issues were particularly vital for foreign-language editors, and for the communities they served.

96. Bruce Nelson, Beyond the Martyrs, New Brunswick 1988, p. 123.

Struggle for Free Expression:
Case Studies of African-American Journalists

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Struggle for Free Expression:
Case Studies of African-American Journalists

Abstract

This paper examines the careers of three African-American journalists of the mid-twentieth century on issues related to freedom of expression. It is based on a premise that it is important to study representative figures from an ethnic press that historically has seen the journalistic practice and the First Amendment differently than the mainstream press. The three figures considered are Percival Leroy Prattis, editor of the Pittsburgh Courier, Lucile Bluford, editor and publisher of the Kansas City Call, and Marvel Cooke, one of the first African-American women to work on a white New York City daily newspaper in the post-World War II era. It concludes that First Amendment privileges, like other legal doctrines, rely on a broad host of related social, economic and political factors - as well as on the personal beliefs of those who implement them.

**Struggle for Free Expression:
Case Studies of African-American Journalists**

In recent years First Amendment scholarship has moved from the strictly legal to a broader study of freedom of expression issues. The emphasis is less on the legal interpretation than on the social, economic and political issues surrounding the application of First Amendment privileges during various periods in U.S. history. This approach encourages consideration of philosophical views regarding freedom of the press by journalists themselves as important First Amendment perspectives. Within that context this paper examines the role of three African-American journalists of the mid-twentieth century on issues related to freedom of expression. It is based on the premise that it is important to expand our knowledge of First Amendment concerns by studying representative figures from an ethnic press that historically has seen the First Amendment differently than the mainstream press.

The figures selected for this study are Percival Leroy Prattis (1895-1980), editor of the Pittsburgh Courier for twenty-five years in the mid-twentieth century, Lucile Bluford, editor and publisher of the Kansas City Call, who played a leading role in attempts to desegregate journalism education, and Marvel Cooke, one of the first, if not the first, African-American women to work as a reporter for a white New York daily newspaper in the post-World War II era. A full biographical study of each of these individuals, while certainly needed, is beyond the scope of this paper. Instead it concentrates on their significance as participants in a battle for free expression that has marked the role of the American-American journalist in the United States. The author contends it is only by understanding their experiences that we can seek to answer the question of whether the institution of a free press - as guaranteed by the First Amendment - can serve the minority as well as the majority of Americans.

As has been pointed out, the First Amendment simply guarantees the right of the press to be free from governmental restraints, not

necessarily to operate in a socially beneficial manner.¹ At the same time the guarantee of freedom of the press applies only to those who own or control the press, not to those who may be involved in using it. In this year of the Bicentennial celebration of the Bill of Rights, lauding of the First Amendment may be in vogue without careful consideration of its limitations. The views of minority journalists on freedom of the press issues establish the perimeters for understanding what it means for journalists themselves to be free to pursue their chosen fields. Although all three of the figures selected for this paper worked for the most part in an era of legal segregation and limited opportunities for African-Americans, the paper argues that insights into the role of the minority journalist today - as well as the majority journalist - can be gained by looking at their careers. It asks what meaning the First Amendment had to them personally in

¹James D. Williams, The Black Press and the First Amendment. (New York: The National Urban League, 1976), p. 4.

their journalistic pursuits and, by implication, addresses the same question to journalists today.

These three journalists were chosen in part because source material exists that presents their views on freedom of the press and its larger dimension, freedom of expression. The Prattis papers recently have been opened to researchers at Howard University as have two lengthy oral history interviews with Bluford and Cooke. Examination of this material reveals their personal perceptions of the meaning of freedom of expression.

Before considering their individual cases, however, it is important to look at the First Amendment in relation to the American press. In the earliest days of the nation, the concept of a free press meant nothing to the black population because the vast majority were enslaved, and advertisements for their sale or capture if they had attempted to escape from slavery filled newspaper pages.² It was not until 1827 that the first African-American newspaper, Freedom's Journal, appeared, edited by John

²Ibid., p. 5.

Russwurm and the Rev. Samuel Cornish, who announced in the first issue, "We wish to plead our own cause."³ Scholars have estimated that since then more than 3000 black newspapers have been started in the United States, although many have been relatively short-lived.⁴ Following the civil rights battles of the 1960s, the black press lost circulation and prestige as mainstream media made at least token efforts to integrate staffs and to provide more content of interest to black readers. During the chief years of the careers of the journalists considered in this paper, it was the African-American press, not the mainstream, white-owned press, that protested against segregation and injustices to black Americans. Prattis, whose career will be considered first, took a major part in this protest.

Percival L. Prattis

³Lionel C. Barrow Jr., "Our Own Cause:" 'Freedom's Journal' and the Beginnings of the Black Press," Journalism History 4 (Winter 1977-78), 118.

⁴Henk La Brie III, "Black Newspapers: The Roots Are 150 Years Deep," Journalism History 4 (Winter 1977-78), 111-113.

Prattis was a product of a segregated society. He also believed firmly in freedom of the press. In a column prepared for the Associated Negro Press, he wrote, "I have worked for 55 years without ever drawing a pay check from a white man."⁵ Stating that he had received help from "neither mother nor father," he emphasized, "From the age of 13, I have had to fend for myself in a society which denigrated me."⁶ In fighting battles for himself as well as his race, Prattis devoted his life to the African-American press, which he saw as playing a different function than the white, mainstream press. While he believed both types of publications tried to serve readers "by wise and constructive use of their influence in respect to matters of public concern," he saw

⁵P. L. Prattis, "Issues: Good and Bad," column for Associated Negro Press, n.d. (believed to be 1963), Box 16, Percival Leroy Prattis Papers (hereafter referred to as PLPP), Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University, Wash., DC, (hereafter referred to as MSRCHU).

⁶Ibid.

them as reflections of a dual society in which African-Americans were relegated to secondary status.⁷

Prattis' own life was a testimony to that dual society. Born in Philadelphia on April 27, 1895, he received his formal education at segregated institutions - Christianburg Industrial Institute, Hampton Institute and Ferris Institute. He served as a battalion sergeant major in a segregated unit of the U.S. Army during World War I. After one year as editor of a black newspaper, the Michigan State News, he became city editor of the Chicago Defender in 1921. From 1923 to 1935 he acted as news editor of the Associated Negro Press and covered assignments in Haiti. Before joining the Pittsburgh Courier in 1936 as city editor, he spent a year as city editor of the Amsterdam News and was assigned to interview Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia in England. As a key figure at the Courier, he acted as city editor until 1940 before becoming executive editor, a post he held until 1956 when he was named

⁷Typescript of speech by P. L. Prattis, "News Selection and Writing Style," n. d. (believed to be given in mid-1950s), Box 19, PLPP, MSRCHU, p. 1.

editor. After five years in this position, he served as associate publisher and treasurer for two years until he retired from the Courier in 1963. Gaining fame in the African-American community, he received a honorary doctorate from Wylie College, Marshall, Texas, in 1944 and the most outstanding alumnus award from Hampton Institute in 1951, four years after he became the first black admitted to membership in the House and Senate periodical press galleries.⁸ Married to Helen Marie Sands, he was the father of one child, a daughter, Patricia, who became a concert pianist. He died in Aspinwall, Pennsylvania, on Feb. 27, 1980.

In Prattis's view the application of the idea of freedom of the press meant one thing to white, mainstream newspapers and another to the African-American press. Defending it against charges of being "'partisan, flamboyant, inflammatory," Prattis contended, "It is illy compared to some white dailies which are held up as models of objectivity, dispassionate, impartial

⁸Biographical information on Prattis is provided in the inventory of the PLPP, MSRCHU, pp. 3-4.

purveyors of uncolored, unslanted news."⁹ Describing their plants "as huge news factories turning out newspapers assembly-line fashion," he said, "Their editors are denoted as indifferent, omniscient demi-gods with ice-water in their arteries and veins. They are impervious to feeling. They are the personification of discipline and control. They are objective."¹⁰ To Prattis objectivity was simply "an academic curio," that had developed along with "a sense of commercialism" as a way of making money by appealing to large groups of readers.¹¹

Prattis believed that the modern newspaper "was born in passion and protest," by great editors like "Greeley, Dana, Pulitzer, Grady, Watterson [who] were warriors in the public interest....[who] won fame because they were violently, explosively, opposed to something."¹² To him the "great"

⁹Prattis, typescript of "News Selection and Writing Style," p. 2.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Ibid., pp. 2-3.

¹²Ibid., p. 3.

newspapers of his era, which he listed as enterprises like "the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Chicago Tribune, New York Times and the Springfield Republican" were objective "on their own terms" and consequently were partisan.¹³ The need of the African-American press to promote the welfare of blacks underlay Prattis's ideas on what type of news should be promoted in the Pittsburgh Courier. Discussing his rationale for giving more play to a story about a Virginia black who challenged the right of a bus company to force her to sit in the back of a bus than to a story about a New York black who sued a restaurant proprietor under state law for refusing her service, Prattis explained that the Virginia case had been taken to the U.S. Supreme Court. Therefore, he said, it had "many times the amount of [news] values" compared to the New York case and deserved more space in the black press because the Virginia woman's action could mean "a proscription against her entire race may be removed."¹⁴ In essence, he believed that the African-

¹³Ibid., p. 4.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 7.

American press had to speak for an entire race and spur it on to demand more rights. If presented with two stories of equal length - one about a black porter honored for 50 years of service and the other about a black man who managed to get a job with an airplane manufacturer and designed a new aircraft - Prattis said he would selected the latter to feature because it "has propelling significance" in terms of advertising that blacks can move upward in a white society if given the opportunity.¹⁵

Prattis clearly realized that the African-American press was in constant danger of having its First Amendment rights curtailed by the same discriminatory social, economic and political system that it opposed. During World War II he made repeated trips to Washington to act in a behind-the-scenes role as the black press fought attempts by federal authorities to curb its growing opposition to segregation under wartime sedition laws.¹⁶ In the

¹⁵Ibid., pp. 7-8.

¹⁶Patrick S. Washburn, A Question of Sedition: The Federal Government's Investigation of the Black Press During World War II, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 84-85.

spring of 1942, the Courier, then the largest black newspaper in the nation with a growing circulation of 200,000 weekly, had begun the most notable black newspaper campaign of the war: the Double V campaign.¹⁷ The campaign called for victory over discrimination against blacks in the United States along with victory over the Axis forces abroad. The previous year Prattis had visited U.S. Army camps and written a long series of exposes against mistreatment of black troops, who were confined to separate units and given servile tasks.¹⁸ After the United States entered the war on Dec. 7, 1941, the Courier was visited repeatedly by agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, who expressed dissatisfaction with the newspaper's aggressive stance against segregation.¹⁹ Although Prattis and other staff members ignored the agents, whom they thought of simply as "flunkies" of J. Edgar

¹⁷Patrick Washburn, "The Pittsburgh Courier and Black Workers in 1942," paper delivered at the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication convention, Corvallis, Oregon, August 1983, p. 1.

¹⁸Washburn, A Question of Sedition, pp. 35-36.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 84.

Hoover, bureau director, Prattis nevertheless was "nervous" about Courier attacks on existing government policies, according to a former Courier columnist.²⁰

As the newspaper's liaison with Washington, Prattis had a clear agenda - to develop the political contacts that would ensure his paper could continue to exercise its First Amendment rights. According to a series of letters to his wife (addressed to his daughter), Prattis met with numerous Democratic politicians and government officials to improve relationships. In August, 1942, for example, Prattis made two trips to the capital and met with representatives of the Department of Justice, the Office of War Information, the Democratic National Committee, and the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices as well as with Vice-President Henry A. Wallace. The meetings were not simply in connection with the operation of the Courier itself but were part

²⁰Comments from Frank Bolden as cited in Washburn, A Question of Sedition, p. 84.

of a broader mission - to improve the status of blacks, then referred to as Negroes, within American society.

Prattis, for example, during his first August trip asked William L. Houston, assistant to the attorney general, for help in persuading the Democratic National Committee to make provision to receive persons of color visiting the segregated capital.²¹ He dropped in on a number of "the War Department officials," and had "pleasant and informative conferences all around," he told his wife, also describing an engagement with Vice-President Wallace, who "believes in the fundamental equality of all peoples and races and in the necessity for every man to have a job."²² A visit to the office of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices resulted in a pledge that a committee investigator would be sent to Pittsburgh to facilitate the hiring of blacks in war industries there, a prime goal of the Courier.²³ "From the FEPC

²¹Prattis to Pat, Aug. 1, 1942, Box 11, PLPP, MSRCHU, p. 1.

²²Ibid., p. 2.

²³Ibid., pp. 2-3.

I went to the Interior Department and had lunch and then hastened to the War Department where I initiated plans to have a motion picture produced featuring the role of colored aviators." Prattis told his wife.²⁴ Another of his meetings had a more direct bearing on the Courier: He sought the aid of Charles Michelson, director of publicity for the Democratic National Committee, in obtaining "patriotic" (institutional) advertising being placed by corporations in white publications to encourage the public to help with the war effort.²⁵ None of this advertising had appeared so far in black newspapers but Michelson "gladly agreed to use his influence to help us obtain some of the copy," Prattis wrote home.²⁶

After this round of visits, Prattis returned to Pittsburgh only to come back a few days later to get a correspondent accredited as a war correspondent. Stephen T. Early, President

²⁴Ibid., p. 3.

²⁵Ibid. p. 2.

²⁶Ibid.

Roosevelt's press secretary, offered only minimal assistance, telling Prattis that if he had difficulty with the State Department - which had to provide authorization for correspondents' travel - to call Early's office.²⁷ "I didn't want to go to the State Department that way," Prattis wrote home, so he sought assistance from the War Department where a plan was worked out "in less than a half hour" to "get a man to India."²⁸ The Courier publisher was so pleased with Prattis' efforts in Washington that Prattis received a raise.²⁹ Even after the Courier toned down its "Double V" campaign in the last half of 1942, Prattis continued to make frequent trips to the capital, checking into activities of the Fair Employment Practices Committee or pressing for legislation sought by blacks such as an anti-poll tax measure.³⁰ Although the Courier made use of Prattis' contacts to get news affecting its readers,

²⁷Prattis to Pat, Aug. 8, 1942, Box 11, PLPP, MSRCHU, p. 1.

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹Prattis to Pat, Aug. 31, 1942, Box 11, PLPP, HSRCHU, p. 1.

³⁰Prattis to Pat, Jan. 25, 1943 and May 25, 1943, Box 11, PLPP, MSRCHU.

his visits also served to insure the government of the loyalty of black publishers. In 1944 Prattis originated a plan for a conference of national black leaders who set up a national organization aimed at persuading blacks to purchase war bonds.³¹ The same year he was appointed chair of a committee to draw up a statement of "Negro War Aims" calling for an end to "second-class citizenship, which he read to President Roosevelt at the White House on behalf of the Negro Newspaper Publishers Association.³² This marked the first time any President had met with an organized group of Negro publishers.³³

Prattis considered it important for African-American editors to work to improve relationships between the races because he remained convinced that the black press was hampered in its ability to express itself freely. As Patrick Washburn has described, the federal government did not interfere with the black

³¹Prattis to Pat, March 4, 1944, Box 11, PLPP, MSRCHU, p. 1.

³²"FDR Hears Negroes Protest 'Second-Class Citizenship,'" clipping from PM, Feb. 11, 1944, Box 1, PLPP, MSRCHU.

³³Ibid.

press during World War II because Attorney General Francis Biddle upheld the First Amendment.³⁴ Yet to Prattis the question of free expression involved far more than the legal right to operate a newspaper. He saw blacks denied the opportunity to develop their own journalism because of lack of education, capital, advertising and news sources.³⁵ "The paralyzing effect of segregation on the development of Negro journalism or on Negroes as journalists is felt to a greater or less degree wherever the Negro labors," he wrote in 1947.³⁶ Therefore he believed African-Americans were not fully able to implement the First Amendment. If this was the case with black men, it appeared doubly true in the case of black women journalists.

LUCILE BLUFORD AND MARVEL COOKE

³⁴Washburn, A Question of Sedition, pp. 203-08.

³⁵P. L. Prattis, "Racial Segregation and Negro Journalism," PHYLON 7, no. 4 (Fourth Quarter 1947), 313.

³⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 313-14.

Both Lucile Bluford and Marvel Cooke, like Prattis, distinguished themselves in the African-American press during the era of legal segregation. In 1939 Bluford was denied admission to the University of Missouri School of Journalism even though she held a degree in journalism from the University of Kansas and was managing editor of the Kansas City Call. Her attempt to enroll for a graduate degree in journalism led to a widely-publicized suit to break down the rigid system of segregation in Missouri. Rather than admit blacks to the University of Missouri, officials set up a separate journalism program at Lincoln University, a black institution.³⁷ They also denied that they were discriminating against Bluford on account of her race, with the dean of the journalism school contending that a master's degree would be of no use to the young woman since she already was a managing editor.³⁸

Bluford, who started work on the Call in 1933, has devoted her professional life to the black weekly, becoming editor in 1955

³⁷Diane Loupe, "M.U.'s Closed Enrollment Slammed Door to Blacks," Columbian Missourian, Feb. 1, 1989, A1, 13.

³⁸Ibid.

after the death of the founder, Chester A. Franklin, and publisher after the death of his widow in 1984. That same year she returned to the University of Missouri to receive a Missouri Honor Medal and pay a special visit to the home of the official, long since retired, who had pulled her out of the registration line in 1939. "He said he had to turn me down," she told a newspaper reporter.³⁹ "The university officials had already told him that he couldn't admit me. I knew why he had turned me down, but I was glad to hear him say it."⁴⁰

In 1989 Bluford was invited back to the University of Missouri - this time to receive an honorary doctor of humanities degree. She was reluctant to go, "not that I had any animosity...but I just didn't want to go through all the rigmarole," she explained to an interviewer.⁴¹ When university officials insisted that she accept,

³⁹Ibid.

⁴⁰Ibid.

⁴¹Oral history interview with Lucile H. Bluford, May 15, 1989, Kansas City, Mo., by Fern Ingersoll, Washington Press Club Oral History Project (hereafter referred to as WPCOHP), National Press Club Archives, Wash., DC., (hereafter referred to as NPCA,WDC), p. 67.

she put out The Call on Thursday, instead of Friday night, so she would be free to attend the commencement ceremony. "Once we got there it was all right," she said. "It was nice."⁴² Even on that occasion, her work as a journalist came first, as it has throughout her life.

Born in 1911 in Salisbury, North Carolina, Bluford moved to Kansas City when she was 10 years old to join her father, a science teacher at an all-black high school. Her concept of journalism led her to make The Call a strong weapon in the fight for desegregation in Kansas City. Testifying in a school desegregation suit in 1983, she told a federal judge that she had spent a lifetime fighting against discrimination through her writing and editing as well as through membership in civil rights organizations, meetings and protests.⁴³ To Bluford it was her duty as a journalist to participate in civic protest, to exercise rights of self-

⁴²Ibid., p. 68.

⁴³Fred Schecker, "Black leader testifies about segregated past," Kansas City Star, Nov. 16, 1983, Appendix 10, Bluford interview, WPCOHP, NPCA, WDC.

expression, to discount the ideal of objectivity that predominated in the mainstream press. When she received the honorary doctorate, a white journalist in Kansas City wrote, "She has been a major, positive force in evaluating and admonishing politicians in this city for years....if anyone can shame them into more correct public behavior, it may be the highly principled little lady with the big notebook."⁴⁴ Even in his praise can be seen a stereotypical portrayal of an individual not seen simply as a journalist but as a woman ("a lady") moving into a man's world.

In her numerous battles for desegregation of schools and public accommodations in Kansas City, which included participation in picket lines, sit-ins and "some beautiful demonstrations - no disruption, no trouble," as she put it - she also had to fight for acceptance as a woman in journalism.⁴⁵ Sometimes she wrote under a male pen name, "Louis Blue."⁴⁶ In 1989 she recalled "a little

⁴⁴Rich Hood, "Of Wrongs and rights and politics," Kansas City Star, May 7, 1989, p. 38A.

⁴⁵Bluford interview, WPCOHP, NPCA, WDC., p. 75.

⁴⁶Bluford interview, Aug. 26, 1989, WPCOHP, NPCA, WDC., p. 130.

fight" to open the mayor's all-male prayer breakfast to women when Whitney Young, executive director of the Urban League, came to Kansas City to address the group.⁴⁷ "I did demand to go to that," she said, referring to an event twenty years previously.⁴⁸ "Now they even have women speakers."⁴⁹ It was another example of the social change that she had helped bring about.

The satisfactions Bluford found in journalism were shared only partially by Marvel Cooke, whose journalistic career spanned the period from 1926 to 1952. Born in 1903 in Mankato, Minnesota, she was a graduate of the University of Minnesota when she became an editorial assistant to W. E. B. Du Bois, editor of The Crisis, the official publication of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. She subsequently worked for The Amsterdam News, where she was active in a strike by the Newspaper Guild. From 1940 to 1947 she was an assistant managing editor of

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 140

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹Ibid.

the People's Voice, a newspaper owned by the Rev. Adam Clayton Powell, who became a New York Congressman. The only black and the only woman on the Compass, a white newspaper in New York City, she worked there from 1950 until the paper closed in 1952.⁵⁰ A champion of the deprived, Cooke, who joined the Communist party in 1935, devoted her life to political activity after leaving journalism. She lives today in Harlem, surrounded by memorabilia from figures in the Harlem Renaissance who were her friends. She has not saved one clipping from her journalistic career. To her it was not important.⁵¹

Cooke's career, however, is worthy of study because she represents a dissident figure in a dissident press itself. Hired as a secretary to the women's editor of the Amsterdam News in 1928, she described herself as "just an automaton."⁵² She explained,

⁵⁰Chronology of significant events in the life of Marvel Cooke. Introduction to oral history interview with Cooke, WPCOHP, NPC, WDC.

⁵¹Notes by Kathleen Currie for introduction to Marvel Cooke oral history interview, Aug. 22, 1990, WPCOHP, NPCA, WDC.

⁵²Oral history interview with Marvel Cooke, Harlem, New York City, Oct. 31, 1989, by Kathleen Currie, WPCOHP, NPCA, WDC., p. 68.

"I grew up in a crusading family, and...I found that here's a black paper just following the dictates of society, not making any impression at all, not addressing the problems that faced people in this area."⁵³ She left the newspaper after her marriage in 1929 to Cecil Cooke, an athlete. The couple moved to Greensboro, North Carolina, where she taught in a high school before returning to Harlem to head a feature syndicate for the Amsterdam News and subsequently work as a reporter there. Cooke was hired back because the editor wanted to save money on a secretary for the syndicate and decided that Cooke, unlike a male journalist, could do her own typing.⁵⁴ Her dissatisfaction with the newspaper's management led her both to the Newspaper Guild, which struck the Amsterdam New for 11 weeks in 1935, and to the Communist Party, which she joined the same year. After the strike, which was the first one by a black staff against a black-owned newspaper,

⁵³Ibid.

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 69.

Cooke became the first woman staff reporter on the Amsterdam News, but she felt "that the male staff did not want to see a woman reporter" and gave her no guidance.⁵⁵ At the People's Voice, Cooke was assistant managing editor to an editor "who was a drunk, and he was never there when it was time to put the paper to bed, so I had to learn how to put a paper together."⁵⁶

These experiences prepared her for a job on the Compass, a liberal white-owned daily newspaper. The editor initially was unfriendly and criticized all her work. When fellow Guild members asked him why, he answered it was because she was a woman and that "when I walk out there and see her, I can't use my four-letter words."⁵⁷ She answered by saying that she did not use four-letter words herself, but that she was accustomed to hearing them on Harlem streets.⁵⁸ After Cooke also got the editor to admit that racism, as well as sexism, was involved in his criticism of her, he

⁵⁵Ibid., pp. 70-71.

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 76.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 105.

⁵⁸Ibid.

became Cooke's mentor and ally. It was at The Compass that Cooke wrote her most famous stories, articles on the Bronx "slave market," where housewives hired black domestics for as little as possible and subjected them to miserable working conditions.⁵⁹

To Cooke this series was the most satisfying aspect of her journalism career, but she did not miss journalism after The Compass folded in 1952. In keeping with her political ideas, she went to work as the New York director of the Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, an organization that represented intellectuals whose political beliefs were close to her own. Not surprisingly, she was called to testify at House Un-American Activities Committee hearings conducted by Sen. Joseph McCarthy, although she was never cited for contempt.

⁵⁹Kay Mills, A Place in the News. (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1988), pp. 249-251.

CONCLUSION

These three case studies illustrate some of the problems that African-Americans have had in self-expression as seen as a broad aspect of the First Amendment. Discrimination, segregation, limited economic backing, all these factors have limited the black press and to some degree limited its ability to speak out. As these case studies show, - the First Amendment gives African-American journalism legal protection in playing an activist role in society. What it does not do, however, is to create an internal structure within news organizations, black or white, that necessarily permits journalists to express themselves. Two of the three journalists studied, Prattis and Bluford, found congenial publications on which to work; the third, Cooke, did not. Perhaps what can be learned here is that First Amendment privileges, like other legal doctrines, rely on a broad host of related social,

economic and political factors - as well as on the personal beliefs of those who implement them. They are not abstract principles, but realities as real as the individuals who attempt to put them into practice. To the degree that the experiences and social roles of these persons differ from those of others, the First Amendment, as translated into concrete experience, will have different meaning and significance.

Rediscovering Zona Gale, Journalist

Submitted to:
American Journalism Historians Association
Annual Conference, 1991

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April 30, 1991

Rediscovering Zona Gale, Journalist
Paper Abstract

Zona Gale was a Wisconsin writer most known for her fiction and her status as the first playwright to receive a Pulitzer Prize. Little, however, is known about her years as a newspaper reporter during the decades before and after the turn of the century. Her biographers have given some attention to this experience, but have tended to minimize it and treat it as preparation for her "true calling," that of a fiction writer.

This paper attempts to rediscover Gale as a journalist by examining archival materials as well as newspapers for which she worked as a reporter. This research reveals her as an enthusiastic, hard-working, and prolific professional who succeeded in winning a good deal of respect and recognition in her role as a journalist. In later years, when asked about how to become a "writer," she always referred back to her experiences as a reporter and recommended newspaper work as the best start for any writer.

This paper also examines some of the assumptions and judgements historians make when examining the life of an individual from another era. Although much of the archival material on Zona Gale has been examined before this project by others, the reading of such material often depends on the perspective, experience, and purpose of the researcher. In a sense, every historian "rediscovers" the past in the process of examining it and questioning previous interpretations of it.

Rediscovering Zona Gale, Journalist

In 1921 Wisconsin writer Zona Gale was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for her play "Miss Lulu Bett." The forty-eight-year-old author had, after thirty years of writing, achieved what has since become regarded by many as the pinnacle of success, the guarantee of fame and recognition. But in the moment of her glory, Gale did not forget her beginnings as a writer -- the days she had spent visiting the city editors of the Milwaukee and then the New York newspapers in search of an assignment. "Day after day I presented myself before the city editor, and day after day he assured me there was no opening for me. I kept applying to that city editor, until finally, out of sheer fatigue, I imagine, he stopped me once as I was going out, told me that a flower show was opening that day, and asked me to cover it," she told a New York journalist after receiving the Pulitzer. "I never shall forget my thrill at the phrase 'cover it.' Later, when I was actually a reporter, I used to go about my work saying to myself, 'I'm out on assignment! I'm out on assignment!' People talked about the 'newspaper grind.' But I was more than happy in it. I was ecstatic."¹ This was one of Gale's favorite stories and she often repeated it when asked by would-be writers how to get a start in writing, whether in fiction or newspaper work. Her advice for success was persistence, hard work, and plenty of writing, writing, and more writing. And the best place to gain that experience, she advised, was on a newspaper.

For the most part Zona Gale's career as a journalist has been quickly passed over by biographers, who have, instead, focused on her career as a fiction writer. In his 1940 anecdotal biography, Still Small Voice, August Derleth, for example, devotes just one brief chapter to Gale's years as a newspaper reporter and none at all to her later years as a writer for publications such as the New York Times and the Nation. The chapter, entitled "That Good-Looking Reporter," dwells on the adventures and excitement Gale experienced as a reporter first in Milwaukee and later in New York City, pointing always, however, to her "true" ambition to write fiction.² Her work as a journalist gets even shorter shrift twenty-two years later in a critical analysis of her fiction by biographer Harold Simonson where a mere two pages are devoted to the newspaper work of "the little charmer from Portage."³ It is not until 1986 that Gale's newspaper career gets full attention in Dianne Paley's study, "Zona Gale: Tradition at Work in the Metropolitan Newsroom, 1895-1901." Despite considerable attention to the characteristics of urban newspapers at the turn of the century and Gale's work on them, however, Paley's study becomes a psycho-social history that concludes Gale turned to newspapering as an escape from her over-protective mother rather than a conscious career choice.⁴

This paper seeks, in a sense, to rediscover the nature of Zona Gale as a professional journalist. Much of the material used for this project -- letters, articles, interviews, Gale's reminiscences about herself and others' reminiscences about Gale -- have been used before, but as contextual analysts such as Dominick LaCapra have pointed out, the reading of such material often depends on the perspective of the researcher as well as a host of shifting facts, interpretations, and values that constantly reconstitute perceptions of reality. In examining such texts, LaCapra asserts, historians must consider not only the questions that have been asked but also the questions that have not been asked; not only the "facts" that have been stated but also those that have not been stated, that have, perhaps, been deliberately silenced.⁵

Thus, the life of any individual can be considered a text to be examined in the far larger contexts of time, place, and social and historical ideologies. To use LaCapra's terminology, such a text can be studied from the "inside," by examining the subject, Zona Gale, in this case, through her own actions, writings and statements, and from the "outside" by examining the things others do and say about her as well as what was happening around her at the particular period of time she was living. Finally, a "dialogue" has to be created between these two states of "reality" to reconstruct an understanding of the past, realizing all the time, however, that even while this is being accomplished, a new text is being created to continue the dialogue.⁶

In the case of Zona Gale, an attempt can be made to compare sources of information about her. Her personal papers are as good a point to begin as any, and here an opportunity for speculation presents itself immediately. After Gale's death in 1938, writer August Derleth was apparently given complete access to her personal papers and manuscripts by her husband, William Breese. Derleth was a meticulous researcher, typing (or having typed): multiple copies of Gale's letters and cross-filing them under chronology, subject, and writer, or recipient; notes of interviews with Gale's friends and acquaintances; copies of reviews of her books; and copies of newspaper and magazine articles about Gale. Derleth used a good deal of this material in Still Small Voice, and it is now preserved in his own papers in the Wisconsin State Historical Society Archives, where Gale's papers are now also kept. By comparing the two collections -- the Zona Gale collection and the Zona Gale collection within the August Derleth collection -- it quickly becomes clear that there is more material in the Derleth collection. Some letters that are transcribed in his collection are not contained in hers, for example. His collection contains lists of information obviously taken from publishing contracts and account books; this material is not contained in her collection. What happened to this material? Was it lost or destroyed by Breese or others before it made its way to the Wisconsin State Historical Society?

If Derleth's notes on Gale are considered a source, another question arises when those notes are compared to the final version of Still Small Voice and it becomes apparent that Derleth very carefully selected the material he chose to construct his biography. Here is a clear example of the historian deliberately not stating certain facts, of, in fact, "silencing" specific information. Further, Derleth's own account of an encounter with Gale clearly shows he was entranced by her, as were, apparently, so many of her contemporaries. How much did the author's own attitude toward his subject influence the way he presented her and chose information about her? What, in fact, was the role of Derleth's biography?⁷

Of course this question can be asked of any biography. More than forty years after the publication of Still Small Voice, Dianne Paley wrote a thesis on Gale as a newspaperwoman. Paley wrote at a time when women had enjoyed suffrage for sixty-six years (Gale started as a journalist twenty years before women got the vote), when women filled the reportorial staffs (though not yet editorial and management) staffs of newspapers, and when women were beginning to put profession before marriage and independence before family. What was the role of Paley's biographical study? What perspective did she bring to her study? What role did her own values -- the values of a late twentieth-century female academic -- play in her presentation of Gale as an indecisive, insecure woman seeking first to escape the control of an overprotective mother and later to escape back to the comfort of that protection?

More comparisons can be made between other sources on Zona Gale. Articles about her and stories passed around among friends don't always match. Even her own accounts about herself contain discrepancies that bear scrutiny. After she won the Pulitzer, her advice on writing was frequently solicited in both letters and interviews. When she gave advice, she frequently referred back to her own experiences and told stories of her early years as a reporter in both Milwaukee and New York. Many of these stories appeared in letters to her mother at the time of the event, and it can be noted that over the years, Gale became less accurate about

these remembered events, getting a name wrong here, a date wrong there. These "slips" are slight, but they become magnified when they are repeated in articles, books, or theses about her, which in turn must be equally influenced by writer's motives, context changes, and a host of other factors.

By sorting out the different accounts of Zona Gale and by placing these accounts in the context of time, place, and motivation, perhaps another understanding of the past will be constructed, a "dialogue" created between what has existed before and what comes into being through this reconstruction. It is with this goal in mind that this study examines Zona Gale, in the hopes of casting a new light on her in her role as a female journalist in early twentieth-century America.

Women, Journalism, and America: 1895

During the 1800s, American women were brought up to believe that their true place was in the home where it was their duty to provide a safe, nurturing environment for husband and children. The "Cult of Domesticity" that reigned in American middle-class culture starting roughly in the post-revolutionary period defined separate spheres for men and women, with men thrust into the competitive world of trade, commerce, and politics, and women increasingly cloistered in the home where, in theory anyway, they would be protected from the evil and vice of the world. Whether women welcomed this separation from the world and carved their own niches of power within it, sought solace and recognition in sisterhood and thus gained a sense of power despite it, or, among a select few, rebelled against all constraints and demanded outright their place in society is a matter of hot debate among historians, particularly women historians. Whether the Cult of Domesticity only applied to white middle-class women or had a pervasive effect throughout society and permeated even the lives of working-class women, immigrant women, and women of color is also a matter of debate. The fact remains, however, that under the rubric of "separate spheres," free American women of all classes were for generations denied the opportunity to equal education, to enter into the professions, to vote or hold elective office, to

earn salaries equal to men, and, if married, to hold property or keep their inheritances or earnings. By mid-century, women had begun to venture out of the home under the shelter of a variety of benevolent and reform societies and, as they gained more confidence, began to demand more freedoms, including equal rights. Access to education, the right to speak in promiscuous audiences, property rights, and entrance into some of the professions was gradually, if grudgingly, permitted.⁸

By 1895 women in a handful of states in the West had the right to vote. A few universities, including the University of Wisconsin, had opened their doors to women, women's colleges -- including the "seven sisters" -- had been established, and the first graduates in medicine, law, and divinity were working in some of the country's more enlightened institutions. While the vast majority of middle-class women were still directed toward a career as wife and mother, many spent their years before marriage working in respectable professions such as teaching; it was in these years they gained their greatest independence. Marriage was no longer a woman's only road to adulthood, and some, especially those with an education and professional opportunities, chose to remain single.

Journalism was one of the professions women began to turn to. It was accessible as a profession to women partly because it was one of the few that did not require either a university degree or a license and, in those days did not call for any particular training. Hiring practices were unregulated and, where a woman could find an editor who believed she could do the job or, more to the point, had a job she could specifically fill, she had a chance of getting a job. According to the 1890 Census, there were 888 female editors and reporters in the country -- 4.1 percent, and that number more than doubled in 1900. Contrary to Paley's dichotomous description of female journalists as either groundbreaking, muckraking, aggressively ambitious professionals or society column "sob sisters," there was a whole range of niches into which women found their way. It is true that most of the country's female journalists worked on the society or fashion

pages at the turn of the century, but many wrote for the news pages and some were even editors of their own papers, usually smalltown papers or suffrage papers. For those who sought role models in the general press, there were a few who stood above the rest -- muckraker Ida Tarbell, Elizabeth Cochrane (who wrote under the pen name Nelly Bly), who was known for her audacious stunt reporting for the New York World, and Kate Field of the New York Herald, to name a few. They were the exceptions rather than the rule.⁹

Journalism was a profession that allowed women to spread their wings. It legitimized behavior that under other circumstances would never have been socially acceptable to the tradition-bound middle class, permitting them to leave their families, move to big cities, live alone, attend a wide variety of events, participate in life at the fullest, and remain single, if they wished, without the stigma of spinsterhood. It not only gave them the opportunity to report what was happening in the world, following the dictates of beats, assignments, and "objective" reporting, it also gave those who wanted it a chance to voice their concerns about social and political issues -- outright through the stories and columns they were able to chose to write and subversively through their selection of language and material material.¹⁰

Early Years: Milwaukee

Zona Gale arrived in Milwaukee in 1895 in search of work at a newspaper. The only daughter of a former schoolteacher and a locomotive engineer, she had just graduated from the University of Wisconsin-Madison and had decided that Milwaukee was the place to find the kind of mental stimulation she craved. As for what she would do when she got there, there had never been any question about that. It was her purpose to write. "Nobody destined me for anything excepting the work to which I should be drawn," she wrote a would-be writer in 1924. "My mother thought that this would be the teaching of languages because at one time in the university I was taking nothing but languages. However, as I know nothing about any of these subjects, a future proved impractical. I did

not 'turn to writing.' I always squarely faced it."¹¹

Gale wrote stories all through her childhood and into her college years, but it was not until she was a student at the UW that she wrote her first newspaper story after being approached by a reporter from the Milwaukee Sentinel. When he asked her to write two articles on University societies, her first thought was that she couldn't do it, but she was urged by her mother, who was with her that day, to try. She did, and the stories were published. That somehow reinforced her sense of inevitability that writing would be her career and the next year, in 1895, after her graduation from UW, she went after it. She had at first returned to her family's home in Portage, but found "there wasn't any romance in Portage... I was still possessed by the idea that I must write of things beautifully romantic -- or romantically beautiful," she told journalist Keene Sumner in 1921. "So my one idea was to escape from what seemed to me an unpromising field. The only way I could think of to accomplish this was to get into newspaper work in a city. So that was what I determined to do."¹²

This decision by Gale to move to Milwaukee is portrayed by Derleth as a romantic quest for adventure and by Paley as an attempt to escape her overprotective family. In Paley's reconstruction of events, Gale is shown as unsure and indecisive, a college student uneasy with independence and not altogether comfortable with college life. Paley describes the incident in which Gale is approached by a "reporter from the Milwaukee Journal (sic)" as an instance of Gale's insecurity and dependence on her mother. When Gale recounted the story years later in an interview with Keene Sumner, however, she did so to stress the moral lesson of taking encouragement for something that appeared to be difficult and doing it anyway. In this sense, she told Keene her mother's advice -- "You could (do it)." -- stayed with her all her life. In the context of the interview with Sumner, this advice served others who wished to become writers, or anything else for that matter. Another point arises in this story. Paley cites an undated letter to Eliza as her source and quotes Gale saying she was approached by a Milwaukee Journal reporter, while the Keene

article quotes Gale as identifying the reporter as being from the Milwaukee Sentinel.¹³

In fall of 1895, Gale went to visit her school friend, Edith Rogers, in Milwaukee and for weeks went daily to the newspapers on Milwaukee Street to see if there was an opening for her. Because the Evening Wisconsin had, during her college years, printed one of her short stories, she "laid special siege to that office." Day after day she presented herself to the city editor, and day after day, she was told there was no work for her. Then, her luck changed. It was the day of her mother's birthday and the first snowfall of winter, she remembered years later. She had asked for work, and had once again been turned down, but just as she was turning away, the city editor had called her back to ask her to cover an opening flower show. "They let me do a stunt," she later crowed to her mother. "Wasn't that a nice story?" And that was only the beginning. Gale continued to show up daily at the editor's desk in search of assignments and finally, after several months, was taken onto the staff at a salary of \$15 a week. Her first story might have been a flower show, and many of her assignments for the Evening Wisconsin might have been society events, but by this time it was clear Gale was no timid creature waiting for luck to fall at her feet. She managed to get in and get her assignment wherever she was sent, and on one occasion, crashed a society wedding and came back to her paper with both a picture of the bride and a story, an assignment several male reporters had failed to fulfill.¹⁴

At some point in the next four years, Gale started working at the Milwaukee Journal, but when this work became full-time is unclear, for during that time she continued her studies at UW and, in 1899, received her Master's Degree in Letters.¹⁵ During the same period, she also traveled several times to Chicago to ask for work at the Tribune and to New York to ask for work at papers there, a feat difficult to pull off if she had been working full-time at the Journal. In October of 1899, in fact, after trying her usual tactics of laying siege to the city editors at several New York papers, she succeeded in landing an assignment at

the New York Evening Post. Just as in her first assignment with the Evening Wisconsin, this assignment came quite unexpectedly. On October 8 she wrote her mother "Today -- Sunday -- I staid (sic) at home all day. Never went to church in big New York at all. And I did two specials with which I shall approach the Post tomorrow." When she brought in the specials two days -- not one day -- later, however, the editor, Mr. Clarkin, asked her to "find the Woman's Health Protection association, and ask them about the water supply."16

This request led to Gale's first story in the Evening Post and an adventure worthy of repeating to any news reporting class. Clarkin told Gale to ask the association about the Ramapo affair. If she had read the previous day's newspaper, she would have known that the Ramapo Company was a water company that had proposed to solve Brooklyn's water supply problem for the price of \$200,000,000. (The proposal later turned out to be a fraud which the Post crusaded against.) But she had not, and instead understood Clarkin to say "gramofer." Rather than admit her ignorance, Gale proceeded to track down the "gramofer" and by afternoon, after a dizzying search for information via telephone of all of city hall and an hour-long trolley car ride across the Brooklyn bridge, succeeded in reaching the association's president. "She, having told me seven times that her husband was sick upstairs and eight that she had just got in from the country, talked a little. She didn't say much, but she said enough," Gale wrote her mother that night. "And when there was a good opening I said casually. 'There is some word I hear spoken a great deal in connection with this water problem. Is it gramofer?' 'Yes, she said, 'Ramapo.' And lo -- it proves that my gramofer is the offer of the Ramapo company to buy the city's water plant for \$200,000,000. Hooray for gramofers!." 17

Gale's sleuthing resulted in a four-inch story on page three of the Evening Post headlined: "BROOKLYN WATER SUPPLY/ Women's Health Association to Advocate its Extension, But opposes Ramapo Grab." The story begins "The Women's Health Protective Association of Brooklyn is expected to turn much of its attention this season

to the question of the local water supply. Cards were issued yesterday announcing the first meeting of the year..." Not much of a story, a critic might say, but Oct. 11, 1899 was a big day in New York City, with front-page stories on the Boer War, the rebellion in the Filipines (sic), a local investigation of police bribery, and the latest on clues in the case of the cut-up body of a woman found wrapped in old copies of the Evening Post. Apparently unconcerned with the state of the world, however, Gale completed her story, went back to New York City for a meeting with a friend and a stroll up Riverside drive, and then back to her hotel to write her story and her letter to her mother.¹⁸

It is from this undated letter to her mother that the Ramapo story can be traced, for in that letter she refers to the "two specials" she had mentioned in her October 8 letter. But Gale's recollection of the story, which apparently became one of her favorites, faded with the years. This incident serves as another example how, over time, the facts can become distorted, if only slightly. Gale's letter, written to her mother the day of her Ramapo assignment, quite clearly says that she thought the editor said "gramofer." Yet years later, in her interview with Keene Sumner, she is clearly quoted as saying that she got the assignment from the Evening World (not the Evening Post) and that she had understood the editor to say "this Ampo affair." Her interview with Sumner came twenty years after she covered the Ramapo story; the question arises whether Gale forget the facts of the story or Sumner got them wrong in the interview.¹⁹

It is unclear whether Gale wrote any more New York stories in this period, for in June of 1900, she was back in Milwaukee as a staff member of the Milwaukee Journal and further, as chairman of the local press committee of the General Federation of Women's Clubs for the federation's biennial convention in Milwaukee. In this role, she wrote a two-page article, "Milwaukee's most notable Gathering of Club Women," for the federation's biennial publication and read a paper on the relations between club women and newspaper women. This fact is related in a June 6 Milwaukee Journal story, "Press Women Talk Shop," but no mention is made of

the substance of the paper, nor does any trace of it remain, though by one account, she "administered very telling thrusts to the opposition, bringing several protesting club women to their feet."²⁰

At this point, it should perhaps be repeated that, while women had definitely made inroads in newspapers, their presence was still very tenuous and the vast majority of female reporters and editors were relegated to society and gossip columns, while the few who held positions as editors were for the most part editors of either the woman's or the fashion page. This state of affairs, however, was certainly not by woman's choice, and by the year of the Milwaukee convention women journalists were beginning to note it and protest the marginalization of both female writers and the female audience. This protest was voiced at the press session: "I do not see why there should be a page for women readers any more than a page for blue-eyed people, or for those who have only black hair. I can assure you that newspaper women are not responsible for it," announced Mrs. Hamilton Welch, editor of Harper's Bazaar. "It is the male editorial idea of what a woman wants to read ... It is tradition with him as strong as that women are afraid of mice and that he must 'shoo' all his women readers into one corner of the paper, there to revel in the riches of the women's page." Welch went on to say that a woman editor might publish "recipes for salad" or "her instructions how to make a new sofa pillow" but these were "so many sops to the managing editor" and that her real intent was to satisfy "the male powers that be" in order to fulfill her real mission, to tell of the progress and work of the country's women's organizations and federations.²¹

While Zona Gale without a doubt was at first sent to cover society events and what might be regarded as "women's stories," she did, at least, save herself from this fate of writing recipes for molded gelatin, and did, increasingly, make her way into the world of front-page news. And her work was recognized. It was during this period that she received a note from her editor praising her for a story published that day: "Miss Gale: I forgot

to tell you this morning that the Goldman interview was the best thing in yesterday's paper."²² It was also during this period that her name appeared on a story for the first time, a fact unusual enough for 1900, when stories did not yet carry bylines. (Bylines had appeared briefly during the Civil War, but did not become common until the 1920s.²³) The story, which appeared October 8 on page one (and ran over to cover half of pages four and five) of the Milwaukee Journal, was an exclusive interview with Cecile Payen, a young woman just returned to the United States after being trapped for weeks in Pekin during the Boxer Rebellion. The story covered the top half of the front page and was topped with the banner headline: "For weeks she heard the boxer's awful cry" followed by a three-deck headline "Miss Cecile Payen of Milwaukee tells of that surging sea of sound which came from the hordes of Chinese devils which was besieging her and others at Pekin -- The smoke of fires darkened the sun -- Bullets were whizzing through the air and shells were crashing everywhere." The story was full of color and detail, alternating Payen's quotes with background and description. It began with a quote, much like many of Gale's short stories were to begin in later years:

"It is like a resurrection from the grave," said Cecile Payen reverently.

At the end of a journey back from the grave indeed, and from horrors to which the grave are an hundredfold to be preferred. Miss Cecile Payen, miniature painter, stepped to the platform in Chicago early yesterday morning, and held out her arms to the little mother in black with whom half the country has for months shuddered and hoped. Miss Payen is the first American woman to reach Chicago from Pekin since the siege. She will arrive at her home in Milwaukee on Wednesday.

It was no white and emaciated daughter welcomed with thanksgiving by a mother. It was a daughter who seemed strong and healthy. It was a somewhat athletic and altogether attractive girl, ready to admit that since it is all over she is glad to have had the experience, who bent over the pale little woman to whom the months of her daughter's danger have been almost death...²⁴

New York, New York

It was shortly after this that Gale gave up her job at the Journal and went to New York, where she was eventually hired by the New York Evening World. Her letters to her parents from this period are filled with details about her social life and attendance at literary events, and only infrequently mention her newspaper work. This might be in response to her parent's obvious concern about her living and working in New York City and to a bit of scolding from her mother. "I got a paper from New York with your Mrs. Cain and Mary McLeane (sic) articles," her mother wrote her. "I did not like the Mary story very well. You will have to be very careful or your writings will drift into the sensational trend of style and you will talk of things and be misunderstood." Sensationalism and yellow journalism were at their height in 1901, and in no other city more than New York and in no other paper more than Pulitzer's World, which at that time was in the throes of a circulation war with Hearst's Journal. And apparently Gale got her share of sensational stories to cover. In February, she covered the second trial of Staten Island dentist Samuel J. Kennedy, who was accused of bludgeoning to death with a lead pipe his paramour "Dolly" Reynolds. Kennedy was a married man who claimed to have been on his way home to his wife when the murder occurred. After spending two years in the death house at Sing Sing, his appeal was being heard after the appearance of new evidence. (Kennedy was eventually freed and "received as hero" after four months of trial and the mysterious appearances and disappearances of new witnesses and evidence.)²⁵

It was while she was covering preparations for the appeals trial that Gale was sent by her editor to Arlington, New Jersey, to get the inside story on the shooting of a clergyman by an enraged husband. By this time it had been established by the press that the wife had confessed to her husband, Thomas G. Barker, that during a social visit several months previous the Rev. John Keller had "made advances" on her and, when she had protested, had locked the door to her house and "struggled with her physically," at which point she had fainted. Enraged, the husband had taken a gun and "lain in wait" for the clergyman the next morning and shot him

in the head as Keller was on his way to church services. Barker had then, accompanied by a witness, walked to the city hall and turned himself in. The town quickly divided in two camps, with half upholding the honor of the clergyman (now on the point of death, now rallying) and accusing Mrs. Barker of hysteria, and the other half demanding Keller's removal and upholding Mrs. Barker's credibility. The press was printing anything anyone would say, and by the time Gale arrived in town, four days after the shooting, those close to the Barkers were no longer talking.²⁶

"I arrived here Wednesday night at 7:30 and tried to get in at the boarding house where the woman was staying, but I couldn't -- she was cautious," Gale wrote her mother Sunday night. "The whole town was alert and warlike against reporters and detectives." The next morning Gale went out and cased the village, finally succeeding in tracking down a woman who had been a member of the church guild with Mrs. Barker in the clergyman's church. She ended by bringing the woman home to dinner with her and "pumping her" for two hours. "I sat up and wrote 17 pages -- finished about 11, got up Friday morning and had breakfast at 7:30 -- mailed my letter on the 8:30 train to the address of the city editor of the World so as not to use the name of the newspaper on the envelope and went on working..." That afternoon the Evening World carried Gale's story which covered the top right half of the front page. The two-deck headline "Preacher Shot For Woman's Quarrel" is followed by "War Between Mr. Barker and Church Wrokers Led to Many Rows in Pastor Kelly's Church" and "The Evening World's Special Correspondent Describes the Tragic Steps Leading Up To The Shooting of the Episcopal Minister." ²⁷

Tracking down these stories proves difficult for, as she did so often, Gale did not date her letter to her mother. Derleth uses the letter verbatim in his biography, but fails to locate the news stories and incorrectly presents the Kennedy case and the Arlington case as one and the same. Gale scatters several clues through the letter, and by searching for cases bearing the Kennedy and Barker names as well as the Arlington dateline in newspaper indexes from the period, the specific stories Gale worked on can be located. It is puzzling that there are no clippings of Gale's

stories from this period despite the fact that in her letters home, she was so enthusiastic about some of her assignments. 28

After her coup with the Barker story, Gale continued working at the Evening World for approximately eighteen months. She was one of the few reporters on the newspaper whose name frequently appeared on her stories, which often were given prominent display on page three of the newspaper. This page was often devoted to stories about women, and during the next year and a half, Gale wrote on a wide range of subjects from striking mill girls to the overcrowded Brooklyn trolleys. Her stories often carried a modern byline ("By Zona Gale") at the beginning of the story or a "signature byline" at the end of the stories. During this period, Gale seemed to have attained a certain position of celebrity, for on several occasions, her name was used in the headlines of a story. On March 23, 1901, for example, her story on the Patterson millgirl strike was headed: "Zona Gale attends a session of the battling workers who won't go back to their looms under present conditions." It was also during this period ~~also~~ that she wrote several signed editorials on women and women's issues. 29

It was while she was working at the New York Evening World that Gale hit her stride as a journalist, regularly turning out her assignments while at the same time writing short stories and poems and submitting them for publication to the plethora of publications in New York. Her newspaper stories took her far afield, and in all of them, she apparently succeeded in preserving a certain style that, for some of her readers, marked her apart. "For always and always you are the poet," wrote poet and former admirer Richard Gallienne in 1922. "Now, as long ago when fulfilling assignments for the World in a chimney stack on Staten Island, for instance, or the mess-room of a tiny tug!" Of the MacLane story, to which Zona's mother had objected on the ground that it was bordering sensationalism, editor Charles Hanson Towne later wrote: "Miss MacLane (sic) came to New York and Miss Gale was quick to interview her for the World. She took her, of all places, to Coney Island; and there it was that Miss MacLane (sic) ordered ten or a dozen Manhattan cocktails, so the story ran." Mary MacLane, who had caused a sensation in the literary world

cocktails. She told Gale that "she merely wished to look at them as she talked, entranced by the red cherry in each glass, absorbed in the brilliant color of the concoction. She made, as one might readily see, what newspaper reporters call 'good copy,' and Zona Gale knew how to make the best use of it. Her reporting was perfect..."³⁰

It was about this time that she began to reach some success in publishing her fiction and, when, in 1903, she sold two stories to Success for \$125 each and then a third for \$65, she decided to leave her full time job at the World and write on a freelance basis. There is no evidence of the news stories she wrote in this period, but according to letters she sent home to her mother, who apparently kept her bank account, she sold eight pieces of fiction in 1905 and nine in 1906 to popular magazines such as The Smart Set, Ainslee's, and Harper's. During a period when reporters' salaries were about \$15 per week, she was earning at least what she would have been earning as a reporter and was able, in addition to supporting herself, ^{to} send money to her parents to cover costs for the construction of a porch on their home and to do some landscaping work. Her letters home were filled with the social and literary activities she attended, but even though she had apparently left the sensational newspaper work her mother had objected to, the elder Gale still worried about the life her daughter was leading in New York, writing: "It don't seem to me you have as nice a time as when you were on the paper going places. You now have only dinners, dinners, which are a fine thing if one is hungry."³¹

In 1906, Gale published her first novel, Romance Island. As the title indicates, it was a fantasy, but the main character was a newspaper reporter (male) who, with an heiress, was transported to an exotic island in an attempt to recover the heiress's fortune. The novel was panned by some for its lightweight, almost silly story and praised by others for its "grace and brave originality" and "luminous language." The harshest criticism came from the Newark Advertiser, which commented that the novel read "as if it might have been written by one who had done occasional space-work for a newspaper. Whenever such people venture into

fiction they almost invariably sprinkle their pages with all sorts of newspaper slang and jargon, and assume an easy familiarity with editorial ways that would put to the blush a desk-man of life-long experience."³²

Gale apparently never wrote about newspaper men or women again in fiction, but she continued to write stories for the New York World, although judging by her output, she must have been spending more and more time on her fiction. Between 1906 and 1911, she sold 23 stories and another novel, the Love of Pelleas and Etarre, as well as a collection of short stories about a fictional midwestern town, Friendship Village. All during this period, she remained in New York, taking time to return to Portage for visits and to travel to California and Mexico with friends. New York seemed to be the place to be, the place where she could go from magazine to magazine to place her work. This changed, however, in October 1911 when she won a \$2,000 first prize for best short story in the Delineator. Upon receiving word of the prize, she told Delineator editor Charles Hanson Towne, "Now I can go back to Portage." And that was what she did. Her parents were aging; she herself was now 37 years old. She had accomplished what she had set out to do -- establish herself as a writer -- and now she found herself in the rare advantage of being able to support herself and her parents comfortably on her earnings as a writer. She left New York, but this was no escape and, indeed it was no final departure. She went "back to Portage," but she continued to spend long periods of time in New York, where she carved a permanent foothold among the city's literary and intellectual elite.³³

Portage and Beyond

It is during the following years that Zona Gale as a journalist drops out of sight in both Paley's and Derleth's studies. Paley concludes her research with Gale's decision to leave fulltime work at the Evening World in 1902, and Derleth concentrates on her development as a fiction writer in the following years, but it was in these very years that Gale was able to put her skill, her interests, and, to a certain degree, her reputation to work for her in turning out freelance articles in a

wide range of magazines from New Republic to Ladies Home Journal. In this period, she was also able to devote herself to some of the social issues that later occupied so much of her energy and time and increasingly devoted her freelance work to those issues, and often combining her interest with her skills and connections as a journalist.

In 1912, she was an active member of the Wisconsin Woman Suffrage Association, working as press chairman of the Columbia County association to win passage of the suffrage referendum in November 1912. The referendum failed in Wisconsin and suffrage was pursued there as well as throughout the country for the next seven years. Gale continued working for the association, and in 1914, her story "The Knights and the Lady" appeared in the country's most prominent suffrage paper, the Woman's Journal and Suffrage News. The story is written in Gale's typically descriptive phrases, beginning: "To a little town five miles from the railroad, the village postmaster, who had volunteered to be my guide, drove me in a seven-passenger car along a wide macadam road." It tells in his words how he, an anti-suffragist, had bought the car to impress his lady love, the Widow Flint, then proceeded to drum up support for a new macadam road where he could drive the car. While making the rounds with his committee, he was told not to bother stopping at the widow's (whom he wanted to impress with the car) because she had no vote on the proposition. "'No vote!' says I. 'Well no. But if it carries, she's got her share of the taxes to pay, ain't she?'" The story, told in the words of the postmaster, is charming, amusing, and makes the point that if women pay taxes, they should have the right to vote.³⁴

This was a prolific period for the writer, and from 1911 to 1921 she published dozens of short stories, novels, and magazine articles, most of these last dealing with social issues such as pacifism, women's education, the birth rate, and women's work in the home, as well as politics in Wisconsin. Many of her fiction stories dealt with the same issues, and some were rejected on the grounds that they were too advanced for the times. In 1915, for example, the editor of Everybody's Magazine rejected her short story "The Reception Surprise," saying "I had the feeling that you

are a little too far ahead on this story and as a nation we aren't quite ready for it. I suppose there can be as big a mistake in publishing a story with a thesis five or ten years ahead of time as there might be in publishing it five or ten years behind the times." During the same period, the editor of Atlantic Monthly rejected a story saying, "Somehow I can't imagine living side by side with a negro family... It's a good idea and all that, but in good conscience, I can't see myself presenting this story to my readers."³⁵

In 1920, Gale published her twelfth novel, Miss Lulu Bett, and the following year wrote the script for the play by the same title which opened in New York to rave reviews. Despite the notoriety the play brought her, she apparently continued her work as a journalist and, in March of 1921, received a telegram from Herbert Bayard Swope, executive editor of the New York World. Dated March 5 and addressed to Gale at the Hotel Willard in Washington D.C., the telegram says cryptically: "Good work in every way stop I am proud of my star reporter stop the paper thanks you Swope." It is unclear what "work" Swope was referring to in this message, but there was no doubt of what he was talking about in a second telegram two months later: "Am unofficially informed you've won Pulitzer for best play of year with your Miss Lulu Bett Heartiest congratulationns I share the pride of all your friends Herbert Bayard Swope The World." With the prize came a flood of recognition in the form of congratulations, more fan letters than usual, interviews, requests for speaking appearances, and requests for hints on how to get started as a writer, both for newspapers and fiction.³⁶

"For me, newspaper work benefitted creative writing in two particulars," she wrote a would-be novelist in 1925. "One was a confirmation of my feeling that one must do whatever work one set out to do. And the other was the habit of writing. This habit or second nature or whatever it is, it is absolutely necessary to acquire." In the same year a woman wrote her asking how to get an opening on a newspaper. "(T)here is virtually never an 'opening' for a beginner on any newspaper," Gale responded. "The only way for a beginner to begin is to write something or at least outline

some definite suggestion and take it to the city editor... the only way... to find out whether or not you can write is to write and submit, write and submit, endlessly." This, then was her advice, and she repeated it over and over again to dozens asking her for advice. 37

In the next two decades, Gale remained as prolific as ever, turning out several short stories and magazine articles every year and a novel every two years. Her magazine articles tended to be progressive, espousing liberalism, civil liberties, freedom of speech, women's rights, pacifism, and her own particular political favorites, the LaFolletes of Wisconsin. She wrote several articles for the Nation, including: "What Women Won in Wisconsin" (1922); "Shall Universities Take Tainted Money?" (1925); "The United States and the Artist" (1925); and "Charlotte Perkins Gilman" (1935.) She also continued writing for the Woman's Journal, which had taken up a host of social issues since the passing of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1919. In 1928, she wrote an article in support of the continuation of Prohibition that was reprinted by the Milwaukee Journal in a "package," "What Do Women Think of Prohibition?" with the opposite view being presented by Ida Tarbell.³⁸

As a Progressive, Gale was an avid supporter of the closest thing Wisconsin and the midwest had to a royal family, the La Follettes. In 1924, when Senator Robert La Follette declared he would run for president on the Independent ticket, she threw herself into his campaign, speaking and writing on his behalf. Four years later, in February 1928, she wrote an article for The Nation, "Americans We Like: The La Follette Family." She succeeded in describing the sense of power "Fighting Bob" had acquired in his years of politics: "Long ago, in Wisconsin, Senator La Follette had been accustomed to say quite gravely, 'When we were governor.' By his 'we' he meant the La Follette family." She told how he had won loyalty and devotion from the people in his state, recounting a story of how, early in the years of his political career, La Follette went to La Crosse to speak and was greeted by a committee, the chairman of which was a livery-stable owner.

Years later he spoke again in La Crosse and was met by a new committee which, this time came in cars:

These men were ushering him to a limousine when he saw standing on the platform that livery-stable host of other days. And the Senator said: 'Now, will you gentlemen go on ahead of us, and let me follow with my old friend here?' and, uninvited, he joined the devoted livery-stable keeper.

"It was thus," mournfully said a brilliant Wisconsin journalist, "that he built up his machine. Such men would do anything for him."

"It was so," said one of the humblest of his pupils, "That he overturned conventions for the sake of realities."

Two versions. One man.³⁹

In 1930, Gale was asked once again to write about the La Follettes after Phil La Follette's landslide election as governor. The request came this time from the New York Times, which asked her for a "three thousand word psychological picture of Wisconsin showing why the state responds as it does to the La Follettes." Her copy was to be "wired Sunday night," but as to whether she made the deadline is unclear. She did, however write an article on Wisconsin for the New York Times Sunday Magazine four years later in 1934, just four years before her death. The story, "In Celebration of 300 Years -- And An Idea," paid homage to the Wisconsin Idea -- "The passion to serve human needs" -- and, belatedly, the La Follettes.⁴⁰

When Zona Gale wrote for newspapers, she did not leave her style and imagination behind with her fiction; she brought it to the elegantly constructed phrases and sentences and to the combinations of words that conjured up images in the minds of her readers. In her news reporting, she made her subjects living, breathing creatures who experienced real human emotions and shared them with her and, through her, with her readers. In her later articles, she made her points, often deeply held beliefs, through anecdotes that fit in perfectly with the rhythm of her writing. Skeptics can ask, was the Wisconsin economist a real person and did he say the words she put in his mouth? Did Bob La Follette

village postmaster who bought a seven-passenger car to impress the Widow Flint actually exist somewhere in the Wisconsin countryside? Did it matter? Would these stories be less real if these incidents had never happened? If these characters (for that's what they became in her stories) had never existed? With Zona Gale, these anecdotes often became parables. They were part of her stories because they taught a moral, made a point that would stay in the reader's mind far longer than the most tightly reasoned argument. That was the peculiar genius of Zona Gale as a journalist, her ability to make her readers catch the essence of her stories by describing her characters so vividly and revealingly that for years afterward they could still picture the strong and healthy figure of Cecilia Payen bending over the pale little woman who was her mother and the bright red cherries glowing in the Manhattan cocktails Mary MacLane had ordered at Coney Island.

Conclusion

Zona Gale was given a series of titles over the years -- "that good-looking reporter," "the prettiest reporter in the city," "the the most ambitious girl reporter in New York," "novelist;" "playwright," "Pulitzer Prize winner," and "the Lady from Portage" -- with each one implying different roles, different contexts. By naming, we often create meaning.³⁵

Those who wrote about her created myths. August Derleth examined Zona Gale the woman and found her to be a gentle and generous spirit who infused her work with a vivid interest in how other people experienced the world. Harold P. Simonson studied her fiction and described her as a forgiving artist who saw people for what they were, but withheld judgement and found something noble in them despite their shortcomings. Dianne Paley compared Zona Gale the journalist with some of the great journalists of her time, and concluded that she was a traditionalist who chose to ignore the precedents they had created. Each of these writers made their conclusions in a different period, with, perhaps, different expectations. Each certainly had a different purpose and a different perspective. Derleth and Simonson, both male, were both creative writers, and, perhaps intended a creative approach. Paley, a female graduate student in mass communication, examined

her subject as a journalist or a scientist might, with great attention to detail and hard fact.

But the accounts of Zona Gale share some things in common -- certainly many of the same documents, bits and pieces of a life that have been preserved for reasons as varied as the personalities of the people who preserved them. These very pieces of evidence, upon which any researcher must base an analysis are suspect, however. They do not represent the "whole cloth," if ever a whole cloth can exist. Why do these documents remain and others not? Why have some letters been saved and others thrown away or lost? Why, for example, did Gale write her parents so infrequently of her work on the newspapers and so much of her social visits and literary meetings?

Since most of the personal letters are between Gale and her parents, it is from these letters that her most intimate image is created. But if, during her years in New York and Milwaukee, it was her goal to shelter her parents from some of the storms she was riding or even, as daughters often do, mislead them about what she was doing so as to provoke no criticism, it is understandable that her letters would dwell on her more pleasant adventures and on her social engagements. This makes sense especially when considering the moral tone of some of her mother's letters in which she warned her daughter away from "sensationalism" and "being misunderstood." How much was the document influenced by the motivation of its author? How much can the researcher take at "face value" any document, LaCapra would caution.

Going beyond such documents, the researcher can look to historical records of the times -- newspapers. A view of the world Gale lived in might be constructed from a careful reading of the pages of the newspapers she worked for, but here, once again caution must be exercised. The Evening World wrote about high society, the scandals and crimes of everyday life, the misery of the slums. Gale might have written about these in her news stories and selected lessons from them for her fiction and social activism in later years, but it is doubtful she experienced the kind of tragedy Mrs. Barker of Arlington experienced, for example, or the kind of poverty experienced by the immigrant families of

the city's slums.

A new picture of Zona Gale emerges with this study. Here she emerges as a persistent, dedicated professional who went after her story and didn't give up until she got it. She succeeded in making her way onto the staffs of the biggest newspapers in the cities where she worked and, in the case of the New York World, one of the biggest circulation newspapers in the world. She used her skills, training, and experience to secure work for herself as a writer and journalist and eventually reached a goal many a reporter dreams about -- the freedom to leave the daily newsroom to work as a freelance and novelist.

She was not an Ida Tarbell, Paley points out, but her story and her opinion on prohibition was printed side by side with Tarbell's in the Milwaukee Journal twenty years after she left that paper. She did not win her Pulitzer for investigative reporting, but she became Wisconsin's writer/journalist in residence, and on at least two occasions, was called on by the New York Times to write about and interpret her home state. And beyond her own career, she reached out to encourage others to enter the profession. Through the years, she kept the faith with up-and-coming journalists, serving on the boards of professional journalism organizations such as Theta Sigma Phi and educational institutions such as the University of Wisconsin and remaining always generous with her advice and financial support.

Historians remember her most as the Pulitzer Prize winning author of "Miss Lulu Bett." But those young journalists who heeded her advice most likely remember her as the persistent young reporter who kept going back to the city desk until she got her assignment. That is the myth Zona Gale created about herself in letter after letter and interview after interview, and it is most likely the myth that had the most influence on those who sought to follow her.

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Notes

1. Sumner Keene, "The Everlasting Persistence of This Western Girl," American Magazine, June 1921. In Zona Gale Papers, WSHS, Box 5.

2. August Derleth, Still Small Voice (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1940), 42-68.

3. Harold P. Simonson, Zona Gale (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1962), 24-25.

4. Dianne Maria Paley, "Zona Gale: Tradition at Work in the Metropolitan Newsroom, 1895-1901." Unpublished Master Thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1980. In her introduction, Paley points out that while discussion of women's roles in the metropolitan newsrooms at the turn of the century offers "insights into the motivations and life situations of women who pursued professions in lieu of marriage and family; the assumption that women journalists worked by design and out of professional ambition -- rather than personal circumstance -- proved, in Gale's case, to be untrue." (Paley, 2.)

5. Dominick LaCapra, "Rhetoric and History," in History and Criticism (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), 15-44; Dominick LaCapra, "Rethinking Intellectual history and Reading Texts," in Dominick LaCapra and Steven L. Kaplan, Modern European Intellectual history: Reappraisals and New Perspectives (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982), 47-84. LaCapra defines the term "text" as a "situated use of language marked by a tense interaction between mutually implicated yet at times contestatory tendencies." What is "inside" and what is "outside" texts becomes problematic for the historian, and nothing can be seen purely and simply either inside or outside texts but, instead a combination of both. Textual processes, therefore "cannot be confined within the bindings of a book," for example, and must, therefore, be expanded to include the "real world" as well as the influence of social and individual life. Thus, not only documents (books, letters, any written records) are texts, but also, for example, spoken words and actions, events, and even the framing of events. Each of these texts can be broken down further: consideration of a written document, for example, must include what was written, in what language it was written as well as what form of language (prose, poetry), what it is written on (paper, stone), with what instrument (pen, chisel), where it is found, who has preserved it, and so on.

6. La Capra, "Rethinking Intellectual History," 49-51.

7. One outstanding example of this is the "traditional" treatment of Gale's 1903-1904 romance with poet Ridgely Torrence. The two were engaged, Gale's parents counseled against the relationship, Gale left New York abruptly (but temporarily), and the engagement eventually ended. Derleth attributes the romance's

demise to Gale's "vacillation" and "impulsive carelessness," while Paley attributes it to her fear of romantic commitment and dependence on her parents. In discussing the relationship, however, neither mentions or even alludes to an interview Derleth had with Edith Crombie in which Crombie said Gale had "contracted a disease from Ridgely" (Derleth, 32-35; Paley, 70; August Derleth papers, notes from interview with Edith Crombie, box 100, folder 4.)

8. Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860," American Quarterly 18 (Summer 1966): 151-64; Eleanor Flexner, Century of Struggle: The Women's Rights Movement in the United States (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959); Nancy F. Cott, The Bonds of Womanhood: The Woman's Sphere in New England, 1780-1835 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977); Nancy A. Hewitt, Women's Activism and Social Change: Rochester, New York, 1822-1872, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984). Cott and Hewitt point out that the option of a protected woman's sphere was a middle-class ideology that hardly matched the reality of the lives of Native American women, Black women, working women, and the poor.

9. Maurine Beasley and Sheila Silver, Women in Media (Washington, D.C.: Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, 1977); Michael Emery and Edwin Emery, The Press and America (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1938), 214-15.

10. Although there might be little latitude for a reporter to choose her beat or assignments, she would still have control over some of the sources she would use, how she developed the story, and the language she used. Although newspaper reporters at the turn of the century were beginning to adapt to the mold of "objective" reporting, these choices would all clearly determine the nature of the text. Some reporters, furthermore, were given a great deal of latitude in selecting stories, depending on their position and reputation. Ida Tarbell, for example became most known for her investigative reporting of the Standard Oil Company for McClure's Magazine and later published a book based on her stories. Theodora Winton Youmans, a suffragist and a reporter for the Waukesha Freeman in Wisconsin, married the owner, became editor, and established a suffrage page.

11. Zona Gale to Frederick VanDeWater, May 27, 1924, Zona Gale Papers, box 3, folder 1, WSHS Archives.

12. Keene Sumner, "The Everlasting Persistence of This Western Girl," American Magazine (June, 1921), in Zona Gale Papers, box 5, WSHS Archives.

13. Derleth, 40-42; Paley, 13; Sumner.

14. Sumner; Zona Gale to Eliza Gale, 4 o'clock Tuesday n.d., Zona Gale Papers, box 4, folder 2, WSHS Archives; Edith Pollard interview with August Derleth, August Derleth Papers, Box 101,

WSHS Archives. The Zona Gale Collection at the Wisconsin State Historical Society contains more than a thousand letters, various memorabilia, most of her manuscripts, and many of her articles published after 1911. What is most noticable for its absence, however, is any collection of newspaper clips from her years at the Milwaukee and New York newspapers, roughly 1899-1903. Because newspapers at that time did not use bylines, as can be readily observed by reading newspapers of the period, it is extremely difficult, with a few exceptions, to identify any of the stories written by Gale. For information on bylines, see Michael Schudson, Discovering the News (New York: Basic Books, 1975) 68. Although bylines were imposed on newspapers during the Civil War by General Joseph Hooker as a means of attributing responsibility and blame for the publication of material he found inaccurate or dangerous, the practice ceased after the war and, with some exceptions, was not picked up again until the early 1920s.

15. Accounts of Gale during this period as well as her own reports years later tend to compress her newspaper experience into the following formula: She went to Milwaukee in 1895, got the flower snow assignment from the Evening Wisconsin, went on staff there, and then moved to the staff at the Milwaukee Journal. In 1900, she moved to New York, where after a few assignments, she got a full time job on the World. By cross checking letters and the actual newspaper articles that can be attributed to her, it becomes clear that at least in 1899 and 1900, Gale moved back and forth between Milwaukee and New York on a fairly frequent, if irregular basis. This puts into question how she could be a fulltime staff member of the Milwaukee Journal at the same time.

16. Sumner; Zona Gale to Eliza Gale, Oct. 8, 1899, box 4, folder 2, WSHS Archives; Zona Gale to Eliza Gale, Tuesday, 8 o'clock P.M., n.d., Zona Gale Papers, box 4, folder 2, WSHS Archives.

17. New York Evening Post, Oct. 10, 1899, Oct. 15, 1899, Oct. 28, 1899; Zona Gale to Eliza Gale, Tuesday, 8 o'clock P.M., n.d., Zona Gale Papers, box 4, folder 2, WSHS Archives.

18. The New York Evening Post, Oct. 11, 1899; Zona Gale to Eliza Gale, Tuesday, 8 o'clock P.M., n.d., Zona Gale Papers, box 4, folder 2, WSHS Archives.

19. Sumner.

20. General Federation of Women's Clubs, "Milwaukee the Beautiful: Official Souvenir of the Biennial Meeting of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, June 4-10, 1900," Milwaukee: S.H. Yenowine, G.W. Peck, 1900; Milwaukee Journal, June 6, 1900; Notes by August Derleth, August Derleth Papers, box 101, folder 2, WSHS Archives.

21. Beasley, 33-40; the Milwaukee Journal, "Press Women Talk Shop," June 6, 1900. Some women found their voice by becoming

editors for their own papers, usually weekly community papers, or for the growing number of suffrage papers across the country.

22. Mr. E. McIntosh to Zona Gale, n.d., Zona Gale Papers, box 4, folder 3. There is no trace of the "Goldman interview," but it can be speculated that the story might have been about socialist Emma Goldman who, at that time, was making the rounds of the country and was frequently interviewed by newspapers.

23. Schudson, 66.

24. Milwaukee Journal, Oct. 6, 1900. The reporter's name, Zona Gale, appears in upper case letters at the very end of the story.

25. Eliza Gale to Zona Gale, n.d., Zona Gale Papers, box 4, folder 3, WSHS Archives; Zona Gale to Eliza Gale, Sunday night Arlington, Zona Gale Papers, box 6, folder 2, WSHS Archives; New York Evening World, February 1- June 19, 1901. The "Mary McLeane" article referred to in Eliza Gale's letter may well have been Zona Gale's colorful story about the equally colorful and unique Montana writer Mary MacLane.

26. Zona Gale to Eliza Gale, Sunday night Arlington, n.d., Zona Gale Papers, box 6, folder 2, WSHS Archives; New York Evening World, Feb. 1-8, 1901.

27. Zona Gale to Eliza Gale, Sunday night Arlington, n.d., Zona Gale Papers, box 6, folder 2, WSHS Archives; New York Evening World, Feb. 5, 1901.

28. Derleth, 63. Historians are often cautious about using newspapers as sources of information, especially at the turn of the century, when news stories were often made up on the spot and when hoaxes were a popular circulation ploy. Here, however, is a good example of how newspapers can be used as a source to pin down specific facts and events.

29. New York Evening World, Mar. 23, 1901; Feb. 21, 1901; Mar. 22, 1901; Mar. 29, 1901.

30. Richard LeGallienne to Zona Gale, Oct. 21, 1922, Zona Gale Papers, box 2, folder 2, WSHS Archives; Charles Hanson Towne, excerpt from Adventures in Editing, in August Derleth Papers, Box 2, WSHS Archives.

31. Zona Gale to Mr. Stahl, March 20, 1923, Zona Gale Papers, box 3, WSHS Archives; Zona Gale account records, August Derleth Papers, Box 100, WSHS Archives. Charles Hanson Towne, in Adventures in Editing, August Derleth Papers, Box 100, WSHS Archives; Eliza Gale to Zona Gale, n.d., Zona Gale Papers, box 4, folder 3, WSHS Archives. According to Derleth, Gale was more than just contributing to her parents; she was regularly dividing her income in thirds; one third for herself and one third for each of her parents.

32. Reviews of Romance Island from the Chicago Journal, Nov. 24, 1906; the San Francisco Bulletin, Dec. 2, 1906; the Newark Advertiser, Nov. 17, 1906, recorded in August Derleth Papers, Box 101, file 4.

33. Charles Hanson Towne, in Adventures in Editing, August Derleth Papers, Box 100, WSHS Archives. The prize story, "The Ancient Dawn," is about the turmoil of emotions experienced by a young woman as she contemplates an offer of marriage -- the abandonment of an aging father, the loss of freedom, the taking on of new responsibilities. In the end, she returns home to find peace, having somehow resolved all her conflicts.

34. Zona Gale Papers, WSHS Archives; "The Knight and the Lady," The Woman's Journal, Aug. 1, 1914.

35. List of Zona Gale publications, August Derleth Papers, box 100, WSHS Archives; Gilman Hall to Zona Gale, March 23, 1915, Zona Gale Papers, box 2, WSHS Archives; Editor Atlantic Monthly to Zona Gale, n.d., Zona Gale Papers, box 2, WSHS Archives.

36. Swope to Zona Gale, March 5, 1921, Zona Gale Papers, box 2, folder 4, WSHS Archives; Herbert Bayard Swope to Zona Gale, May 23, 1921, Zona Gale Papers, box 3, folder 1, WSHS Archives. Eight years Gale's junior, Swope did not start working in New York until 1902 when he was hired by the Herald. He did not join the World until 1909 (at a salary of just \$7 per week plus space rates, half the salary Gale had been earning when she left the newspaper), so it is doubtful they met each other on the job, but he was quite the man about town and might have met Gale at one of the many social-literary functions the two attended regularly. In 1917 Swope himself was awarded the first Pulitzer for journalism for his series "Inside Germany," and in 1920 was promoted to the position of executive editor. (See Alfred Allan Lewis, Man of the World, New York: Bobbs Merrill, 1978.)

37. Zona Gale to Miss Gleason, May 21, 1921, Zona Gale Papers, box 2, folder 1; Zona Gale to Miss Truckenbrodt, March 24, 1925, Zona Gale Papers, box 2, folder 1; — Gale must have been asked so often about how to get a start in journalism that she used her response beginning "There is virtually never an 'opening' in journalism" in an article for The Writer in October 1929 (Zona Gale, "Three Letters from Zona Gale," The Writer 41 (October 1929) 257-258).

38. Milwaukee Journal, Aug. 10, 1923, Zona Gale Papers, WSHS Rare Books.

39. The Nation, Feb. 13, 1923, Zona Gale Papers, WSHS Rare Books.

40. Transcript of telegram L. Markel, Sunday Editor New York Times to Zona Gale, Sept. 19, 1930, August Derleth Papers, WSHS

Archives; New York Times Magazine, July 13, 1934, Zona Gale Papers, WSHS Rare Books.

41. Wells, Robert W.; New York Herald Tribune, Dec. 29, 1938; Milwaukee Journal, Dec. 29, 1938; Meade, Julian R., "The Lady From Portage," New York Herald Tribune, June 25, 1933.

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E.L. GODKIN
AND THE MEANING OF JOURNALISM

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ABSTRACT: E.L. GODKIN AND THE MEANING OF JOURNALISM

E.L. Godkin was editor of both the Nation (1865-1899) and the New Evening York Post (1881-1899). This research, an exploratory venture into the intellectual history of journalism, studies Godkin's attitude toward his profession, and what he valued and disdained in it. Though Godkin is standard fare in journalism history books, and there are several good books about his life and publications, none of them have dealt with Godkin's concept of journalism. Much has been made of his influence and talent, but nothing of the meaning that he attached to the idea of journalism.

Like his ideas in other areas, Godkin's concept of journalism was multi-dimensional. He wanted, very pragmatically, to make money and, very idealistically, to change society. Journalism was a problem in its pandering to lowly masses, but it held the promise of aiding reform. He assailed editors and reporters for merely grubbing after facts and sensationalizing them. But he defended freedom of expression and the role of the press in democracy.

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E.L. GODKIN AND THE MEANING OF JOURNALISM

Shortly after Joseph Pulitzer took over the New York World in 1882, and as he was setting on his course of both large reform and mass circulation, he reportedly said he was interested in talking "to a nation, not a select committee."¹ One of the people at whom the remark was aimed was Edwin Lawrence Godkin, who would have taken the intended slight as a compliment.

Godkin was editor of both the Nation (1865-1899) and the New Evening York Post (1881-1899). He was not the sole target of Pulitzer's criticism because Godkin was associate editor of the Evening Post from 1881-1883 with Henry Villard and Carl Schurz.² Both publications had modest circulations, but boasted a readership of leaders in business, politics and intellectual life. The Nation and the Evening Post were owned by the same people in a joint-stock arrangement that included Godkin.³ William James credited the Nation with being a "towering influence" for a whole generation's thinking about public affairs.⁴

This research is an exploration of Godkin's attitude toward journalism, and what he valued and disdained in the profession. Though Godkin is standard fare in journalism history books, and there are several good books about his life and publications,⁵ none of which have dealt with Godkin's concept of journalism.

The two biographers of Godkin treated him very differently. Ogden's Life and Letters of E.L. Godkin, published in 1907, is

overly sympathetic, finding virtue where it didn't exist.⁶ Armstrong's E.L. Godkin: A Biography (1978) overcompensated for Ogden by being overly critical of the editor.⁷ Murray, in a 1974 article, found Godkin rigid, unable to adapt to the rapidly changing society of the late-nineteenth century. He said that Godkin firmly believed he was right on all issues.⁸ Grimes, in The Political Liberalism of the New York Nation 1865-1932, closely analyzed the social, economic and political philosophies of the periodical. In this respect, it stands as an authoritative volume of the philosophies espoused in the pages of the Nation. Others who have considered the editorial and public impact of Godkin include Parrington, Nevins and Pollard.⁹

Like his ideas in other areas, Godkin's concept of journalism was complex. He wanted, very pragmatically, to make money and, very idealistically, to change society. Journalism was a problem in its pandering to lowly masses, but it held the promise of aiding reform. He assailed editors and reporters for merely grubbing after facts and sensationalizing them. But he defended freedom of expression and the role of the press in democracy.

THE JOURNALISM 'PROBLEM'

Godkin took a dim view of many of his colleagues in journalism as he liberally criticized editors and newspapers for ignorance and errors. Even early in his career, Godkin was poking fun at the press for its mistakes. In 1861, he jabbed at the London Times for taking James Gordon Bennett of the New York

Herald as a representative of the thought of Northerners. "... I can testify that any writer who quotes the Herald's leading articles as evidence of what the Northern people think or are likely to think, either does not understand what he is writing about, or is guilty of wilful misrepresentation."¹⁰ The comment also revealed Godkin's habit of being personal in his criticism.

Godkin called New York Tribune criticism of the Nation "childish, silly... exhibiting the newspaper mind in its most degraded condition...."¹¹ Though the attack was directed at Tribune editor Horace Greeley, it was also intended for a broader community, those possessed of the "newspaper mind." For Godkin, Greeley and the Tribune were a symbol of low person and poor journalism, and he reserved some of his strongest language for that editor. In a letter concerning Charles Norton's support for George Curtis for U.S. Senate, Godkin warned that Greeley would attack Curtis and advised Norton against his support:

... And in fact I fear that any further agitation of it might prove injurious to Curtis hereafter. Greeley is as time-serving and ambitious and scheming an old fellow as any of them.... As long as the press is what it is, a kind of moral and intellectual dunghill (excuse the strong language), it will produce Tiltons and Greeleys -- the fungi of our system.... And we shall not have a better press as long as the men of strong moral sense, who take to journalism, go off crazy like most of our reformers.... [my emphasis]¹²

The Tribune was, for Godkin, a standard by which to measure journalistic knavery and tendentiousness, but it was not alone among New York newspapers in receiving damnation:

The Sun, Dana's paper, has been rivalling the New York Herald, in its worst days, in ribaldry, falsehood, indecency, levity and dishonesty ... and levying blackmail, to the horror of Dana's friends. He is now an object of general execration. I

think I have never seen such nearly unanimous condemnation of a rascal, which is a good sign.¹³

Godkin, in response to a critical letter, attacked the individual's "old newspaper style" and said that it "bears about the same relation to truth and accuracy as a showman's scene painting does to a topographical survey."¹⁴

Godkin even attacked the journalistically conservative New York Times for half-truths, singling out a writer in the Times, "because I am told at the Times Office that his letters are the most popular things that appear in the paper, although the majority of them are excellent specimens of the conceit, folly, half knowledge...."¹⁵

As Godkin charted the course for the Evening Post, he revealed his idea of what a newspaper ought to be:

My notion is ... that the Evening Post ought to make a specialty of being the paper to which sober-minded people would look ... instead of hollering and belling and shouting platitudes like the Herald and Times.¹⁶

Godkin's stodginess did not go unnoticed. Henry Adams, a stockholder in the Evening Post, good naturedly ribbed Godkin's concern's about Carl Schurz, co-editor of the Evening Post:

You relieve me greatly by telling me that Schurz is sentimental. If you dry one of his tears, I will denounce you at a stock-holders' meeting. Every tear he sheds is worth at least an extra dollar on the dividends. Cultivate them! collect them! point to them! You are no good yourself in the sobbing business, but you can affect a decent respect for real sympathy. I have always told you that your fatal defect was the incapacity to make a popular [emphasis in original] blunder. Not that you can't blunder just as much as other; we are all quick enough at that; but all your blunders are on the wrong side; they don't even make friends. What I want to see is some good, idiotic, gushing, popular [emphasis in original] blundering. We shall thrive on that.¹⁷

Godkin's severe attitude toward the more popular press did not mellow with age, and he may have grown more critical. Even when he took a European vacation in 1892, he sent back vituperative blasts against his professional kin:

... I hope all goes well at the office. I have seen no American papers but the Paris New York Herald, which I never take up without shame and disgust. Silliness and vulgarity stand out in every line of it....^B

Rounding out the list of Godkin's designated charlatans was Charles Dana, the editor of the New York Sun, and a person with whom Godkin often feuded:

... there is a fair prospect of good government in the city for a few years at all events, possibly for my time. But with a villainous press -- venal and silly -- and somewhat frivolous and distinctly childish [emphasis in original] public, it is difficult to be sure of more than a few years.... Think of old Dana being asked to Cornell University to deliver an address on "Founders Day"!^B

Though Godkin spent a career excoriating editors and newspapers, along with many other individuals and institutions in America, he declined to write a series for Century Magazine about the subject. The magazine's editor asked Godkin on two different occasions, once 1890 and again in 1895, to write a series about newspapers. Godkin said he believed the subject was exhausted and that he had nothing to add to it.^D

MERE NEWSGATHERING

Godkin's criticism of the press is attributable to several factors, including his elitism and his critical nature. However, the content of the papers provoked Godkin. He believed journalism was not just gathering the facts and reporting them. "Who, what,

when, where" held little appeal for him. For him, real journalism was "how and why." Shortly after the Nation was launched in 1865, still early in Godkin's career, he wrote to Frederick Olmsted, a shareholder in the Nation, "The publisher [George Stearns, an abolitionist] is a good fellow, very competent, but a sensationist,... with unbounded faith in names [emphasis in original] and puffing, and not much, though it increases every day, in quality...."²¹

Godkin's criticism of common newspapers anticipated the criticism that subsequent generations would have of movies and, eventually, television. He believed popular newspapers were corrupting the younger generation and impairing young people's mental discipline. "The newspapers stand between this generation and the light and make it very hard to get at them...."²² Godkin was alarmed by the new visuals in newspapers of the 1890s, and on the new use of "cuts" in papers, he wrote:

... The 'printed matter' of some of them has for a good while been doing all that printed matter can do to reduce the popular intelligence to that early stage which makes the life of nursery governesses and mistresses of kindergarten so hard, in which all the resources of pedagogy have to be exhausted to keep the child's attention fixed on anything....

The solemn truth is, that the printed matter of some of our metropolitan dailies has now for a dozen years been making it impossible for the people of this city to read anything very long on any subject, or read anything, long or short, on any serious subject....²³

Godkin went on in the article to attack newspapers for "bogus interviews" with public men, for "accounts columns long on how one man hit another in the stomach... how a red-faced man pursued a small man with a knife...."

Though Godkin himself was often very personal in his attacks on public people, he found fault when others did likewise. He deemed this gossip, when practiced by others, and placed the burden for such practices on daily newspapers. He accused "a particular class of newspapers" of converting gossip into a commodity.²⁴

Godkin's criticism of gossipy reporting is best understood by comparison to that which he valued most in journalism: commentary and criticism. He advised young men that a career in newspapers meant being either a reporter or an editorial writer. In the former case, he stated, what was needed was a "clear, forcible English style: in the latter case he needs not only this, but acquaintance with the subject on which he writes, and more or less with other subjects relating to it or bearing on it."²⁵ Editorial writing, he implied, required more knowledge, more critical skills. "News," Godkin wrote in the Atlantic Monthly, had become "everything whatever, no matter how unimportant.... Everything, however trifling, was considered worth printing, and the newspaper finally became, what it is now, a collection of the gossip not only of the whole world, but of its own locality."²⁶

THE GENERAL PUBLIC

Godkin's distrust of the general public was connected to his criticism of the press. As noted earlier, he blamed the press for helping to create a generation that was incapable of critical thinking and crippled by short attention spans.

However, he credited the inanity of the daily press to its audience, which he assailed for demanding such trivial content; "... the press would not be what it is without public demand for it as it is...."²⁷ The "rotten condition" of the press, Godkin charged, was due in part to the fact that the public believed that "no paper can be conducted with purity and independence."²⁸ The press was not blameless for the sad state of American culture, Godkin believed, because it could act as a catalyst in fostering panic and silly ideas.²⁹ Reading "trivial newspapers" would beget "a puerile habit of mind" even among educated readers.³⁰ Ultimately, though, the culture was to blame for itself. Near the end of his career, lamenting the nation's expansionism and lack of leadership, Godkin said: "I fancy the press has had a good deal to do with this awful decline -- the greatest in human history. But then the people make the press...."³¹

Though he criticized press and public, he did not confuse them as one in same. He also did not delude himself or others about the Nation. He made no pretense that it represented a large body of public opinion, and said that it did suit the public "for whom it was intended."³² That newspapers were important in forming public opinion was apparent to Godkin very early in his career. One of his reasons for writing letters for the London Daily News was the quality of the audience and the channel in delivering his ideas.³³

Godkin said the press and voting were the two chief ways in

which public opinion was displayed. However, he believed that newspapers were not necessarily creating opinion as much as they were simply uttering the opinions that readers approved.³⁴ For Godkin, the role of the press as social and political critic was made even more important by the fact that newspapers were, in his view, virtually the only way to ascertain public opinion. Newspapers, he said, affected opinion merely by the fashion in which facts were presented.³⁵ "To the outsider the newspaper press is the nation talking about itself. Nations are known to other nations mainly through their presses." In spite of his insistence on using the press as a gauge of public opinion, he admitted that its effect on public opinion probably was small, but, "anyone who wishes to know what the people are feeling and thinking has to rely on it, for the want of anything better."³⁶

Godkin lifted the problem of newspaper influence to the level of a moral issue in 1895, a time when the yellow press was in its glory and when tensions with Spain were growing. He said politicians were not really so concerned about newspaper attack or praise, but they were concerned about the "supposed effect on other people." Godkin said that it was not the ability of newspapers to affect opinion that was significant; instead, press power was derived from the "delusion" of influencing a great number of people.³⁷

NEWS AS BUSINESS

While decrying editors and publishers who made money from gossip, Godkin kept a close eye on the ledgers of his own

enterprises. Godkin probably would have differentiated himself, however, by pointing out that he was not selling "news," but was dealing in criticism and commentary, a loftier level of journalism. In addition, he wasn't looking for a massive audience, as other papers, especially in New York in the late 19th century, were doing. In terms of market, Godkin preferred a smaller one that was socially and politically more significant.

In a letter in 1864, Godkin bemoaned his poor wages, complaining that he was "winning neither fame nor money." At the time, he was editing the fortnightly Sanitary Commission Bulletin and writing part-time for the New York Times and the London Daily News. It was the drudgery of gathering reports for the Bulletin that he most likely was complaining about, because he said in the same letter that his letters to the Daily News were the "only things that really rouse me...." The work for the Bulletin, he said, was "the most unprofitable of all literary labour."³ When he complained about the journalistic life, it was Godkin the reporter who was talking. When roused, it was the Godkin the commentator.³

Godkin's dislike for mere newsgathering was reflected in his comments about the newspaper as a business. He didn't find fault with making money, it was just the way in which it was made.

... In a commercial country, it is inevitable that the acquisition of money should be the generally recognized, as it is the most easily recognized, sign of success. As a consequence of this, the modes of acquiring it which only offend against taste or discretion, and are not legally criminal, are treated with considerable indulgence, or even in some cases, call forth admiration. Nothing is more unreasonable, in truth, that the impatience of the American public with the excesses of the

newsgathering department of American journalism, considering the enormous rewards in money, and even in social consideration, which it pays and has paid to those who work this field with least regard to its conventions.⁴⁰

When Godkin accused newspapers of exacerbating problems with Spain, he said it was simply a matter of money. The papers, he said, needed large sales for profits; and war news was very good for sales.⁴¹

Godkin's ambivalent feelings about the profession, whether it was noble or profane, were perhaps best reflected in an article that he addressed to boys considering a newspaper career. In the article, "Just the Boy That's Wanted," in The Youth's Companion, Godkin advised that law was the best preparation for the field. It was the training that Godkin had for the profession. He felt that it was a bad idea for younger men to enter a field in which they were at liberty to criticize older, more experienced men. But after attacking the profession, he stated that these were merely things to keep in mind if a young man were to become a journalist.⁴² The article was a rather dim view of the profession for one who dedicated himself so fiercely to it. So Godkin was basically advising young men to do as he had in studying law, to respect their elders, of which he was one, and to aspire to commentary rather than reporting, as he had. The article revealed a dour view of journalism in general, but not of Godkin journalism.

LIBEL

It is in Godkin's writings about libel, for which he was

arrested and sued several times, that his contradictory feelings about journalism may best be explained. Godkin was contentious, and he liked a good fight.⁴³ This personal characteristic carried over into journalism, where he reveled in commentary and criticism. This was what he loved, what he is remembered for, and what got him in trouble.

Most of Godkin's personal entanglements with libel came later in his career, though he did write a long article on the subject in 1880 for Atlantic Monthly. To a great extent, Godkin said, the public was to blame for the problem of libel because there was little social sanction for libeling someone. Godkin primarily criticized daily newspapers, which he saw as little more than libel sheets. Libel, he charged, was the foundation for commercial success for many dailies. In addition, editors were the great libelers of the day. However, for all his churlishness, Godkin admitted that newspapers provided a valuable public service in scrutinizing contenders for public office, a system he called a "contrivance... a clumsy one," but the best one at hand for doing the job. Godkin was moderate in his tone, calling editors restrained, given that the press had little to fear in terms of legal restrictions. However, he felt the problem to be a real one that was not being addressed by society. All too often, he said, the trial merely heaped another libel upon the plaintiff. It was Godkin at his best, identifying a problem, dissecting it from several perspectives (cultural, legal, professional and practical), and ending with the cynical

conclusion that the system was irreparably flawed.⁴⁴

In the 1890s, Godkin gained some first-hand knowledge of libel proceedings. In an article in Scribner's Magazine, Godkin maintained that libel was too often profitable for newspapers, and the supremacy of "pecuniary reward" over all other rewards would make any change in the system unlikely.⁴⁵ In 1890, Godkin was a center of a flurry of legal activity concerning libel. Godkin thanked former president Grover Cleveland for helping him out in a libel case in which Godkin impugned the wrong clergyman. A Buffalo clergyman, George H. Ball, helped publicize Cleveland's illegitimate child. Godkin reported in the Evening Post in 1884 that Ball had left Indiana after "insulting a lady." It was the wrong clergyman. But Cleveland helped Godkin pay the legal expenses.⁴⁶

Two Tammany Hall-backed officials had sworn out two complaints each against Godkin in 1890. Godkin wrote:

... They would I think, try to "live down" a solitary newspaper attack, but the daily sale of the pamphlet keeps them in constant fury, which I must confess I enjoy....

My wife ... would almost feel easier if I were as you supposed "behind the bars," than as I am now, for I am followed about all day and night by a "shadow" a precaution which my friends insist on as necessary, but which is a dreadful bore, and fills her head with dismal forebodings...⁴⁶

He wrote that same year:

... Tammany rascals had me arrested four times for exposing them, and tried to get me indicted, but the Grand Jury made short work of them. My friends more than I were afraid of violence for a while, and had me "shadowed."⁴⁸

Other Godkin letters refer to a least two other law suits, one in 1892 and another in 1876. But by 1892, Godkin was

cavalier about his arrest: "You will see that I have been arrested again. The old story. I go before the Grand Jury today...."⁴

In all, Godkin took pleasure in the fight and made a point of sniffing at the danger that others took so seriously, which he also pointed out. But Godkin's contentiousness haunted him when, in 1897, trustees of the Evening Post adopted a resolution calling for more editorial responsibility. He refused to meet with fellow editors to discuss the newspaper's policies.⁵

Not surprisingly, Godkin was again a man of contradictions. He criticized the system for failing to deal with the problem of newspapers libeling people, but he was an obvious beneficiary of the system. He criticized other editors for libel, but he, too, was generating complaints. He was chagrined by the general culture's lack of civility, of which libel was a symptom, and he admitted to enjoying the fight himself.

EXPECTATIONS AND DAMNATIONS

A few months before he died in 1902, Godkin wrote:

... Our army in the Philippines is repeating the practices of the Spanish and other older despotisms. The worst of it is that the cheap press has become a great aid and support in all these things. It has by no means turned out, as it was expected to, a teacher of better manners and purer laws.⁶

Even this late in his life, and after his journalistic career was ended, Godkin still appeared to expect change. Though remaining cynical about the press, there were expectations. Godkin continued to believe the press should be a better teacher of manners and purer laws. But the passage reveals Godkin's reform

impulse and his disgust for the popular press. All his life, Godkin found the general public to be uncultured, uneducated and uncivil, just like the press that pandered to it, in his eyes. But he continued to press for reform. In attacking the daily press, Godkin also was an editor. He egoism was apparent in the value he placed in his own strengths, commentary and criticism. But he was sued for slandering a minister over the unsupported implication of an affair. He was contemptuous of the daily press, but defended freedom of expression. His attacks on ignorance and sensationalism in the press and the public must be weighed against his sensitivity to the role of the press in democracy. He didn't think it was perfect system, but he believed it to be the best at hand. In his own way, Godkin was a very public-minded person.

In journalism, Godkin saw saviors and scoundrels, idealists and money-grubbers, reformers and corrupters. He didn't tout it as a profession to pursue, but held himself up as a model to young men who were considering it. He found notoriety and apparently sufficient financial security, both of which he wanted. But his letters hint that he would have welcomed more of each. Godkin loved what he did, but not the society in which he did it. Journalism was, for him, very personal, in spite of his attacks on other editors for gossiping about personalities. Journalism was purposeful in that it should promote the cultivation of society and public life. But most importantly, Godkin's journalism was about ideas and ideals, not events and

mere reporting.

His career and ideas were filled with irony. After a lifetime of harping about America, pushing reform, scolding the uncivil and dishonest, he died in England in 1902. His tombstone reads, "Publicist, Economist, Moralist."⁵² A 75-word epitaph also neglects to mention that he was ever a newspaperman.

ENDNOTES

1. W.A. Swanberg, Pulitzer (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1967), p. 73.
2. William M. Armstrong, E.L. Godkin: A Biography (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1978), see pp. 75-88, 140-150, 272-278 on founding and editorial structure of the publications.
3. Armstrong, Biography, p. 136, says the Nation circulation peaked at a little over 10,000 in the early 1870s.
4. Ibid., p. 95.
5. Armstrong, Biography. William M. Armstrong, The Gilded Age Letters of E.L. Godkin (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1974). Allan P. Grimes, The Political Liberalism of the New York "Nation" (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1953). Rollo Ogden, The Life and Letters of Edwin Lawrence Godkin (New York: Macmillan, 1907).
6. Ogden, p. 22. For example, Ogden cited William James' comment, and then stated, "It is but one of a thousand that might be quoted. In both volume and point, the testimony to the singular value of Mr. Godkin's contribution to American journalism is conclusive....." The overstatement is typical of the entire volume, which is not without virtue because it does contain important correspondence, as well as background information about Godkin and his enterprises.
7. Armstrong, Biography, pp. 119-120. In such a case, Armstrong accused Godkin of taking liberties with the facts, and then backed up the case with an example that was obviously intentional hyperbole by Godkin, who had suggested the slaughter of Chinese as a solution to the immigration problem. However, the example had nothing to do with reporting facts. He also charged Godkin with being a polemicist, a charge that has some merit but not to the point of stating that the editor "valued pungency over

accuracy." (p. 147) Armstrong was a thorough scholar whose observations merit consideration, but others have found fault with his very critical judgements. For criticism of Armstrong, see Ari and Olive Hoogenboom, "Denigrating Godkin," Reviews in American History 7(2):224-228, June 1979.

8. Randall L. Murray, "Edwin Lawrence Godkin: Unbending Editor in Times of Change," Journalism History 1974 (3), 1:77-81,89.

9. Alan P. Grimes, The Political Liberalism of the New York 'Nation' (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953). See L. Parrington, Main Currents in American Thought (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1930); James E. Pollard, The Presidents and the Press (New York: Macmillan, 1947); Allan Nevins, ed., The Evening Post: A Century of Journalism (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1922).

10. Ibid., 1:200, letter, Dec. 11, 1861, to the Daily News.

11. Armstrong, Gilded Age Letters, p. 102, April 3, 1867, letter to Charles Eliot Norton.

12. Ibid., p. 93, Fall 1866 letter to C.E. Norton.

13. Ogden, 1:305, letter, Oct. 16, 1869, to C.E. Norton.

14. Armstrong, Gilded Age Letters, pp. 47-48, Aug. 2, 1865, letter to James McKim.

15. Ibid., p. 21, Feb. 21, 1865, letter to C.E. Norton.

16. Ogden, 2:127, 1883 letter to Wendell P. Garrison.

17. Ibid., 2:127, undated letter from Henry Adams.

18. Armstrong, Gilded Age Letters, May 22, 1892, letter written from Paris to Wendell P. Garrison.

19. Ibid., p. 462-463, Jan. 12, 1895, letter to C.E. Norton. The writer for the Times was not named.

20. Ibid., p. 418, Nov. 27, 1890, letter to R.V. Johnson; p. 466, May 13, 1895, letter to R.V. Johnson.

21. Ibid., p. 42, July 23, 1865, letter to Frederick Law Olmsted. See also pp. 477-478, Jan 9, 1896, letter to James Bryce.

22. Ibid., pp. 476-477, Dec. 29, 1895, letter to William James.

23. E.L. Godkin, "Newspaper Pictures," Nation, pp. 306-307, April 27, 1893.

24. E.L. Godkin, "The Right of the Citizen to His Own Reputation," Scribners' Magazine, July 1890, p. 66.
25. E.L. Godkin, "Just the Boy That's Wanted: Part IV, In Journalism," Youth's Companion, Feb. 1899, p. 97.
26. E.L. Godkin, "The Growth and Expression of Public Opinion," Atlantic Monthly, January 1898, p. 6. See also E.L. Godkin, "Newspapers Here and Abroad," North American Review, February 1890, p. 198.
27. Armstrong, Gilded Age Letters, p. 475, Dec. 29, 1895, letter to C.E. Norton.
28. Ibid., p. 40, July 18, 1865, letter to C.E. Norton.
29. Ibid. For example see pp. 439-440, Oct. 16, 1892, letter to James Bryce.
30. Ogden, 2:199, Jan. 12, 1895, letter to C.E. Norton.
31. Armstrong, Gilded Age Letters, p. 515, Nov. 29, 1898, letter to C.E. Norton.
32. Ibid., p. 48, Aug. 2, 1865, letter to James McKim.
33. Ogden, 1:219, Feb. 24, 1864, letter to Frederick L. Olmsted.
34. Godkin, "The Growth and Expression of Public Opinion," pp. 2, 5.
35. Godkin anticipated not only Turner's frontier thesis, but also the modern "critical" commentators who argue that the press is biased as a result of the processes devoted to defining and gathering the news.
36. Godkin, "Growth and Expression of Public Opinion, pp. 6-8.
37. Godkin, "Diplomacy and Newspapers," p. 575.
38. Armstrong, Gilded Age Letters, pp. 9-12, Feb. 24, 1864, letter to F.L. Olmsted.
39. Armstrong, Gilded Age Letters, pp. 25-26, April 12, 1865, letter to F.L. Olmsted. See also Ogden, 2:61, July 28, 1870, letter to C.E. Norton.
40. Godkin, "Newspapers Here and Abroad," pp. 201-202.
41. Godkin, "Diplomacy and the Newspaper," p. 575.
42. Godkin, "Just the Boy That's Wanted," p. 97. See also,

Gilded Age Letters, p. 371, Oct. 10, 188, letter to William James.

43. See Armstrong, Biography, for numerous incidents involving altercations and disagreements in business, journalism and personal life.

44. Godkin, "Libel and It's Legal Remedy," pp. 729-738.

45. Godkin, "The Right of the Citizen to His Own Reputation," pp. 66-67.

46. Armstrong, Gilded Age Letters, p. 410, March 3, 1890, letter to Grover Cleveland.

47. Ibid., p. 413, May 12, 1890, letter to J.R. Lowell.

48. Ibid., p. 415, July 10, 1890, letter to James Bryce.

49. Ibid., p. 436, March 30, 1892, letter to Wendell P. Garrison. See also, p. 434-435, March 1892 (?) letter to Henry Holt, and March 29, 1892, letter to Henry Villard. See p. 240 for reference to the 1876 suit.

50. Ibid., p. 500-501, Dec. 7, 1897, letter to Henry Villard.

51. Ibid., p. 546-547, Jan. 22, 1902, letter to Charles Eliot Norton.

52. Ogden, 2:256.

**PARLIAMENT AND EXPRESSION OF OPINION:
17TH-CENTURY ENGLAND**

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Submitted to
American Journalism Historians Association
for presentation
at the annual convention
October 3-5, 1991
Philadelphia, Pa.

PARLIAMENT AND EXPRESSION OF OPINION: 17TH-CENTURY ENGLAND

(Abstract)

As historians and legal scholars have examined the protection for speech in Anglo-American law and society, they have focused on the protection for assertions of truth or falsehoods. A third type of assertion -- opinion -- has tended to be overlooked, or there has been the assumption that it is a part of the discussion of truth and falsehoods.

This paper examines the expression of opinion, and the arguments for protecting such expression, during the 17th century to determine: to what extent freedom to express opinion was a significant part of the struggle for freedom of speech in Parliament; the role religious opinion played in the development of a protection for political opinion; and for whom the right to express opinion was being argued.

The paper finds that events in the 17th century were significant in the development of a protection for the expression of opinion, despite government efforts to restrain opinion. As a result, at the end of the century the practice of free expression of opinion was vigorous even though the penalty could be severe.

PARLIAMENT AND EXPRESSION OF OPINION: 17TH-CENTURY ENGLAND

Throughout the 16th century, Puritans defied Crown and Parliament orders that prohibited criticism of the government. The Puritans felt they had a right to tell the government -- in strong language, if necessary, -- when they thought it was wrong, particularly in religious matters. By the end of the century, the Crown and Parliament had silenced the Puritans, but had failed to crush their spirit. Thus, while the government continued to regulate expression during the 17th century, preachers, printers, politicians, writers and others wishing to express their opinions violated the regulations, as Puritans had done in the 16th century. Such disobedience would continue to create major problems with the government, particularly the Crown, because the monarch could not tolerate expression of opinion criticizing the government as long as the monarch was to be considered the infallible head of the church and state.

This paper examines the expression of opinion,¹ and the arguments for such expression, during the 17th century. First, the paper shows that freedom to express opinion was a significant part of the struggle for freedom of speech in Parliament. Second, it shows that religious

¹Opinion is defined as expression of judgments, conclusions, and inferences, as distinguished from statements of fact or falsehoods.

opinion was inseparable from political opinion during the 17th century, and thus freedom granted to one had to be granted to the other. Finally, the paper shows that freedom to express opinion was being argued for as a right for everyone, not just for members of Parliament. These events² in the 17th century made significant contributions to a philosophy of expression of opinion about the government.

PARLIAMENT AND FREE SPEECH: THE 17TH CENTURY

The issue of free speech in Parliament arose during the very first year of King James I's reign. In 1604, members of Parliament, apprehensive about the new ruler, prepared what they called an "apology" to the king. It asserted that the speaker's usual request for liberties at the opening of each session was "an act only of manners." It also contended that Parliament inherited its liberties, including freedom of speech, and that the crown could not deny or impair the liberties as Elizabeth I had tried to do in the 16th century when she prohibited the discussion of matters of the state.³ Explaining the extent of Parliament's liberty of speech, the "apology" stated that members participating in discussions or making speeches in Parliament:

may speak freely their consciences without check and
controulment, doing the same with due reverence to

²Many more events and publications than listed in this discussion may have contributed to the meaning of freedom of expression, but the focus here is on the events and publications specifically addressed by the Crown or Parliament. These events and publications were reported in Cobbett's Parliamentary History. Court cases have been examined as another part of the author's ongoing study of the development of a philosophy for the protection of opinion.

³Cobbett, vol. I, p. 1033.

the sovereign court of parl. that is to your maj. and both the houses, who all in this case make but one politick body, whereof your highness is the head.⁴

While stating that "due reverence" to Parliament was the outer limit of the freedom of expression, the apology did not discuss what made a statement irreverent. It is noteworthy that the restriction on expression stated in the apology was the same as that suggested by Mildmay in 1576 rather than the broader protection advocated by Wentworth the same year. Although Parliament wanted freedom of expression, the members did not object to the concept that freedom of expression could be restrained, if the restraint was self-enforced.

In 1606, the Crown and Parliament clashed over a money matter, which created ill feelings toward one another that would have a major impact on the expression of opinion during the 17th century. King James I maintained that he could impose taxes on goods at his pleasure. Parliament contended that the king could not levy such impositions, or taxes, without its consent. The Crown-appointed Court of Exchequer ruled in James' favor, creating a wedge between the king and Parliament that separated them for the remainder of James' reign. Some members of Parliament believed that if James could prohibit them from discussing the affairs of the state, as Elizabeth had tried to do, and if he could raise money without their consent, he could remove them from an effective role in governing the country.⁵

The next major event in the development of freedom of expression for opinions in Parliament began in 1621 when King James I ordered members of Parliament to discuss only the Palatinate affair for which he

⁴Id.

⁵Gardiner, pp. 17-20.

called them into session.⁶ Mr. Secretary Calvert pointed out that the King ordered Parliament to discuss the Palatinate affair, which was state business, and therefore there was a contradiction in saying they were ordered not to meddle in state affairs. The Palatinate affair was Spain's defeat of Bohemia, which was ruled by James' son-in-law Frederick. Parliament rejected the king's order and used their session to express concern that Catholicism was spreading. Parliament advised James to break his ties with Catholics and enforce the country's laws against them. Parliament also advised James to make himself the head of the Protestants on the continent and to marry his son, Charles, to a Protestant. That unsolicited advice prompted the king to order members of the House of Commons not to "meddle with any thing concerning our government or mysteries of state."⁷ The king said state affairs were beyond the reach or capacity of Parliament, and that meddling in them was an infringement upon his royal prerogative.⁸ In response to a question raised by members of Parliament, the king also said the Crown could punish members for words spoken during sessions of Parliament.⁹

The House of Commons responded four days later. The members sent the king a petition which asserted that "matters of government" and "particulars which have their motion in courts of justice" are "proper

⁶Cobbett, vol. I, p. 1301, see Mr. Alford's speech.

⁷Cobbett, vol. I, pp. 1326.

⁸Discussion of state affairs had increased because of discourse with foreign nations, the King said in a proclamation in December 1620. But the discourse had gotten out of hand, he said, and ordered that: "None are to meddle in such matters at home or abroad, but keep to that modest and reverent regard of matters above their reach that benefits good subjects. No man to think himself free from punishment because there are so many offenders."

⁹Cobbett, vol. I, pp. 1326-1327.

subjects" for Parliament's consideration. The petition also stated that the king's efforts would "abridge" freedom of speech, an ancient liberty members of Parliament received from their ancestors. Without freedom of speech, the members told the king, "we cannot freely debate, nor clearly discern of things in question before us, nor truly inform you."¹⁰

Not surprisingly, the king rejected the petition. He said freedom of speech was not a right, but was a "privilege" granted by the "permission" of ancestors and the Crown. The privilege, he said, grew from toleration, not inheritance. The king then promised to maintain the liberties as previous rulers had if members of Parliament would stay within the limits of their duties.¹¹ The king also told Parliament that the claim of inherited rights was contrary to the concept of a monarchy. However, he promised the members that "whatsoever liberties or privileges they enjoy by any law or statute shall be ever inviolably preserved by us."¹² Parliament responded by entering into its journal a protest against the king's contention that the members' rights were granted by the monarch's grace. Parliament's protest stated that:

the arduous and urgent affairs concerning the king,
state and defence of the realm, and of the church of
England, and the making and maintenance of laws,

¹⁰Cobbett, vol. I, pp. 1335-1336.

¹¹He said state affairs were "unfit" for Parliament to consider, unless Parliament was asked to do so by the King. Parliament was handicapped by a lack of daily contact with such matters and a lack of knowledge of participants in negotiations, the king said. And foreign kings would not take the king seriously if he always had to get the approval of Parliament. Cobbett, vol. I, pp. 1342, 1344.

¹²Cobbett, vol. I, p. 1351. Note: The king used the term "inviolably." This might be the first time this term was used in connection with preserving rights. The term would be used frequently later, and historians would question its meaning.

and redress of mischiefs and grievances, which daily happen within this realm, are proper subjects and matter of counsel and debate in parliament: and that in the handling and proceeding of those businesses every member of the house hath, and of right ought to have Freedom of Speech, to propound, treat, reason and bring to conclusion the same.¹³

King James became so angry over the protestation that he tore it out of the House of Commons journal and had several leaders of the House of Commons imprisoned.¹⁴ James later claimed that he removed the protestation because it was written in ambiguous and general language that could be used to infringe upon the prerogatives of the Crown.¹⁵

The dispute between Parliament and the monarch was one of the most significant events in the early development of a theory of free expression. First, Parliament's argument reinforced the assertions by Wentworth and Mildmay earlier that members in Parliament needed to be able to freely debate the affairs of government and the courts in order to reach conclusions, or form opinions, and advise the monarch. It is also important that Parliament contended that "truthful" advice would emerge from the debate. Indeed, the concept that free debate leads to truthful conclusions is synonymous with the free marketplace of ideas concept that would be popularized by John Milton just over 20 years later.

Another significant development in the dispute was the use of two key words, one on each side of the argument for free expression.

¹³ Cobbett, vol. I, p. 1361.

¹⁴ Cobbett, vol. I, pp. 1362-1363. The king imprisoned several leaders of the House of Commons, including Sir Edward Coke, Sir Robert Phillips, Mr. Selden, Mr. Prymme and Mr. Mallory. pp. 1370-1371.

¹⁵ Cobbett, vol. I, p. 1363. He also accused Parliament of voting on the protestation during an "unseasonable hour" when few members were present. It was passed between 5 p.m. and 6 p.m.

Parliament argued that the members' rights would be "abridged" if freedom of speech were denied, and the monarch assured the members that their free speech privilege would be "inviolably" protected. Both words, abridged and inviolably, turned up later in important American documents protecting free expression. The First Amendment to the Constitution provides that "Congress shall make no law abridging . . . the freedom of speech, or of the press." And, several state constitutions provide that freedom of the press shall be "inviolably" protected. If the words had their origin in Anglo-American law during the dispute between Parliament and the Crown, that might help determine what they were intended to mean when adopted in America. Abridge, as used by Parliament, conveyed the idea that the Crown could not restrict expression, but rather, the body making the expression had to regulate itself. The use of inviolably by the monarch seemed to indicate that expression had defined limits under the law and its protection as far as those limits reached was guaranteed. The specific limits of free speech were not addressed by the Crown or Parliament.

The advice from Parliament that precipitated the dispute with the king, needless to say, perhaps, went unheeded. King James I allowed Charles to marry a Catholic, Princess Henrietta Maria of France. The marriage, according to Gardiner, "awoke the old Protestant resistance, and gave new life to Puritanism."¹⁶ Charles succeeded James I in 1625 but was never able to create a good relationship with Parliament or the public.¹⁷ Charles's lack of popularity meant his opponents in Parliament were eager to demand freedom to express critical opinions about his administration and the state of affairs. As a result, the development of

¹⁶Gardiner, p. 44.

¹⁷See Cobbett, vol. I, p. 1375-1376, 1388.

freedom to express opinions during Charles's reign was similar to that under James' reign.

Charles's opponents in Parliament feared that Charles was under the influence of Catholics and requested that he execute the country's laws against Catholics. While Charles accepted Parliament's request, he ignored Parliament's contention that he had no power to force people to pay a tax he levied. When Charles ordered Parliament not to discuss the tax,¹⁸ the speaker of the House of Commons responded, like his predecessors, saying freedom of speech in Parliament was an inherited right and was necessary so the members could properly advise the king. The speaker stated:

(S)ince, for the preparing and drawing to conclusion of such propositions as shall be handled in the house, debate and dispute will be necessarily discerned.¹⁹

While the contention of the speaker was essentially the same as that of his immediate predecessors, it is worth noting that he characterized the language of debate as "opinions" and asserted the view that truth emerges

¹⁸Cobbett, vol. II, pp. 504-506.

¹⁹Cobbett, vol. II, p. 44. Charles' insistence on levying the "forced tax" led to Parliament adopting the Petition of Right in 1628. The petition, which Charles accepted but then ignored, protected certain individual liberties by prohibiting the Crown from imprisoning people without showing cause, quartering soldiers in private homes, and levying taxes without approval of Parliament. Freedom of expression was not one of the rights covered by the petition, but the petition shows the concern for individual rights. See Richard L. Perry and John C. Cooper, eds., Sources of Our Liberties: Documentary Origins of Individual Liberties in the United States Constitution and Bill of Rights (Chicago: American Bar Foundation, 1952), pp. 62-75.

from a "variety of opinions." And once again, it is important to note Parliament emphasized that its members needed to debate issues in order to reach conclusions so they could carry out their duty of advising the king.

PUBLICATIONS AND RESTRAINTS

While the Crown and Parliament were struggling over their respective powers, both groups were also trying to control expressions of private individuals.²⁰ Newspapers began appearing in 1620 to furnish details of the war in Bohemia, also known as the Palatinate affair. Englishmen were interested in the war because Frederick, the King of Palatinate, had married Elizabeth, a popular daughter of James I. They were also interested because the Bohemian Protestants were fighting to prevent the spread of Catholicism in their province. When Frederick lost in 1620,²¹ James did not want the details of the war reported because he had close ties to Catholics in Spain.

In response to publications about the Palatinate affair and the continued disapproval of Catholicism in England, James issued proclamations in 1620 and 1621 prohibiting "discourse" on matters of state.²² In 1623 and 1624, James issued proclamations reviving the 16th-century Star Chamber ordinances that banned the printing or selling of books directed against the government or Stationer's Company.²³ Books

²⁰See Matthias A. Shaaber, Some Forerunners of the Newspaper in England: 1476-1622 (1929); and H. R. Fox Bourne, English Newspapers (1887), pp. 1-53, for a discussion of early newspapers. These newspapers are not included in this discussion because they were printed with authority and thus, for the most part, were not offensive.

²¹E. A. Smith, A History of the Press (1970).

²²Steele, p. 153, No. 1296 (1620); and, p. 155, No. 1315 (1621).

²³Steele, p. 161, No. 1362.

supporting Catholicism proliferated in 1624, according to a petition the House of Commons made to the king that year. The petition, referring to Jesuits and priests who had been barred from the country, stated that:

it is apparent, that the said ill-affected persons . . . (have) taken the boldness to divulge and disperse sundry popish, seditious, and pestilent Books and Pamphlets throughout all the parts of this your Kingdom, . . . to corrupt the youth of this realm, to deprave and scandalize the true religion here established, and to advance the power and authority of the see of Rome.²⁴

According to the petition, at least 150 such books existed and many more were being imported daily, all printed during the previous two years. This two-year span, 1623 to 1625, coincided with the period that Charles proposed to the Spanish princess and later married the French princess, both of whom were Catholic. In response to the petition, King James required all books concerning religion, church government or state affairs to be approved by church and government officials.²⁵ He also promised to provide "overseers" to prevent the printing of such books and to suppress those already in print.²⁶

In 1625, the House of Commons received a complaint against Dr. Richard Montagu for printing and publishing a book called "An Appeal to

²⁴Cobbett, vol. I, p. 1495.

²⁵Steele, p. 163, No. 1383 (1624).

²⁶Cobbett, vol. I, p. 1503. King James had already expressed a willingness to suppress books. In 1610, he suppressed Dr. Crowell's dictionary, called "The Interpreter," saying that it was mistaken about the true state of Parliament and that it spoke "unreverently of the Common Law." Steele, pp. 128-29, No. 1092. In 1613, the King prohibited the publishing of books about dueling, saying they were often provocations. Steele, p. 133, No. 1134 (1613).

Caesar." A committee appointed to examine the book found that it contained errors about religion, particularly the claim that the pope was not Antichristus, which was contrary to the doctrine of the established church of England. The committee found the book to be "factious and seditious, tending manifestly to the dishonour of the late king, and the disturbance of both church and state."²⁷ The House of Commons imprisoned Montagu, but released him at the request of the King Charles who said Montagu was his chaplain. After questioning Parliament's authority to examine such books about religion, Charles promised to take "special care for the examination of all books, which should be printed, for avoiding any matter of sedition, &c."²⁸ Charles issued a proclamation in January 1629 to suppress Montagu's book, saying it was causing unnecessary disputes.²⁹ The prevention of such disputes, according to Gardiner, was the reason the House of Commons wanted the popish books suppressed. The House of Commons believed that forcing everyone to observe the same religious beliefs, a policy known as uniformity, would create national unity.³⁰ Such a policy, of course, would mean that opinions different from those of the established church would not be tolerated.

In 1628, the House of Commons received a complaint against Dr. Roger Manwaring, who had published two of his sermons as a book called "Religion and Allegiance." Manwaring argued in the book that King Charles had the authority to levy a tax without the consent of Parliament. If subjects refused to pay the tax, Manwaring argued, they would suffer eternal

²⁷Cobbett, vol. II, p. 6.

²⁸Cobbett, vol. II, p. 79.

²⁹Steele, p. 185, No. 1586.

³⁰Gardiner, p. 64.

damnation. The House of Commons, which opposed Manwaring's position on the taxes, declared the book to be "a wicked and malicious intention to seduce and misguide the conscience of the king."³¹ The House of Lords also considered the complaint and allowed Manwaring to plead his cause. He insisted he had no intention of misguiding the king, he simply believed that the king should have a subsidy in the case of extreme emergency. Despite a statement from King Charles that he did not perceive the sermons as trying to get him to do anything illegal, the Lords agreed to the imprisonment ordered by the House of Commons. Manwaring's book was burned and he was made to confess before the bar of the House of Commons.³² The king issued a proclamation in June 1628 calling in and suppressing the sermons, but also noting that they were well-meaning.³³

The Manwaring incident showed that while members of Parliament wanted freedom of speech, they did not support such a right outside of Parliament, not even for one of their members when the speech did not agree with their views. When it came to speech outside of Parliament, the members were as eager as the Crown to suppress it. The members seemed to think the argument that truth would prevail in the exchange of opinions had no validity outside of Parliament.

But the efforts by the Crown and Parliament to stop the unlicensed and critical publications proved unsuccessful. The publication of newspapers and popish pamphlets and books continued unabated in the 1630s, as did efforts to force uniformity in religious opinions and ceremony in the country. In 1634, William Prynne was sent to the pillory, then

³¹Manwaring was impeached and ordered to be tried in court. Cobbett, vol. II, p. 388.

³²Cobbett, vol II, pp. 388-401, 410-416, 430.

³³Steele, No. 1551, p. 182.

imprisoned, for his book, Histrio-Matrix, or the Scourge of Stage Players. The Court of the Star Chamber held that the book, which charged stage players with immorality, reflected on the queen.³⁴ In 1637, Sir Edward Dering, a member of Parliament, which had been in recess since 1629, complained that through the Crown's system of licensing, truth was suppressed while the "audacious and libelling pamphlets" of the proponents of Catholicism proliferated.³⁵ A similar complaint from the city of London cited popish books and the efforts of bishops to enforce uniformity in religious belief and worship services as being among the many prevailing evils.³⁶ The numerous publications led to the Star Chamber Ordinance of 1637 which reinstated the licensing system. Aroused by the enforcement of uniformity, the forced taxes, and the new licensing system, Puritans welcomed the opportunity to demonstrate their opposition. Their opportunity came in 1637 when three Puritans convicted of writing against

³⁴See discussion of the trial in chapter V.

³⁵Cobbett, vol. II, p. 670. Dering was expelled from a later Parliament for printing his speeches. p. 1071.

³⁶Cobbett, vol. II, pp. 674-675. The four parts concerning popish books state: "VIII. The swarming of lascivious, idle, and unprofitable Books and Pamphlets, Play-Books and Ballads; as, namely, 'Ovid's Art of Love;' 'the Parliament of Women,' which came out at the dissolving of the last parliament; Barnes's Poems; Parker's Ballads, all in disgrace of religion, to the increase of all vice, and withdrawing of people from reading, studying, and hearing the word of God, and other good books. IX. The hindering of godly Books to be printed, the blotting out of, or perverting in, those which they allow to be printed, all or most of that which strikes either at Popery or Arminianism; and adding of what or where pleaseth them; and the restraints of reprinting books, formerly licensed, without relicensing. X. The publishing and vending of Popish, Arminian, and other dangerous books and tenets; as namely, That the church of Rome is a true church, and in the worst times, never erred in fundamentals; that the subjects have no property in their estates, but that the king may take from them what he is bound by no law, and may other; from the former whereof hath sprung."

the government were led to their public punishment.³⁷

Prynne, the author of Histrio-Matrix, John Bastwick, a physician, and Henry Burton, a clergyman, were convicted in the Star Chamber on June 14, 1637, for writing unlicensed pamphlets attacking the government of the established church. They were sentenced to have their ears cropped in the pillory and then to life imprisonment.³⁸ In a show of support, as the three were led to the pillory on June 30, people tossed herbs and flowers in their path. Later, the Puritans made the three men martyrs as the Puritan Revolution approached.³⁹ In 1638, John Lilburne was convicted in the Star Chamber for printing unlicensed tracts which opposed the government of the established church.⁴⁰ There were many other Puritan publications in the late 1630s, but the anti-government writings of Prynne, Bastwick, Burton, and Lilburne symbolized the attitude of a majority of Englishmen on the eve of the Puritan Revolution.⁴¹ The revolution provided the backdrop for one of the most significant developments in freedom of expression -- Milton's "Areopagitica."

PRESS RESTRICTIONS

Publications opposing the king and church government accelerated in the wake of the convictions of Prynne, Bastwick and Burton, reflecting a growing dissatisfaction with the king. Bastwick, from his prison

³⁷The Star Chamber Ordinances restraining printing were also issued again in 1637.

³⁸See John Lilburne, "The Revolt of the Pamphleteers," in William Haller, ed., Tracts on Liberty in the Puritan Revolution, 1638-1647 (1934) [hereinafter cited as Tracts on Liberty].

³⁹Gardiner, p. 94.

⁴⁰He was whipped, pilloried, and imprisoned. Haller, Tracts on Liberty, pp. 9-14.

⁴¹Haller, Tracts on Liberty, pp. 1-14.

confinement, assailed the bishops in a series of short tracts in 1637 called The Letany of John Bastwick. He said the tracts were intended to "stirre up in thee a Christian hatred" against "all abominations and monstrous impieties" of the established church and government.⁴² Several pamphleteers who supported the government responded to the anti-government tracts in a pamphleteer war reminiscent of the Puritan admonitions and Marprelate episodes of the 16th century.⁴³ Parliament, called into session for the first time in 11 years, released Prynne, Bastwick and Burton from prison in 1640. A year later, Prynne and Bastwick each published an account of his imprisonment to show how unjustly he felt he had been treated by the government. Prynne wrote of his martyrdom in A New Discovery of the Prelates Tyranny and Bastwick wrote The Confession of their faithfull Witsnesse of Christ.⁴⁴ In response to the increase in Puritan pamphlets, Charles issued a declaration in 1641 prohibiting pamphlets and printed sermons which were "so full of bitterness and malice against the present government and the laws established, (and) so full of sedition against ourself and the peace of the kingdom."⁴⁵ Charles ordered the judges and solicitors to prosecute the offenders.

In November of 1641, Charles had to call Parliament into session because he needed funds for the army. Knowing that Charles could not dissolve Parliament until he got the funds, the members of the House of Commons took advantage of the king's weak position and addressed their

⁴²Haller, Tracts on Liberty, p. 12.

⁴³See Haller, "New Lights and Divine Right," in Tracts on Liberty, pp. 15-22.

⁴⁴Cited in Haller, Tracts on Liberty, p. 11.

⁴⁵Cobbett, vol. II, p. 974.

own grievances first. In late November, the House of Commons, now mostly Puritan, passed the Grand Remonstrance, which outlined what the members considered to be the wrongs Charles had committed against Parliament during his reign. In December, the House of Commons voted to have the remonstrance printed.⁴⁶ Less than a year later, a civil war broke out between the king and Parliament when Charles, on Aug. 22, 1642, called for loyal subjects to help him fight a rebellious Parliament.⁴⁷

The importance of the printing presses was demonstrated not only in the publication of the Grand Remonstrance, but also when just four days after the king sought help, Parliament passed a special order suppressing all unlicensed publications and "any scandalous book or pamphlet referring to Parliament."⁴⁸ Parliament also ordered that its debates and proceedings be printed in diurnals so that word of its actions against the king could be accurately spread among the people. The printing presses, which made it possible to disperse numerous anti-government pamphlets, had been instrumental in helping to bring Parliament to power. Now to retain power, Parliament was controlling the use of the printing presses.

The special order was a prelude to Parliament's ordinance in 1643 limiting the use of the presses. The ordinance cited the proliferation of many recent "false, forged, scandalous, seditious, libellous, and unlicensed papers, pamphlets, and books to the great defamation of religion and government."⁴⁹ To control the publications, the ordinance: (1) prohibited the printing of a declaration of either house of Parliament without an order from that house; (2) prohibited the printing or selling of a book, pamphlet,

⁴⁶Gardiner, p. 121.

⁴⁷Id. at 127.

⁴⁸Steele, p. 272, No. 2255.

⁴⁹Cobbett, vol. III, p. 131.

or paper without a license from a licenser appointed by either or both houses of Parliament; and (3) required all publications to be entered in the Register Book of the Stationers Company along with the printer's name. Also, the ordinance required the Stationers Company to search for and seize printing presses which were unlicensed or were used to print scandalous or unlicensed publications. All authors, printers, and other persons involved in preparing the publications were to be apprehended. These types of restrictions were not new; they were modeled on the Star Chamber ordinances used earlier to control the printing presses.⁵⁰

Parliament's licensing system led John Milton, a Puritan, to plea for unlicensed printing in 1644. Conceptually, Milton's argument for freedom to use the printing presses was the same as Peter Wentworth's declaration for freedom of speech in Parliament in 1576, and the claim by the speakers of the House of Commons under James I and Charles I that members had a right to freely express and hear opinions. Wentworth and Milton, as well as the speakers of the House of Commons, argued that truth would emerge from a debate in which truth, falsehood, and opinions are allowed to be stated without government restraints. Milton said:

though all the winds of doctrine were let loose to play upon the earth, so truth be in the field, we do injuriously by licensing and prohibiting to misdoubt her strength. Let her and falsehood grapple; who ever knew truth put to the worse, in free and open encounter.⁵¹

Licensing, according to Milton, would guarantee that only opinions that

⁵⁰A similar ordinance was passed in 1647. Cobbett, vol. III, pp. 780-781.

⁵¹Milton, p. 199.

flatter the government would be freely expressed. Milton's argument did not carry the day. Parliament continued the licensing system. But Milton's argument would continue to find disciples and would eventually outlast licensing systems in Anglo-American law.

Meanwhile, the civil war continued. Parliament, to get Scotland on its side, approved the Solemn League and Covenant that made Presbyterianism the official religion of the established church. In Presbyterianism, bishops were not subject to a supreme earthly power and bishops in each parish determined the worship ceremony.⁵²

In 1646, Parliament's army defeated King Charles and his troops. The army gained control of Parliament by 1648 and forced it to appoint a court to try Charles on charges of abusing his power. The court found Charles guilty and the king was beheaded in 1649.⁵³ The fall and execution of Charles I destroyed the notion that the king was infallible.

In September 1649, the army-controlled House of Commons, which was now running the government, issued a proclamation reviving the ordinances that restricted the use of the printing presses. The new proclamation cited the "assumed boldness of the weekly Pamphleteers" that "censure the Proceedings of Parliament and the Army, and other Affairs of the State" at their pleasure. The ordinance stated that:

No person shall presume to Make, Write, Print, Publish, Sell or Utter, or cause to Made, Printed or Uttered, any Scandalous or Libellous Books, Pamphlets, Papers or Pictures whatsoever.⁵⁴

⁵²Gardiner, p. 132.

⁵³Id. at 153.

⁵⁴C.H. Firth and R.S. Rait, eds., Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum 1642-1660 (London: 1911) Vol. II, pp. 245-254.

The ordinance also voided all previous licenses for newsbooks or diurnals containing the proceedings of Parliament, and prohibited the writing and circulation of any new publication unless it was licensed. Parliament, like the monarchs before it, knew the power of the opposition's opinions and sought to suppress them.

The continuation of the licensing system led John Lilburne and a group of Puritans to petition the House of Commons in 1649 to remove all restraints from a person's right to use the printing presses. The petition charged that the current restraints were aimed at punishing Puritans although their pamphlets had helped Parliament come to power.⁵⁵ The petition was rejected. Lilburne, because of his activities and pamphlets against government, was jailed several times and ultimately barred from the country in 1651.⁵⁶ The freedom of unlicensed printing sought by Milton, Lilburne and others was not granted, but, that did not stop them from expressing their opinions.

Despite having supported freedom of expression, Parliament was as oppressive in suppressing opinions as the Crown had been. It seems clear that Parliament realized the printing presses had been instrumental in the downfall of the king. And, perhaps, Parliament believed the same fate awaited the new government if restraints on expression were not imposed. Yet, even though the restraints were not removed, this period is significant because the argument for freedom of expression for opinion was expanded outside of the walls of Parliament. Milton advocated the concept that freedom to receive and express opinions should be granted to all persons,

⁵⁵Steele, p. 342, No. 2821 (1649).

⁵⁶Corbett, vol. III, p. 484; p. 495-496; p. 1412.

not just members of Parliament, and that the freedom should be extended to all opinions except those supporting Catholicism. Truth would emerge from debate, he indicated, not because of whom the speakers were, but because truth naturally overpowers falsehood.

RESTORATION TO REVOLUTION

After Charles was beheaded, Parliament took control of the government and continued the system of a licensed press.⁵⁷ Under the system of licensing, however, Parliament initially tolerated the expression of opinions that did not challenge its decisions or authority. Under the old system when the king was considered infallible, the king could not permit any opinions which reflected on him because the opinions could be seen as questioning his decisions. Now that a king was no longer considered infallible, and Parliament and the former king were on opposite sides, Parliament permitted the expression of opinions which were critical of the King Charles and his predecessors. Parliament permitted the critical opinions, though, not as a way of receiving advice on how to govern the country, but rather, it was Parliament's way of further denouncing its enemy.

In permitting the expression of opinion about the former rulers, Parliament also tolerated the expression of some religious opinion. However, Oliver Cromwell put a stop to toleration of religious opinions.

⁵⁷Books Parliament found offensive during the Commonwealth included A fiery flying Roll, by Coppe, as blasphemous, in Steele, p. 349, No. 2887 (1649); A Declaration by the Kings Majesty. To His Subjects of the Kingdoms of Scotland, England and Ireland, as an attempt to seduce the English people into disobedience, in Steele, p. 352, No. 2910; The Single Eye, as blasphemous, in Steele, p. 352, No. 2913; The Rocovian Catechism, as blasphemous, erroneous, and scandalous," in Steele, p. 358, No. 2966. All but the declaration were ordered burned.

Cromwell had become head of the commonwealth government which ruled England from 1649 to 1660 when England was without a king. Parliament began to support the suppression of religion opinion in 1657. Ironically, Parliament had allowed religious toleration in the army during the Puritan Revolution, and Cromwell was leader of the army at the time. When the policy of religious toleration, or freedom to express religious opinions, did not work in their favor, they suppressed the opinions.

The policy of tolerating religious opinions was reinstated in 1660 when Charles II was restored to the throne. He permitted the use of the then-banned Common Book of Prayer and re-established the system of bishops, which had been dismantled.⁵⁸ During the Restoration, the period from the return of a monarch to the throne in 1660 to the Revolution of 1688, Parliament and the Crown had equal status. Each, however, fought to become the dominant branch of government. Each regulated the printing presses.

Parliament, in November of 1660, ordered the burning of a pamphlet, The Long Parliament revived. William Drake, its author and a member of the House of Commons, argued in the pamphlet that the Long Parliament originally called in 1640 had not been legally dissolved; thus, subsequent Parliaments were illegal, he said. Parliament, finding the book to be "false, wicked, malicious, and seditious," impeached Drake.⁵⁹

In 1661, Parliament ordered the printing presses to be put into the hands of a licenser,⁶⁰ but licensing did not stop the flow of publications that opposed the government. The same year, the House of Commons

⁵⁸Gardiner, pp. 154-189.

⁵⁹Cobbett, vol. IV, pp. 147-148, 156-158.

⁶⁰Cobbett, vol. IV, p. 233.

punished one of its members, Mr. Pym, for writing and publishing an "illegal, false, scandalous, and seditious" pamphlet. Pym apologized.⁶¹

In 1675, Parliament imprisoned the author and disperser of a paper it labelled as scandalous.⁶² In 1677, Parliament voted to imprison the author of a publication which maintained that Parliament had no right to conduct the business of the government because it had been dismissed.⁶³ Later, in 1685, Parliament found a declaration by the Duke of Monmouth to be traitorous. The House of Commons gave orders to burn the declaration that charged the king with planning to bring Roman Catholicism back to England and with the burning of London.⁶⁴

King Charles II also issued several proclamations to silence pamphleteers, but to little avail. In 1660, at the urging of Parliament, the king issued a proclamation ordering that two books by John Milton and one by John Goodwin be burned.⁶⁵ The books defended the death sentence given against King Charles I.⁶⁶ He announced two proclamations suppressing publications in 1672 and 1673 after he issued his Declaration of Indulgence, which suspended laws passed by Parliament. The declaration

⁶¹"Sundry reasons humbly tendred to the most Honourable House of Peers," Steele, p. 398, No. 3313.

⁶² Cobbett, vol. IV, pp. 770-772.

⁶³ Cobbett, vol. IV, pp. 837-842.

⁶⁴ Cobbett, vol. IV, p. 1365.

⁶⁵ Steele, p. 389, No. 3239. Goodwin, a Puritan, had also published an essay in 1654 supporting Milton's pleas for freedom of the press from governmental control. "Fresh Discovery of the High Presbyterian Spirit," quoted in Siebert, p. 227. Said Goodwin, "The setting of Watchmen with authority at the door of the press to keep errors and heresies out of the world is as weak a project and design, as it would be to set a company of armed men about a house to keep darkness out of it in the night season."

⁶⁶ Cobbett, vol. IV, p. 71.

allowed Catholics to worship in their private houses and Puritans, now called Protestant Dissenters, to worship without using the Common Prayer Book. The declaration caused an onslaught of pamphlets which charged that the king had no authority to ignore laws. In response, the king issued proclamations prohibiting Parliament from meddling in state affairs or spreading false news about the government.⁶⁷ The prohibition did not halt the spread of pamphlets attacking the controversial declaration and Parliament forced Charles II to withdraw it. Then, Parliament passed the Test Act which made it illegal for any person to hold civil or military office unless the person had first taken the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England. Toleration of religious opinion that did not conform to the established church no longer existed as the Test Act effectively barred Catholics from office.

In 1676, the king issued a proclamation to stop "Sundry false, infamous, and scandalous libels on the ecclesiastical and temporal government and the ministers (which) are daily published." It offered rewards for the discovery of any persons connected with the libels, or the equipment used to publish them. The justices were instructed to take immediate steps to suppress libels.⁶⁸

In October 1679, the king issued a proclamation for seizure of "Seditious and scandalous books and pamphlets and libels lately printed." Less than a year later, in May 1680, the king issued a proclamation prohibiting unlicensed news books or pamphlets from being printed or published. The proclamation emphasized that all news which was published should be true.⁶⁹ These proclamations were issued during the struggle

⁶⁷Steele, p. 431, No. 3570; p. 435, No. 3595.

⁶⁸Steele, p. 439, No. 3624.

over the Exclusion Bill, which attempted to exclude Charles II's younger Catholic brother, James, from succeeding to the throne.

James, however, did succeed to the throne when Charles died in 1685. James II attempted to get the Test Act repealed but failed even though he was a member of the Tory political party which controlled Parliament. James II then declared he was not bound by laws of Parliament and went about putting Catholics in civil and military offices in violation of the Test Act. His actions generated opposition pamphlets. James II responded in February 1688 with a proclamation prohibiting peddlers from selling seditious books or pamphlets.⁷⁰ This would make it easier to control the sale of offensive pamphlets since only booksellers, printers and bookbinders would be allowed to sell pamphlets. Again in October of 1688, James II attempted to restrain the spreading of false news. He issued a proclamation stating:

All subjects are warned not to write, print, nor speak, any false news whatsoever, or to meddle with affairs of State in their common discourse. Those who hear such things and do not reveal them to the authorities will equally be punished.⁷¹

This was the last royal proclamation restraining the press prior to the Revolution of 1688.

It is worth noting that the October proclamation contained two ideas central to the government's policy of regulation of speech dating back to the 16th century. The proclamation, like England's first regulation against

⁶⁹Steele, p. 450, No. 3715.

⁷⁰Steele, p. 467, No. 3859. See also, George M. Trevelyan, The English Revolution: 1688-1689 (1938) p. 27.

⁷¹Steele, p. 470, No. 3888.

speech, the Scandalum Magnatum statute in 1275, prohibited the spread of "false news." And, the proclamation forbade anyone to "meddle with affairs of State," the same prohibition that every monarch as far back as Queen Elizabeth imposed on Parliament and the public. On these two points, the Crown's view of freedom of expression was no different at the dawn of the Revolution in 1688 than at the dawn of the Reformation in 1534.

But while the Crown and Parliament suppressed freedom of expression as an interference with government, some members of Parliament had begun to accept the concept that the press could be used to improve government. The members saw that the press could be used to report the actions of government and to report the opinions of members of Parliament as well as the members of the public. This was evident in 1681 when members debated whether to publish their votes and the proceedings of Parliament. One member, Col. Mildmay, argued: "If our actions be naught, let the world judge of them; if they be good, let them have their virtue. . . . I am for printing the votes." Sir Francis Winnington supported him, saying: "I think it not natural, nor rational, that the people, who sent us hither, should not be informed of our actions."⁷² This was a far cry from the stubborn view that members of Parliament did not have to answer to anyone outside of Parliament for their official actions.

But the traditional view won out. That view, that "the Freedom of Speech, and Debates, or proceedings in Parliaments, ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Parliament," was not changed by the Revolution of 1688 either.⁷³ For the remainder of the 17th century, Parliament prohibited the publication of its votes and proceedings.

⁷²Cobbett, vol. IV, p. 1304-1305.

⁷³Declaration of Rights, in Cobbett, vol. V, p. 110.

But the spirit of dissident printers and writers and members of parliament who either practiced or advocated free expression of opinions was gaining strong and getting stronger by the later 17th century.⁷⁴

The legislators who had wanted the proceedings of Parliament printed tended to be Whigs, a new political party which maintained that Parliament was a co-equal branch of government with the Crown. The Whigs also saw themselves as representatives of the people and supported toleration of religious opinions, except Catholicism. The emergence of opposition political parties was a significant development affecting the expression of opinion in the late 17th century. The second party, the Tories, supported the Crown as a supreme branch of government and favored enforcing the laws against Protestant Dissenters and Catholics. The two political parties meant that there were always two sides to every issue. And because the king was no longer considered infallible, people were no longer afraid to express opinions about the government, including the king, even if they could be punished afterward. The penalties of physical punishment imposed by the Star Chamber and in the first half of the century had been replaced by fines and imprisonment.

The Whigs used the press to challenge James II and ousted him from office in 1688 because of his policy of suspending, or ignoring, the laws of Parliament. The Declaration of Rights, which settled the issues that led to the overthrow of James II, provided for freedom of speech in Parliament and religious toleration for Protestants but not for Catholics.

⁷⁴"An account of the Proceedings in the House of Commons, in relation to the re-coining the clipt Money, and falling the Price of Guineas," in Cobbett, vol. V, p. 997. "A summary Account of the Proceedings upon the happy Discovery of the Jacobite Conspiracy," in Cobbett, vol. V, p. 997; Cobbett, vol. V, p. 1198; Cobbett, vol. V, p. 1217.

Both of these measures were significant in the development of a freedom for the expression of opinion. The Crown finally recognized the right to free speech, which members of Parliament had been claiming since at least 1576 -- the right to freely express and hear opinions in Parliament to reach conclusions and discover the truth. Likewise, advocates of freedom of religious opinion won their fight to receive, hold and express whatever religious opinions they desired, except Catholicism. It was a fight that dated back to the early 15th century.

The declaration did not address freedom of the press, or freedom to express political opinion outside of Parliament. As a result, the Crown and Parliament continued regulating the printing presses as they had before. In 1690, a newspaper that listed names of members who allegedly opposed making William and Mary the king and queen was declared by the House of Commons to be "a false and scandalous Libel, reflecting upon their majesties and their government, and the rights and privileges of parliament."⁷⁵ In January 1693, the House of Commons found a licensed book entitled, King William and Queen Mary Conquerors, to be dangerous to the king and queen, to the liberties of the subject and to the peace of the kingdom. Both houses of Parliament ordered the book to be burned, and the House of Commons ordered the king to fire the licenser who approved it.⁷⁶ In March 1693, a pamphlet published as a House of Commons speech by Sir John Knight was ordered burned. The House of Commons determined that the publication was a "libel" containing "many false,

⁷⁵"A letter to a Friend, upon the Dissolution of the Parliament, and the calling of a new one; together with the List of those that were against making the prince and princesses of Orange king and queen," in Cobbett, vol. V, pp. 618-622.

⁷⁶Cobbett, vol. V, p. 756.

scandalous, and seditious expressions and reflections."⁷⁷ Licensing -- the restraint used for nearly 150 years to control the printing presses -- finally ended in 1694 when members of Parliament could not agree on a bill to continue it.⁷⁸

DISCUSSION

When licensing regulations expired in 1694, the printing presses were no longer subject to licensing as a restriction. Additionally, the Crown was no longer regulating speech in Parliament. But it would be a mistake to proclaim that speech and the printing presses were free of regulation.⁷⁹ Parliament still regulated speech within its walls, and the removal of licenses meant only that printers would not need to obtain permission before issuing a publication. It did not mean that printers could print anything about government they desired without suffering consequences.

Yet, a strong tradition of freedom of expression for opinion developed during the 17th century. Members of Parliament contended during the first quarter of the century that they had a right to hear and express opinions during sessions of Parliament so they could reach conclusions and truthfully advise the king, which was their duty. The Crown eventually recognized that right in the Declaration of Rights that ended the Revolution of 1688. John Milton's essay in 1644 made essentially the same argument for freedom of opinion that Parliament had,

⁷⁷ Cobbett, vol. V, p. 857.

⁷⁸Three years later in 1697, a pamphlet was published, entitled, A Letter to a Member of Parliament, shewing that a Restraint on the Press is inconsistent with the Protestant Religion and dangerous to the Liberties of the Nation.

⁷⁹Freedom of expression was also regulated by the courts, the focus of the next phase of this research.

but more importantly, Milton argued that the right belonged to everyone, not just members of Parliament. Milton also argued that truth would emerge from an exchange of opinion because truth naturally conquers falsehoods. Parliament had argued that the members would choose truth when faced with a variety of opinions. The two 17th-century concepts -- that people naturally choose truth when faced with diversity of opinions and that truth naturally conquers falsehoods -- continue to be the foundation of arguments for freedom of expression of opinion.

Another important issue in the development of freedom of expression was religious toleration. While the Crown wanted to tell the people what religious principles to believe in, the people wanted to choose their own religion. Freedom of expression and religious toleration were inseparable. Religious worship involved the expression of religious opinion. But without some form of religious toleration, all worship that was not consistent with the religion of the established church violated the law. In the Declaration of Rights, the Crown was forced to tolerate all religious opinion, except Catholicism. In agreeing to the declaration's protection for religious opinion, the government accepted some of the harshest criticism that had been levelled against it during the century and sanctioned the use of the printing presses for such activity. Permitting such criticism through religious opinion was at least as important as conceding that the king was not infallible, a concession which opened the door to a legal protection for expression of critical opinion about the king, and thus, the entire government.

The Freeman to The Tribune:

Black Journalism in the Colonial Bahamas

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The Freeman to The Tribune:

Black Journalism in the Colonial Bahamas

When the American Loyalists from the southern mainland colonies arrived in the Bahama Islands at the end of the American Revolution in 1784, they brought with them their businesses, social institutions, cotton, slaves and prejudices. Among the arrivals in Nassau during this turbulent era was John Wells, a printer from Charleston, South Carolina, via St. Augustine in British East Florida.

In setting up the first print shop in Nassau, Wells, like printers for the next half century, relied on slaves and freemen of color to assist in the production of his newspaper, the Bahama Gazette. Indeed, colonial journalism and printing could not have survived in these then-obscure and remote islands without the labor of blacks, slave or otherwise. In his last attempt to revive the Bahama Gazette in 1819, William Gathorn advertised for apprentices and a "negro Man-Boy"¹ or a "free person of color"² to work the press.

¹Bahama Gazette (Nassau), 10 March 1819.

²Ibid.

At the end of the main period of post-Revolution migration in 1786, the population of the colony was about 3,000 whites and 6,000 slaves.³ Into the social upheaval created by the migration from the rebellious colonies came the tradition of free, if not free-wheeling, speech and press to challenge the ascendancy of pre-war Bahamian gentry. Wells' paper, like many colonial journals, was an elitist publication with a fairly limited circulation among the educated white colonists in Nassau.⁴ The concerns of the black minority counted for little in the press.

Failure of cotton culture at the end of the 18th century and Emancipation in 1837 led to the economic decline of the colony. Little was done to assist the newly-freed slaves; employment was nearly non-existent and social services for them were beyond the ability of the now-impoorished whites to provide. In any event, prejudices toward their former slaves too often prevented the former masters from doing much.

³Michael Craton, History of the Bahamas, 3rd ed., (Waterloo, Ontario, Canada: San Salvador Press, 1986), p. 151.

⁴In 1867, the editor of the Nassau Guardian reported that his paper reached one in every 133 in the colony and one in 40 on New Providence Island (Nassau). By 1873, the editor reported that the three papers in Nassau had combined circulation of 560 copies, which reached about ten per cent of the colony's literate population of 5,798 (4,259 who could read and write and a further 1,539 who could read). If the same proportion held at outset of Wells' paper, the Bahama Gazette would have reached about 100 people (7,250 residents, 1,000 literate and ten per cent of them subscribing).

Newspapers constituted a luxury for most and were beyond the means of the blacks who had little education to read them or money to buy them. A half century was to pass after Emancipation before the first attempt was made to establish a newspaper for the black majority in the Bahamas and another decade and a half before a viable newspaper for black Bahamians⁵ was established on a permanent basis. The history of most of these papers is obscure, but it gives a view of an underclass adapting to its times and conditions.

The papers published in Nassau by and for the Afro-Bahamians include: the Freeman (1887-1889); the Watchman (1901-1906); the Nassau Tribune (1903-); the Herald, with interruptions (1937-1965); the Voice (1945-1956?), and the Searchlight (1907-1908) in Mathew Town, Inagua Island.

⁵It should be noted that it is difficult to determine the exact racial heritage of many Bahamians. The Dupuch family, for example, descends from a French artillery officer who, after the Battle of Waterloo, settled in St. Lucia where he married a local black woman and later migrated to Nassau. A common surname in the Bahamas is Rolle, taken from Lord John Rolle who freed his slaves and gave them his plantation. To honor him, most of his former slaves took his name as their own. There are black Wood-sides who were the property of an American Loyalist named Elizabeth Woodside from North Carolina who settled in the islands. They have kept Woodside for their surname. A former student of mine from the islands even had the name Elizabeth, which had been a family name for generations. Many of the names in the islands are duplicated by both white and black families. In researching for my dissertation, I talked to Carl Bethel, who is black, at ZNS-TV and to Harcourt Bethel at the Tribune, who is white.

These papers are discussed here. Other papers were published by blacks, as in the case of the Bimini Bugle published by the Rollins brothers (1939-1941, 1950-1953?) as a sport fishing journal.⁶ The Inagua Record (1908-1913) was published by A. H. Meallet at Mathew Town,⁷ although it is not clear if this paper was concerned with matters pertaining to the conditions of blacks living on Inagua Island. Other papers, often very short-lived, may have been produced for the black population, but their histories cannot be found in the evidence available.

The Freeman

The first attempt to provide black Bahamians with a newspaper grew out of the oppressive economic and social conditions of the late nineteenth century. Oppressive conditions in the 'truck' system of sponging put blacks in economic bondage to local merchants. Essentially, the system was like sharecropping in which merchants fitted out sponging expeditions on shares. Blacks, who did the actual sponging, would first be required to take inferior merchandise on credit from the merchant in order to supply their families. When the catch was sold, blacks were frequently paid so little that their earnings did not cover their debt

⁶"Another Viewpoint," Nassau Guardian, 9 May 1953, p. 6.

⁷"Ave Atque Vale," Nassau Guardian, 1 February 1947, p. 4.

to the merchant and they were forced to continue sponging in what was often a futile attempt to pay off their debts.

The injustice of the truck system was offensive to one L. D. Powles, an outspoken Irish-Catholic who served as a circuit magistrate in the largely Protestant colony. Powles offended local sensibilities by stating publicly that "I would not believe a Methodist on his oath,"⁸ and by sending James Lightbourne, a member of one of Nassau's leading families, to jail, rather than fining him, for beating a black female servant.⁹ Powles, thus established himself as a friend of the black majority and a threat to the oligarchy. In his book, The Land of the Pink Pearl, he recorded the many problems facing the nearly destitute blacks and their attempts to overcome them.

The Freeman came into existence as the result of a conversation between Powles and Governor Henry Blake (1884-1887).¹⁰ Blake noted, "It is very difficult to do anything for them [the blacks] as long as they have no public opinion and no press."¹¹ Powles apparently took it upon himself to

⁸L. D. Powles, Land of the Pink Pear, (London: Sampson Lowe, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1888), p. 311.

⁹Ibid., pp. 305-321.

¹⁰Although no copies of the Freeman are known to exist, the paper appeared in Nassau on March 8, 1887, as the first newspaper by and for the black population of the colony. Ibid., p. 101.

¹¹Powles, p. 101.

rectify the lack of a press and soon persuaded James C. Smith, a "light-coloured gentleman of integrity and ability,"¹² who represented the western district of New Providence Island in the House of Assembly, to bring out the new weekly paper. The first editor of the paper was S. J. Bosfield;¹³ he was apparently replaced by Stephen A. Dillet at some point,¹⁴ although the record is not clear.

Its existence is known through a letter to the editor of the Nassau Times on July 21, 1888,¹⁵ and to a reference in the Nassau Guardian of November 14, 1894,¹⁶ to the Freeman's editorial praising Percy J. Moseley at his death in 1887. A more complete, although brief, story of the Freeman appears in Powles' book in the form of an appeal published in the Key of the Gulf, a paper published in Key West, Florida, where a number of Bahamians had settled.¹⁷

With the motto, "For God, and Right, and Queen, and Country," the paper set about trying to develop an appreci-

¹²Ibid.

¹³[Mary Moseley], "Newspapers of the Bahamas," Nassau Guardian, 23 November 1944.

¹⁴"Death of Capt. S. A. Dillet," Nassau Tribune, 13 November 1930.

¹⁵Nassau Times, 21 July 1888.

¹⁶Nassau Guardian, 14 November 1894.

¹⁷"A Voice from the Bahamas," Key of the Gulf (Key West, Fla.) 14 May 1887, quoted in Powles, pp. 102-05.

ation for the power of the press in the black community. As the petitioner to the Key of the Gulf wrote, "[The black majority] have everything to learn, and first of all they have to learn the value of having an organ of their own."¹⁸ His appeal for 400 subscribers at three cents a week may have had some success because by the time Powles wrote his book, the Freeman was a full-sized newspaper.¹⁹

Certainly lack of education for black Bahamians led to ignorance of rights and the remedies at hand to secure them. The editor of the Freeman was perceptive in recognizing the role of his paper in bringing about change if--and it was a big "if"--he could keep his paper afloat until the black population became educated enough to secure the rights they did not understand or know how to use.

The Freeman did not survive; it lasted less than three years until it expired in 1889. The plant was bought by the Nassau Guardian,²⁰ according to that paper's editor, Percy J. Moseley,²¹ but a notice in the Nassau Times on September

¹⁸Powles, p. 104.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 105.

²⁰The Guardian itself had been founded by Edwin Charles Moseley in 1844, and by the time the Freeman appeared, it was the dominant paper in the islands. It would remain so until the Nassau Tribune became firmly established in the 1920s. The Guardian still exists as one of only a handful of 19th century papers in the British Caribbean-area colonies still surviving.

²¹[Moseley], op. cit.

2, 1890, said the press and plant of "The Freeman Newspaper, were sold at Public Auction to-day [sic], and were purchased by Mr. S. T. Smith, for £24."²² It is not clear whether Smith bought the Freeman's press and plant for the Guardian, but no newspaper edited by anyone named Smith appeared in Nassau after the demise of the Freeman. Smith was apparently an intimate, or a trusted employee, of the Guardian's editor, as his name later appeared as seconding a resolution in support of Alfred Moseley when he was imprisoned by Chief Justice Roger Yelverton for contempt of court in 1892.²³ The Guardian bought defunct printing establishments as a method of controlling the appearance of new competing printing and publishing establishments.

The curious lack of references to the Freeman may be attributed to the fact that a black man started the paper for the black population of the colony. As such, the Freeman had little if any influence within the small world of journalism in the colony, although Bosfield and Dillet reappear in later journalistic enterprises in Nassau. Powles reported that after Governor Blake left the colony, the Freeman was not accepted for delivery at Government

²²Nassau Times, 2 September 1890.

²³Nassau Guardian 18 May 1892.

House,²⁴ the home provided for the colonial governor in Nassau. The Freeman was not preserved in the newspaper collection of the Nassau Public Library, which has virtually complete files of the major papers from 1784 on.

The Watchman

More than a decade elapsed before another newspaper intended for the black population appeared in Nassau. In 1901, a group of disgruntled Bahamians undertook the weekly publication of the Watchman. They recruited Leon E. H. Dupuch as the editor to join with them in setting up the paper in reaction to the exclusivity of the Guardian, which opened its columns only to the Government House set that ruled the colony. Like Dillet and Bosfield before him, Dupuch had been trained as a printer by Edwin C. Moseley, founder of the Nassau Guardian. The Watchman was described as being well-edited and printed,²⁵ and by its first Christmas edition the Nassau Guardian reported that the paper "was being nicely printed and arranged."²⁶ Dupuch left the Watchman in October 1903, resigning as editor in protest of the paper's growing tendency to close its columns

²⁴Powles, p. 107.

²⁵Eitenne Dupuch, "The Story of The Tribune," Nassau Tribune, 16 March 1949, p. 2.

²⁶Nassau Guardian, 24 December 1901.

to any but its own set of adherents.²⁷

The Guardian's position vis-a-vis race reflected its role as the paper of the dominant minority racial group in the Colony. Its columns revealed a benign paternalism regarding the subject of race and appeared to prefer minimal public discussion of the subject in print. Only when the issue was forced did the Guardian respond on the subject, and then it seems its chief desire was to put the genie of racism back in the bottle. In responding to a letter in the Watchman of September 16, 1902, a writer for the Guardian commented,

I said a few words in my last echoes in regard to the impolicy of raising the "Colour Question" in this Colony; but I cannot allow such a letter as the one written by Old Ebony in the "Watchman" of the 16th inst. to go unchallenged. When a man has no good word to say for his benefactors he is indeed in a bad way, and Old Ebony seems to have got into the desire to abuse his best friends.²⁸

It appears that the Watchman did indeed want to raise the issue of race in the Bahamas. In December, a writer to the Guardian voiced what might be considered the dominant view held by the Guardian's readers toward the efforts of non-white Bahamians to express their opinions about the inequalities among the racial groups of the Colony:

²⁷Eileen Carron, "Born for a Purpose," Nassau Tribune, 21 November 1978, p. 3.

²⁸"Island Echoes," Nassau Guardian, 27 September 1902.

I do not know what the circulation of The Watchman may be, or whether it has any, nor do I know whether any regular readers it may possess are inclined to take its somewhat puerile fulminations at all seriously, but I cannot think it advisable that the presumably vicious and corrupt members of the terrible oligarchy which, according to that paper, is grinding us beneath its heel, should be warned of the fearful fate impending for them--they are to be pulled downward and scattered to the far corners of the earth, and their "selfishness" which is "opposed to the progress of our Colony made a by-word in the mouths of men! This is the dictum of the Watchman on the subject, which will make these evil-doers shake and tremble in their shoes: "It is the intense desire of the present Editor of this paper to see it go on proposing to the pulling down of the strongholds of oligarcic [sic] domination and the building up of a free and independent democracy."²⁹

Dupuch was followed as editor of the Watchman by W. E. Pritchard, although his name does not appear in association with the paper until October 26, 1904.³⁰ In a letter to the editor of the Guardian, a correspondent noted that the editor of the Watchman had written that the lack of financial support might force him to suspend his paper. The correspondent suggested that the Watchman's should make his

sacrifice on the altar of historic patriotism! Let him make an honorable exit . . . in a burst of flame and glory, along with those copies of his paper he is apparently unable to sell ³¹

The Watchman disappeared in 1906.³² Like the Freeman

²⁹Nassau Guardian, 3 December 1902.

³⁰Nassau Guardian, 26 October 1904.

³¹Nassau Guardian, 3 December 1904.

³²[Mary Mosely], op. cit.

before it, the Watchman³³ had no lasting effect on the society of the Bahamas; it did, however, permit Dupuch to gain managerial experience that would allow him to keep his next paper afloat until his death just as World War I began.

The Nassau Tribune

Within a month after severing his relationship with the Watchman, Dupuch began his own paper, the Nassau Tribune, "with a small treadle press, a few old cases of type--and a big chunk of nerve."³⁴ The Tribune has been issued as a weekly, semi-weekly and daily at various times in its life. This paper was destined to succeed and play a major role in the campaign for civil rights for black and mixed heritage Bahamians at mid-twentieth century. Dupuch began the paper as the only forum for the dispossessed who could not find a place to express their opinions in the turn-of-the-century papers. Dupuch was forced to suspend the paper on August 1, 1904,³⁵ and move to Montreal to find work as a printer.³⁶ He would be sorely missed as a letter

³³There are no copies of this paper in the files of the Nassau Public Library, although copies are said to exist in the files of the Nassau Tribune.

³⁴Dupuch, op. cit.

³⁵None of the issues from 1903 to 1910 are in the files of the Nassau Public Library, although the Tribune reprinted a copy of the first issue of the paper from its files in its 75th anniversary issue on 21 November 1978.

³⁶Dupuch, op. cit.

published in the Guardian attested:

Understanding that you are about to leave the Colony we cannot allow you to depart from among us without conveying to you our deep appreciation of the good offices you have from time to time rendered to the working class in this Colony and the persistent and strenuous efforts you have made to defend and protect their interests.³⁷

Dupuch's stay in Montreal was short: he was back in Nassau by February 1905 as a locally mailed letter from him to the editor of the Guardian appeared in that paper's March 1 issue.³⁸

Dupuch kept his paper afloat by working long hours and involving his family in the production of the paper. Equally important to the survival of the Tribune in its early years was Dupuch's wife, Harriet, whose industry as a gardener provided cash to keep the paper alive.³⁹ She provided the money to buy the Tribune's first press. When Dupuch refused to support political leaders in the House of Assembly shortly after he began his paper, opposition became intense and he struggled to keep his paper going. He and his wife managed to save enough money to order a small cylinder press from New York. As it was being transferred from a ship to a lighter at Nassau, it was lost overboard. The press was not

³⁷Nassau Guardian, 10 August 1904.

³⁸The Tribune, 21 November 1978.

³⁹Dupuch, op. cit.

insured and Dupuch believed until the end of his days that his political enemies had the press dropped overboard on purpose.⁴⁰ Given the vindictive character of his opposition, his belief may have been well-founded.

Gilbert, Dupuch's eldest son, went to Montreal in 1909, where he worked as a print shop foreman and studied art. In 1912, Gilbert returned to Nassau for a visit and, on finding his father's health deteriorating, gave up his career in art and stayed on in Nassau to assist in the operation of the paper. In 1914, Leon suffered a heart attack while completing a government printing contract. He was working on the final touches of the printing when he was stricken; letting no one help him, he returned to his work when the attack passed and completed the job. He collected his money from the government, paid his bills and went home with a single gold sovereign--about five dollars--as his earnings.⁴¹ He never returned to the Tribune. He died on July 1, 1914⁴² and Gilbert took over the operation of the paper. In his obituary, Leon was described as

eminently a patriot first to his country and then to his race. He was a firm believer in the reality

⁴⁰Sir Etienne Dupuch, Tribune Story (London: Ernest Benn, 1967), p. 24.

⁴¹Dupuch, "The Story of The Tribune."

⁴²Nassau Tribune, 1 July 1914, p. 2.

of race and never missed an opportunity of encouraging and directing the ambition and the energies of his people.⁴³

While Gilbert was in Montreal, Dupuch had planned to send his younger son, Etienne, to study printing in Canada. Etienne, just entering his teens, retorted that he had better things to do than be the editor of the Tribune. Later he recalled, "I shall never forget the look on his face. If I had shot him I couldn't have hurt him more."⁴⁴ Like many young men in Nassau following the start of World War I, Etienne joined the West Indies Regiment in 1916, and served in Egypt, Italy and England before returning to Nassau.⁴⁵

Etienne's war experience changed him, as it did all who served in action, but as he later wrote, it changed his attitude toward the Tribune and the Bahamas even more.

The army was a shock to me. Here we were fighting for freedom, but everywhere we went a sign stared us in the face; "Out of bounds to native troops." Many were the humiliations loyal "natives," sons of the Crown, were obliged to endure while voluntarily offering up their lives in the cause of freedom. . . . The only time I felt "accepted" in my three years service was during a brief stay in an American camp on my way back from leave in England to rejoin my regiment in the south of Italy The humiliations and hardships I endured in the army, the things I saw and learned about human relations, helped me to realize that, when the war was over, my place was back in Nassau on The Tribune, because I had a job of work to do

⁴³Ibid., p. 3,

⁴⁴Dupuch, op. cit.

⁴⁵Carron, op. cit.

among my own people.⁴⁶

Gilbert Dupuch operated the paper during the war years and until his younger brother returned from military service and became an editor in 1919.

In the 21st anniversary issue in 1924, the Dupuch brothers--most likely Etienne, because the editorial reads as if from his pen--returned to an old theme, the development of a "sane and wholesome public opinion where there never existed articulate expression of any opinion but that of self-interest."⁴⁷ As Governor Blake had noted in 1887 and the Dupuch brothers in 1924, the lack of black public opinion hung "like a pall over the community."⁴⁸ The editors further implied that shortcoming resulted from the lack of education for the majority of Bahamians.⁴⁹

Racism in the Bahamas was the legacy of the settlement of the American Loyalists in the islands and in their proximity to the United States where Jim Crow laws effectively created an underclass of blacks. The biases carried over to the Bahamas as a major resort area for the United States. During World War II, Dupuch's support for the

⁴⁶Dupuch, Tribune Story, p. 27.

⁴⁷L. Gilbert Dupuch and A. E. J. Dupuch, "1903-1924," Nassau Tribune, 24 November 1924, p. 20.

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹Ibid.

Allies was unwavering, but racism was never far from the surface of Bahamian society and government. Partly as a result of Edward VIII's abdication to marry Wallis Simpson, the twice-divorced American, Dupuch expressed his dislike of the appointment of Edward, now Duke of Windsor, as the Governor of the Bahamas. Dupuch further objected to the Duke's appointment based on the waste of money spent on his training to be King, and for his obvious racial biases which were all too frequently displayed during his tenure as Governor.

When airport construction became an important point in the war effort, a black contractor was nominated to build part of the project. Dupuch, who was involved in the discussion, later reported the Duke's reaction:

"We can't have a coloured man for this job," the Duke declared without hesitation. "We must have a white man." All the members of the committee looked in my direction but the Duke seemed completely oblivious to his indiscretion.⁵⁰

Throughout his long tenure as editor of the Tribune, Dupuch was fearless in challenging accepted authority and over the years his view on the inherent racism of Bahamian society harden into a plan of action. An incident in 1953 was to have a profound effect on Dupuch and his paper and, ultimately, the event may be seen as a turning point in the

⁵⁰Dupuch, Tribune Story, p. 86.

relationship between the white ruling minority and the black masses of the Colony.

The incident, typical of racial discrimination at mid-century, seemed minor on its face--a black man was refused accommodations in Nassau. It began with engine failure on an airplane bound for London. The emergency forced a landing at Nassau, and there the racial trouble began. A number of respected and influential men were aboard the plane, including a director of the London School of Economics; the Chief Press Officer of the Colonial Office and Hugh Springer, Registrar of the University of the West Indies in Jamaica. Springer, a Barbadian, was black, and therein lay the problem.

Expecting a short layover, arrangements for meals were made in Nassau; Springer was politely but firmly offered accommodation only at the airport cafeteria. Springer had bought a copy of the Tribune and noted that Dupuch, whom he had met earlier in the year at the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II, was editor of the paper. At this point, Springer telephoned Dupuch who, along with his wife, took Springer to dinner. On returning to the airport, Springer discovered the flight was further delayed. He was refused a room at a white-only tourist hotel in Nassau, and again, Dupuch offered the hospitality of his home to Springer. The follow-

ing day, Dupuch related the story to his readers. Lord Beaverbrook, owner of the London Evening Standard and other papers throughout the Empire, who was then living in Nassau, relayed the story to his paper in London.⁵¹ The story soon appeared in the Kingston, Jamaica, Daily Gleaner, and Dupuch carried an extract from that paper which called for change throughout the British West Indies:

The time has come when the whole question of discrimination in these islands must either be faced intelligently or leaders of the people who live under this benign tyranny will be obliged to consider what means should be taken to bring about a change.⁵²

Late in 1954, Dupuch, reviewing his paper's year, reported a meeting with David Stirling, the founder of the Capricorn Society of Africa, who urged Dupuch to affiliate with the society and start a branch in the Bahamas. In relating his meeting with Stirling to his readers, Dupuch said,

Because of the terrible blunders in human relations and disruptive new forces [the militant black Progressive Liberal Party (PLP)] that are rising in the community, I have decided to go forward with this plan as soon as I have completed the present undertaking for expanding The Tribune.⁵³

⁵¹"Beaverbrook Paper Takes Up Springer Indignity in Nassau," Nassau Tribune, 5 December 1953, p. 1.

⁵²Etienne Dupuch, "This Intolerable Nonsense," Nassau Tribune, 8 December 1953, pp. 1 and 3.

⁵³Etienne Dupuch, "And It All Came To Pass," Nassau Tribune, 20 November 1954, pp. 1 and 4.

Dupuch did not start a branch of the Capricorn Society in the Bahamas, but early in 1955 he announced the formation of the BDL--the Bahamas Democratic League. The BDL identified race relations as a matter of concern. For 18 months following its founding, Dupuch led the BDL in its effort to provide a voice of moderation, based on the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, in the Bahamas.⁵⁴ In attacking the ruling minority and the PLP, Dupuch called the ruling class arrogant and mid-Victorian in political and social philosophy. He called the PLP the natural child of the ruling class, charging that the PLP was "composed of people of very limited means who want to tear down the whole present structure and dismember it limb by limb."⁵⁵ Dupuch saw his organization's role as the firm middle ground where the past could be modernized and a radical future prevented. He was too late; political polarity had already developed, even as the moderate BDL decided to challenge in the 1956 elections.⁵⁶

Early in the 1956 election campaign, Dupuch returned to the racism theme with a vengeance. In New Zealand, while on

⁵⁴Etienne Dupuch, "No Cause For Alarm," Nassau Tribune, 28 January 1955, p. 1.

⁵⁵Dupuch, op. cit.

⁵⁶"BDL To Challenge '56 Elections," Nassau Tribune, 16 September 1955, p. 1.

a press tour of the Empire, the managing editor of the Daily Gleaner told Dupuch of another racial incident in Nassau involving a Jamaican couple. Dupuch was chagrined. After returning to Nassau, he fired off the opening broadside in his attack on segregation in the Bahamas:

The time has come when discrimination in all licensed public places in this British Colony will no longer be tolerated by the people at whom this indignity is levelled (sic). Our people have been patient under years of crushing insult. Their patience is now at the breaking point.⁵⁷

Two weeks after this blast, he announced that he would move an anti-discrimination resolution in the House of Assembly where he represented the eastern district of New Providence Island. He intended to request that a Commission of Inquiry be established to investigate.⁵⁸

This was shrewd political request on Dupuch's part, one that would severely discomfort the ruling majority in the House. Under rules of the House of Assembly, a Commission of Enquiry would outlast the legislative session in which it was created. The alternative to the commission, if one could be arranged, was a Committee of the House which would expire at the end of the legislative term. Committees of

⁵⁷Etienne Dupuch, "Discrimination in Nassau Hotels," Nassau Tribune, 3 January 1956, pp. 1 and 3.

⁵⁸"Dupuch To Move Anti-Discrimination Resolution In House," Nassau Tribune, 17 January 1956, p. 1.

the House were a convenient way for the reactionary leadership of the House to turn aside requests that would upset the congenial flow of government in their interests.

Dupuch was not successful in his motion; it lost 11-9.⁵⁹ While Dupuch was speaking, the usual procedure in these matters unfolded. As later described by Dupuch:

Mr. Frank Christie left his seat and went to the Speaker's chair, where he had a conference. I had seen this happen so often in the past that I knew exactly what to expect. I knew a motion would be made for a committee, and this way it was planned to kill the movement. As I anticipated, Mr. Christie made this motion. The motion for a committee [rather than the more effective commission] prevailed, and when the Speaker appointed Frank Christie its chairman something inside me cracked. I had promised Jerry Fletcher [the managing editor of the Daily Gleaner] in New Zealand that, if necessary, I would die in the attempt. I knew the time had now come to throw discretion to the winds, I stood up, stepped back from my seat, and made the bitterest speech of my life.⁶⁰

The results of Dupuch's action were immediate and dramatic. A streamer headline in the Tribune on January 26, 1956, said it all: "Nassau Hotels Open To Everyone."⁶¹ All the previously restrictive hotels, and some restaurants, fell into line over the next few days, noting that they had, for the most part, always welcomed "good Bahamians," a code

⁵⁹"Dupuch Moves Anti-Segregation Measure in House," Nassau Tribune, 24 January 1956, pp. 1, 2 and 4.

⁶⁰Dupuch, Tribune Story, p. 149.

⁶¹"Nassau Hotels Open To Everyone," Nassau Tribune, 26 January 1956, p. 1.

word for black Bahamians, or would, in the future, admit anyone who was properly dressed and well-behaved.⁶² Dupuch, without the commission or the committee, without legislative action, had forced the issue and won. Segregation was at an end in the Bahamas.

Not all agree that it was Dupuch alone who brought down discrimination in the Bahamas. Years later Doris Johnson wrote,

Editor Stephenson wrote in the Herald on July 26, 1958: "It was not Dupuch who broke down the barriers of discrimination and segregation. It was the PLP and its agencies that awakened the people to their responsibilities, and that awakening was forcefully demonstrated at the time Dupuch moved his resolution in the House."⁶³

This too much denies Dupuch's role in the event. He and his paper had been working toward this end for years before the Progressive Liberal Party came on the scene. Dupuch's efforts, and the efforts of his father before him, created awareness of the plight of black Bahamians and offered them a forum and direction to redress the problem. The PLP provided the organizing force and the work in the trenches to bring additional collateral pressure on the white oligarchy to change the conditions barring black Bahamians from the majority voice in the affairs of the

⁶²Ibid.

⁶³Doris L. Johnson, The Quiet Revolution in the Bahamas, (Nassau: Family Islands Press, 1972), p. 38.

Colony. Although not working together, and often in opposition to each other's plans and methods, both Dupuch and the PLP were the catalysts in changing racial discrimination in the islands. Change would have come to the Bahamas as an out-growth of the civil rights movement in the United States, but this movement was home grown and controlled by events and people in the islands.

Although the role of the Progressive Liberal Party in this affair may be debated by the party's faithful, Dupuch was a significant force in the ending of racial discrimination in the Bahamas and his paper, now operated by his daughter, Eileen Carron, continues its independent way in the Commonwealth of the Bahamas.

The Herald

War in Spain, the rise of fascism in Italy and Germany, war in Ethiopia and the Communist excesses taking place in the Soviet Union were all topics of interest and concern in the Colony. It appeared to some in the Bahamas that there was even a "Red threat" to the Colony in the form of a new weekly newspaper which began publication on May Day 1937. As the paper's editor, John (Jack) Stanley Lowe, who was of mixed racial heritage, wrote in the Guardian years later:

May 1, 1937. That was the day when Nassau was all agog with the report that the colony's first Communist paper, The Herald was to make its bow before the pub-

lic. It was also International Labor Day, and that made the case worse.

My partner [Holly W. Brown] and I had intended to attract public attention by giving our paper a pink cover. When we found out that the public had made us Communists in name, we couldn't take it, and so the pink cover had to go.⁶⁴

Lowe was a contentious individual; Dupuch was to say of him later:

Stanley Lowe, a schoolmaster who taught me at the Boys' Central School and who published a weekly newspaper . . . criticized me in almost every issue of his paper and then privately apologized that if he didn't do this he couldn't stay in business. "Man," he said, "this is the only thing that sells my paper."⁶⁵

The Herald's appearance was met with mixed feelings in the little world of island journalism.⁶⁶ The Tribune paid it scant mention, merely recognizing its existence.⁶⁷ The Guardian, on the other hand, commented that the new journal was unnecessary because the field of journalism in the Colony was already overcrowded.⁶⁸

The Herald ceased publication for the first time in

⁶⁴Jack Lowe, "One Man's Opinion: Some Herald History," Nassau Guardian, 1 May 1952, p. 1.

⁶⁵Dupuch, Tribune Story, p. 124.

⁶⁶like other unpopular papers before it, the Herald was not kept in the files of the Nassau Public Library. It is difficult to provide any physical description of the paper or its principles except through the comments in either the Tribune or the Guardian.

⁶⁷"New Weekly," Nassau Tribune, 1 May 1937, p. 1

⁶⁸"New Publication," Nassau Guardian, 1 May 1937, p. 1.

late 1938 or early 1939 when, according to a news item in the Tribune, Commander John Scaife, who had been renting the Bahama News printing press to Lowe, closed his shop and sold it to the Guardian.⁶⁹ Dupuch again picks up the story:

She [Mary Moseley] bought the press from its owner [Scaife] with the idea of closing down The Herald. I printed the paper for Mr. Lowe free of charge until he could arrange for another press, and then he proceeded to put more hell [sic] on me than ever.⁷⁰

The Herald was out of print until mid-August 1939, and even then had trouble raising the £100 bond the recently passed Newspaper Security Act required of all newspapers printed in the Colony. Not until two merchants in Nassau, Milo Butler and Ronald Albury, posted Lowe's bond did the paper reappear.⁷¹

Following the sale of the Guardian in 1952, Lowe, continuing as editor of the Herald, became the chief columnist for the Guardian. There is no indication as to what negotiating may have taken place to arrange this marriage, but Lowe provided some information in his column when he wrote, "I am not mealy-mouthed enough to fail to recognize the opportunity it creates for the larger expression of free thought."⁷²

⁶⁹"Newspaper Bond," Nassau Tribune, 14 August 1939, p. 1.

⁷⁰Dupuch, op. cit., p. 124.

⁷¹"Bondsmen Accepted for Herald," Nassau Tribune, 15 August 1939, p. 1.

Lowe's background undoubtedly led him to champion a more radical approach to solving the problems and inequalities he recognized in Bahamian society. In his young manhood, Lowe said, that to educate himself, he made an 1,100-mile walk from Charleston, South Carolina, through the Shenandoah Valley and the Blue Ridge Mountains to Philadelphia. The seven weeks he took to make the trip led him to scrap his old values acquired in the Bahamas:

[I]n a narrow Bahamian circle where wealth was the only criterion for measuring manhood and where love of country was understood to mean not the country where I was born, but a country thousands of miles away.⁷³

In this, Lowe was identifying a major problem in Bahamian society--the continued allegiance to England as home rather than the Bahamas where many, black and white, were born, lived and died without ever leaving the island of their birth. Until the residents of the Bahamas began to recognize themselves as Bahamians instead of colonial Englishmen, there could be no development of political or social equality in the Colony.

Although the Herald was essentially a personal journal, if the traces found in the existing papers are correct, it

⁷²Jack Lowe, "One Man's Opinion: Some Herald History," Nassau Guardian, 1 May 1952.

⁷³"Hundreds Pay Tribute to Jack Lowe Following His Sudden Death Sunday," Nassau Guardian, 12 January 1953, p. 16.

did not die with its editor. A week after Lowe's death, his eldest son, Sherman, was planning to form a new company to bring out the paper as a weekly, rather than as the semi-weekly it had been under Lowe's editorship.⁷⁴ The new paper came out in mid-March under the title, the Nassau Herald, with Holly W. Brown as editor. It was dedicated to "the memory of the former indomitable editor of the Herald, a friend of the common people and a champion of the underdog, the late Jack Lowe."⁷⁵ Within the year Brown gave up his position as editor and sold his interest in the Herald to William B. Cartwright and Urban Knowles, who was by then the paper's editor.⁷⁶ Three days later, the Tribune reported that Cyril St. John Stevenson had left the Guardian to edit the Nassau Herald as the Progressive Liberal Party's political paper.⁷⁷ By early November 1955, Stevenson was forced to suspend the Nassau Herald when his printer and partner, Urban Knowles, informed him the paper could no longer be printed in his print shop. Knowles, in announcing his

⁷⁴"New Printing Company to Publish The Herald," Nassau Guardian, 19 January 1953, p. 16.

⁷⁵"'Nassau Herald' Pays Tribute to Jack Lowe, Nassau Guardian, 16 March 1953, p. 16.

⁷⁶"Brown Sells Interest in 'Herald,'" Nassau Tribune, 29 January 1954, p. 1.

⁷⁷"To Edit Party Paper," Nassau Tribune, 1 February 1954, p. 4.

association with the paper, told the public that henceforth his shop would do only commercial printing; further, he was no longer associated with any political party.⁷⁸

Late in December, the Guardian reported that the Nassau Herald would not reappear until 1956, and then as the Bahamas Opinion, not, as earlier reported, under the name of the Bahamas Herald. Further, despite what he had said in his announcement, Knowles was to print the new paper with Cartwright and himself as publishers.⁷⁹ This may have been wishful hoping on their part because there is nothing in the record to indicate that the paper resumed publication under either name. Stevenson, who had made arrangements for new printing equipment when Knowles quit printing the Nassau Herald, managed to get the paper back into print in mid-January 1956.⁸⁰ Thus Stevenson and the PLP were still in possession of the lineal descendant of Lowe's original Herald. The paper continued to support the PLP until the printing plant was destroyed by fire in 1964.⁸¹

The importance of the Herald in its various mutations

⁷⁸"Herald Closes Down; Awaits New Equipment," Nassau Tribune, 14 November 1955, p. 3.

⁷⁹"Publication's Revival Delayed Until 1956," Nassau Guardian, 26 December 1955, p. 7.

⁸⁰"'Herald' publishing Saturday," Nassau Tribune, 16 January 1956, p. 3.

⁸¹Johnson, op. cit., p. 32.

cannot be minimized. At its birth in 1937, the paper was feared as a communist organization; by the time it was taken over by the PLP, it was feared and hated by much of the white ruling class as a threat to its economic and political survival in the Colony. By the time of its death in 1964, the paper had served to educate a generation of black Bahamians about their strength to determine their own destiny and that of the Colony. The Herald provided a forum for the leadership of the PLP to instruct, cajole and lead a poorly organized and undereducated mass to a degree of dignity and hope never before possible for the majority of Bahamians.

The Voice

Although Nassau is the population center of both the Bahamas and New Providence Island, a sizable population lives outside the corporate limits of Nassau in settlements dating from the Loyalist period. These communities, over the years, had developed their own identities and institutions independently of Nassau. In the closing months of World War II, a group of black and colored business and professional men from the southern district of New Providence organized a company to publish a weekly journal, the Voice, which appeared on April 7, 1945. Bert A. Cambridge, a musician, and Dr. Claudius R. Walker, a physician, were its principals.⁸² Walker edited the paper throughout its nearly ten years of life.⁸³

There is little in the record until early in 1953,⁸⁴ when the editors of Nassau's three respectable papers--the Herald was not considered respectable--were called by the Colonial Secretary to select one of their number to represent the Colony's newspapers at the coronation of Queen Elizabeth.⁸⁵ The behind-the-scenes machinations were intense in Nassau for the right to represent the Colony's papers at the event. Two years after the coronation, Dupuch wrote a column concerning the House of Assembly and events surrounding the selection of a Bahamian journalist to represent the Colony. The Guardian, wrote Dupuch:

wanted Benson McDermott [the Guardian's editor]. We selected Dr. Walker because we felt that these opportunities should be spread around. Both The Tribune and Guardian had already had a chance. The vote was 2-1 in favor of Dr. Walker.

But the strong opposition in political quarters to Dr. Walker was so strong that the matter was left in suspense for a time. We were determined that McDermott wouldn't go on this mission--and since the behind-the-scenes opposition to Dr. Walker was so strong we under-

⁸²"'Voice' To Be Heard Tomorrow," Nassau Tribune, 6 April 1945, p. 1.

⁸³"'Voice' Editor Resigns," Nassau Tribune, 14 April 1955, p. 1.

⁸⁴Like many of the short-lived papers published in the Bahamas, there are no copies of the Voice in the microfilm record. What can be found about this journal is in the pages of the Tribune and, to a lesser degree, the Guardian.

⁸⁵"Press Men Meet," Nassau Tribune, 20 February 1953, p. 20.

took to represent the Colony on the condition that we would pay all our own expenses and not be tied down by any official routine in London. The proposal was sent to London--and approved.

But why all this opposition to Dr. Walker?

Nearly every newspaperman from other parts of the Empire on this mission looked exactly like Dr. Walker--and most of the rest of them wore turbans.⁸⁶

The Guardian faction, representing the white-dominated government and legislature, could well have resented Walker's selection for a variety of reasons. First, Walker, as a black, would offend local racial attitudes. Second, his political activities and position as a member of the House of Assembly put him in a position to offend political leaders. A third, and perhaps less obvious reason, could have been resentment when Dupuch's vote for Walker left McDermott with only one vote--his own. Dupuch's offer to represent the Colony at the coronation--at his own expense--may have offered a way out of an embarrassing impasse. At the same time, it would appeal to the cupidity of the local government which would be spared the expense of sending an official representative. Walker did not attend the coronation.

Early in 1954, Walker announced his intention to resign as editor of the Voice. The same report stated that the Caribbean Cooperation Company, listed as owner of the Voice,

⁸⁶Etienne Dupuch, "Stop Bluffing...Start Doing...", Nassau Tribune, 17 June 1955, p. 4.

was planning to sell the paper.⁸⁷ The paper apparently ended its publication life about this time as it disappears from the pages of both the Guardian and the Tribune as a topic of editorial discussion. The importance of this paper may have been modest in the lives of black Bahamians.

The Searchlight

Newspapers were printed in the Out Islands, those islands 'out' from Nassau, over a fairly long period of time but with little individual success. On July 23, 1907, Lewis Duvallier (sometimes spelled Duvalier) began issuing the Searchlight in Mathew Town on Inagua Island at the southern end of the Bahamas. The paper appeared twice a week and met with some success, although the paper survived only until June 1, 1908, when he abandoned it and went to Jamaica.

During the period of Duvallier's Searchlight, Inagua was an important source of unskilled labor for Mexico and Central America and for stevedores on the Hamburg-America steamers sailing between Europe and the Caribbean. Duvalier, who was black, espoused the cause of the laborers who were exploited by the company. In a story appearing in an April 1908 article, Duvallier exposed the conditions under which the stevedore worked. A writer for the paper, probably the editor, interviewed stevedores and discovered that

⁸⁷"'Voice' Editor Resigns," op. cit.

they plundered the non-British cargoes on the ships in order to support their families and satisfy their creditors at home. Routinely, the men reported, they could make ten to forty dollars from the plunder of each voyage. Anything less than fifteen dollars was considered a poor trip.⁸⁸

W. W. Richardson, an agent for the steamship company, challenged Duvallier's assertions, stating that the latter's information was absurd "in the highest degree, and based on a rotten foundation; and can only be the moonlight gossip held on the corners of Matthew (sic) Town. . . ."89

Richardson went on to deny that the laborers had to agree to spend half their wages in company agents' stores in order to get a job on one of the ships. Richardson, as a final gesture, instructed the Searchlight's editor to remove his name as a subscriber.⁹⁰

Richardson was not alone in his anger at the Searchlight's editor. In April 1908 (although the report did not appear in Nassau until August), Jos Maura, another agent for the German steamship company and for the Panama Railway Company, sued Duvallier for libel. The alleged libel appeared in the September 17, 1907, issue of the Search-

⁸⁸"The Inagua Labor Question," Nassau Guardian, 15 April 1908.

⁸⁹Ibid.

⁹⁰Ibid.

light. Among the statements that offended Maura was the allegation that he, Maura, and the resident justice at Long Lay, Fortune Island, were in league to "pervert the administration of justice."⁹¹ The suit sought £500. The case was ultimately heard on August 10, 1908, and the plaintiff was awarded the full amount of the claim.⁹² This probably ended the Searchlight and sent Duvallier fleeing to Jamaica. He reappears later in Bahamian journalism, however, as an employee of the Nassau Tribune in 1924.⁹³ Although one other paper was printed at Mathew Town,⁹⁴ it is not clear that the paper took much interest in reporting the conditions of blacks who lived on the island.

Conclusions

Although the attempts to produce newspapers by and for blacks in the Bahamas have met with little success--only the Nassau Tribune has survived--that they have been attempted attests to the spirit and determination of the men who have worked toward freeing the lives and minds of Afro-Bahamians. The editors of these papers had the knowledge, often polit-

⁹¹"In The Supreme Court," Nassau Guardian, 15 August 1908.

⁹²Ibid.

⁹³"Early Days Of |Struggle," Nassau Tribune, 21 November 1978, p. 15.

⁹⁴Nassau Guardian, 11 November 1908.

ical position and a public forum with their papers to originate ideas and to provide guidance for their implementation. These papers have provided outlets for the expression of concerns for and about the often oppressive social, economic and political conditions that have historically existed in the islands.

The Afro-Bahamian newspapers of the past century were poorly received by the ruling oligarchy, which feared their appeals to the masses, and by the masses who were often barely literate and too poor to afford the penny-a-copy price. They did, however, provide the training and direction for the masses of Bahamians in the uses of newspapers to organize and guide their efforts to gain a role in the political and economic life of the Colony. By the mid-twentieth century, the Nassau Tribune, the Herald in its various permutations and, to a lesser degree, the Voice, helped to determine the direction the Bahamas would take vis-a-vis race relations, politics and the economic situation in its colonial status and later as an independent commonwealth.

**VICTORIAN PROLETARIAN SPIRITUALISM:
GOD, WORKERS AND CANADIAN LABOUR JOURNALISM**

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BE CONTENT

Said the Parson, "Be content,
 Pay your tithe-dues, pay your rent;
 They that earthly things despise,
 Shall have mansions in the skies,
 Though your back with toil be bent."
 Said the Parson, "Be content."
 (T. Maguire)¹

LABOUR JOURNALISM AND THE RE-SHAPING OF THEOLOGY

Following Canadian Confederation in 1867 and continuing until the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, one-hundred and thirty-three newspapers published by Canadian trades unionism emerged in the country. This press was dominated by twenty significant figures whose ideological kaleidoscope encompassed beliefs ranging from reformist capitalism to materialist Marxism and most variants in between. Although often working at cross-purposes in economic and political areas, most editors believed that the dominant industrial culture which controlled working peoples' lives legitimized its nation-building agenda through exploiting the Christian church and co-opting its hierarchy. These labour journalists were not content with the parson and his friends. The ninety-six surviving journals which were examined for this study and others in this field persistently published articles condemning the activities of the clergy. The majority of editors accused the dominant churches of creating a web of deceit in which they falsely and deliberately misinterpreted the Holy Scriptures to maintain control over a Victorian working class unwilling to opt for materialist atheism.²

In spite of their wholesale rejection of the church, the

significant majority of labour journalists, Marxists excepted, sought to reform organized Christianity rather than destroy it. "Reform" religion was regarded as a legitimate spiritual expression for working people.³ In Victorian Canada, the humanist elements in Christian teaching played a significant role in defining working-class behaviour. This explains to a large degree why Marxism never entrenched itself in Canadian working class culture beyond the mining camps of British Columbia where it took root after the turn of the century.⁴ The non-Marxist journals, in spite of other ideological cleavages, argued for the most part that Christianity could take its legitimate place as part of the state's institutions, providing it addressed working-class concerns. It had to reject its role as an apologist for industrial capitalism and its ruling elites.

There was a significant body of opinion in labour journalism which continually asserted that Christianity was a working-class doctrine with working-class origins. Invariably, these theological analyses asserted that Christianity must re-discover its working-class roots if it were to have any relevance in working-class life.⁵ The exception was the French-language working-class press which advocated the value of a Christian community consisting of workers, the Roman Catholic Church and ecclesiastical educators.⁶

In spite of denominational cleavages, nearly all Victorian Christian sects shared three fundamental components. The first was practice. All Christians were encouraged to attend church regularly, participate in the sacraments, donate tithes and join in

ancillary events such as Bible classes, church picnics and pageants. In turn, the Church defined policies intended to maintain the allegiance of existing parishioners and to convert those outside the faith. The second element was theology, or the set of beliefs which gave the faith its legitimacy. This included: acceptance of the Christian Scriptures as the inviolable word of God; the superiority of the clergy in interpreting the Holy Word; belief in an after-life; and acceptance of the guilt of Original Sin. Victorian Christianity was motivated by the perspective that it had a monopoly on truth by which it guided both earthly and heavenly behaviour. The third element was practical ethics, the written and unwritten social code which governs human affairs. These existed beyond clerical law, providing those universally-accepted, but non-written societal rules. They defined the restrictions on public behaviour such as the unacceptability of spitting on the sidewalk or walking naked through a public park. Although not theological by the strictest of standards, these social rules have their origins in Christian theology in predominantly Anglo-Saxon societies. In this respect, both the practising and non-practising Christian could find common ground in determining social governance⁷. But, as the British Columbia miner's journal the Sandon Paystreak suggested, acceptable secular behavioural codes need not necessarily incorporate religious values. It was possible to be both moral and secular, and at times, it was desirable.

In all the ages the tendency of man has been to divorce religion from morality. A survey of history reveals no

race, tribe or nation which was not avowedly religious; on the other hand, great immorality has been found associated with strong religious zeal.⁸

Only materialist Marxist journalism eliminated Christian theological influence in its attempt to develop a purely secular approach to social criticism. In the early 1880s, others, such as Toronto's Thomas Phillips Thompson, tried a separation of church and state approach. None succeeded. The majority of Victorian labour journalism, specifically working-class poetry, contains frequent appeals to Christian Gods and saints. Regularly, labour journalists appealed for spiritual assistance to relieve working-class deprivation. Yet they simultaneously distanced themselves from the organized Church; they did not discard theology, but Church-interpreted theology.

A CHRISTIAN HERITAGE AND THE WORKING CLASS

Evidence of the pervasiveness of Christian influence on labour journalism appeared in virtually every newspaper published prior to 1900. Trades union journalists attempted to define the limits of human behaviour, on one hand by influencing government legislative programmes, and on the other, by defining an acceptable behavioural code for working people. In the end, their initiatives were inspired by a common criteria. In his 1886 Toronto newspaper the Canadian Labor Reformer, Knights of Labour journalist Alexander W. Wright argued "...that all human law derives its authority from Divine law. ... When human laws are brought up to this ideal, every wrong, every crime, every sin that now mars and blackens human nature, and the misery, poverty, and squalor which now dwarfs and distorts it, will disappear from the earth".⁹

Prior to the turn of the century, no Victorian labour journalist could have arbitrarily refused to give legitimacy to working class spiritual concerns. An editor who chose to do so risked alienating the constituency he hoped to lead. In 1884, writing under his pseudonym "Enjolras", Phillips Thompson observed that

Everywhere in Europe the masses of people are in revolt against clericalism-not so much because they object to the abstract doctrines taught by the church-but because they see that practically religion has become part of intellectual and political machinery on which the upper class depend for keeping the lower in subjection. And this feeling is rapidly extending to this continent.¹⁰

But, Thompson cautioned his readers to avoid becoming involved in concerted attacks on Christian theology. He asked that working people carefully examine the basics of Christian teachings and adapt them to the working-class mission for emancipation.¹¹ Thompson, in spite of the commitment to Secularism which dominated his thought while he wrote for Hamilton, Ontario's Palladium of Labor, never attempted to separate his humanism from its roots in Christian theology. His attacks attributed working-class rejection of the Christian church to lack of sympathy in the Church leadership but seldom to Scriptural teachings.¹²

There had long been a connection between religious symbolism and working-class society which played a significant role in early trades union organization. It was prominent in one of Canada's earliest unions, the Toronto Typographical Society which was founded in 1832. Prior to factory industrialization and the invention of speedy printing presses in the Victorian period,

printers devoted themselves almost exclusively to type-setting religious materials.¹³ It is not surprising that union printers used religious nomenclatures well into the twentieth century. A shop meeting was referred to as a "chapel" and the shop chairman held the title of "father of the chapel."¹⁴ Religious influence in trades organizations was not peculiar to Canada. In 1910 and 1911 in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, religious flags were carried alongside union banners in a miners' strike. Religious symbolism was evident in oaths, parades, working-class music and riots. It became part of the culture that European immigrants contributed to North American life.¹⁵

In Victorian Canada, in both rural and urban areas "the Minister was held in very great respect, or one could say individually revered as a holy person that could do no wrong."¹⁶ This deferential attitude was not uncommon in Victorian working-class culture. It was a milder version of earlier social relationships which existed when the Family Compact and Chateau Clique dominated Canadian political life prior to 1840. These governing bodies in turn owed their respective heritages to British Toryism and feudal Catholicism. These relationships produced an attitude of deference in working people who regarded those with title and education as natural superiors. This resulted in an unwritten and unspoken social contract between leader (father) and flock (child) which eroded very slowly. Consequently, it was common place for working-class Canadians, both native and immigrant, to re-cast religious rituals within their secular

organizations. Flags, secret oaths, symbolic handshakes, elaborate initiation rites and some written constitutions, all with religious heritages, could be found in quasi-religious societies such as the Masonic Temple, the Orange Lodge, the Knights of Columbus and the Hibernian Society. Eventually, derivatives appeared in early trades unions, particularly in the Noble and Holy Order of the Knights of Labor.¹⁷

Although the Order and its companion Victorian trades unions were not religious institutions, they could not escape the influence of religious ritual and Christian orthodoxy. As much as Catholicism provided the fibre for French-speaking and Irish Canadians, Protestantism, particularly Anglicanism, Presbyterianism and Methodism, provided the bond for the English-speaking working class of the 1880s.¹⁸ Virtually all working-class Canadians were at least nominal Christians whether they attended Sunday services or not.

Religious notions underscored virtually every detail of daily life in Victorian Canada. For example, when British immigrant children were being accepted into Canadian homes they entered into a long period of religious indoctrination. It was a critical part of their socialization to life in the new world. "In the family circle children learned the civilizing obligations of moral duty and responsibility and observed Christian love at work."¹⁹ It was the Christian definition of family that motivated child-saving movements in the late Victorian period. Journalist John J. Kelso, who founded the Humane Society and the Children's Aid Society in

Toronto, believed that a child growing up outside family and Christianity, would "grow in evil" and would accept "the fruits of evil as the best things in the world."²⁰ Methodist clergyman Egerton Ryerson, founder of the Ontario public school system, insisted that public education, while remaining non-denominational, be guided by Christian moral and humanist principles.²¹ Developing Canadian university research was centred in the religious colleges which evolved into the University of Toronto, Queen's University in Kingston and the University of Western Ontario in London. While offering courses in classics, law, medicine and some applied sciences, their foundation curricula were theology and philosophy.²²

Specifically, the belief that a labouring relationship existed between God and humanity is consistent in the poetry which appeared in nearly all Victorian labour journals. Working-class poets spoke of a vision of equality of spirit and flesh, an integration many labour journalists regarded as indivisible for the sustenance of working-class aspirations. Mary Dennison's poem "The True Mechanic" which appeared in one of Canada's earliest labour journals, the 1870's Ontario Workman, claimed that God Himself worked a full and hard day. The poet concluded, by implication, that He must be sympathetic to working people. More important was her suggestion that workers communicate directly with God, without benefit of clergy. It was a position adopted a decade later by those labour journalists who rose to significance in the Knights of Labor movement.

God the Maker, I reverent say,
 He is a worker tonight and day
 Framers of skies and builder of hills,
 Measuring worlds by the space He fills,
 He is the Master Mechanic.²³

Many Victorian social critics, specifically those who influenced the ideological course of labour journalism, were themselves driven by powerful Christian biases. A favourite of Victorian labour journalists, Henry George, author of Progress and Poverty and leader of the Single Tax movement, wrote that land speculation was a complete contradiction of Christian ethics.²⁴ George's Single Tax Movement was particularly powerful in the City of Toronto where materialist issues were regularly intertwined with religious concerns. George's most fervent supporter was a deeply religious journalist, John Wilson Bengough, the father of Canadian political cartooning. Bengough, who was also a temperance advocate and social satirist, published numerous articles supporting working-class causes²⁵. Concerned that the clergy was out-of-touch with significant segments of the population, Bengough printed constant criticism coupled with calls for reform. Specifically, he reminded the clerical hierarchy of its social obligations. "Surely to you, our teachers, we have a right to turn."²⁶

At the very least, Victorian labour journalism was forced to seek an accommodation with at least a proletarian view of Christianity. This relationship was a necessary milestone in the mission to forge disparate sections of the working class into a social movement culture. In the expanding urban environment, the mainstream churches, along with non-conformist sects such as the

Salvation Army, were also attempting to attract working-class Canadians by providing social and economic programmes through quasi-religious ancillary groups.²⁷ Their efforts met with mixed results. While poverty-stricken labourers willingly accepted church charity on one hand, they were seldom seduced by clerical overtures on the other. Nevertheless, many secular institutions, such as trades unions, believed that they were being forced to compete with these relatively affluent quasi-religious societies for worker loyalty.

While genuinely contemptuous of church policy in the Victorian period, nearly every Canadian maintained a membership in the faith in which he/she was born. Public adherence to Christian or Christian-supported institutions was as divergent and varied as the denominations and/or sects which supported them. Unlike ultramontanist Catholicism, Canadian Protestantism was subdivided into three major denominational sects which eventually became identified more with class divisions than theological conflicts by labour journalists.²⁸ The Church of England (Episcopalian) was the church of wealth, influence and power. The Presbyterian, Calvinist Church of Scotland was scorned as a co-conspirator since it argued for the maintenance of existing and unequal class relations. Only the Methodists and Congregationalists, the new world's advocates for John Wesley's moral and spiritual fundamentalism, were regarded as having any feeling for the working class. However, within the working class, these sectarian differences became secondary when Protestantism came face-to-face with French-Canadians, the Church of

Rome and Ultramontaniam.²⁹ Religious cleavages regularly resulted in violent confrontation, a situation that industrialists actively exploited. Captain Richard Trevellick, the Knights of Labor editorialist and lecturer writing in Hamilton's Palladium of Labor argued that

This has been and is being done to keep the toiling masses divided so that the idle robber might more easily fatten on the fruit of labour's toil and so long as capital can do this either by paying the press to deceive the public or by dividing the labourers and producers into hostile political parties, neither party ever attempting to teach that politics is the science of government, but to keep up divisions for the purpose of deceiving the toiling masses.³⁰

Victorian Toronto was the hub around which Canadian industrial policy was both developed and implemented. In that city, a number of labour journalists and influential unionists occupied executive positions in both trades unions and the powerful, pro-Protestant Orange Lodge. The Lodge's journal, The Orange Sentinel, was edited by E. F. Clarke and John Hewitt, both of whom led the 1872 printers' strike against the Toronto newspaper The Globe which resulted in Canada's first labour legislation. James S. Williams, one of the founding fathers of the Ontario Workman, was a Lodge member. So was the bookbinder Robert Glockling, the District Master Workman of the Noble and Holy Order of the Knights of Labor.³¹

In the early 1880s, Protestant rejection of Catholic working-class Torontonians, particularly those of Irish origin, tempted the Roman Church to court trades unions. This created two distinct religious cultures. Protestants were beginning to reject religious

solutions for labour grievances while Catholic trades unionism remained entrenched in religious catechism.³² The theological divisions created secular tensions. The resulting conflicts severely impeded the efforts by labour journalists to lay the foundations for a unified, class conscious working-class society in the country's industrial centres.

By 1891 sectarian differences led to public violence. As a result, Toronto's City Council banned outdoor assemblies organized by the city's powerful, Catholic-baiting, Protestant fundamentalists. Specifically, the councillors sought to silence a Baptist preacher, the Reverend Jumbo Campbell. Campbell's tent meetings had been degenerating into pitched battles between his followers and Irish-Catholics. While agreeing that Campbell was far from a model citizen, labour journalist Phillips Thompson believed the issue presented serious ethical problems for a state supposedly founded on democratic principles. Thompson argued that Toronto's councillors had no right to infringe on the basic right of freedom of speech. He argued that anti-obscenity laws designed to control insulting language could have been just as effective in silencing the verbose and combative Rev. Campbell.³³

Numerous appeals by labour journalists for religious tolerance were ignored. By 1905, sectarian divisions had not lessened since Trevellick's advice to Hamilton unionists in 1884. Vancouver's Western Clarion called Toronto one of "the most bigoted, intolerant and jingoistic cities in the English-speaking portion of the world."³⁴

During the late Victorian period, the Orange Lodge and the trades unions were just two of many organizations through which working-class communities sought protection from the insecurities of a factory society. Pre-dating the founding of trades unions, most of these organizations, although secular in constitution and practice, had roots emerging from historic religious societies. These organizations, such as the Independent Order of Foresters and the Ancient Order of Workmen, assumed social roles, especially in rural areas and small towns, which were coveted by trades unions. They provided sick and death benefits and legal assistance for their members. In larger urban centres, they were not as active since a significant portion of the working class was itinerant or in trades unions.³⁵ However, their journals revealed that working-class culture extended beyond urban, organized workers. Journals published by fraternal orders and co-operative societies regularly supported trades union viewpoints.³⁶

THE EMERGING CHASM

In Victorian Canada, the warmth of the relationship between organized religion and industrial capitalism was obvious to anyone cared to observe it. Huge churches rose on urban streets topped with steeples that seemed to touch the clouds. As much as working Canadians refused to shed their religious beliefs, they did not hesitate to reject the organized Church. The British Columbia miners' journal the Sandon Paystreak warned:

There is a great evolution going on in the human conscience and the churches have to keep pace with the change or drop out of the game. The horrors of a brimstone hell are no longer paraded, the God of today is

not the relentless avenging destroyer he was pictured to be fifty years ago, and the Puritanical dogmas, ritualism and creeds which once held whole nations in slavery are now preached only by fakirs and fanatics.³⁷

The newspaper was representative of a labour press which did not place the Church on the cutting edge of humanitarian reform in the Victorian period. It warned the clergy that the Church was in danger of being replaced by labour unions, arguing that "Labor organizations are truly the poor man's church. They are for the social, moral, intellectual and financial elevation of mankind."³⁸ Labour journalists, for the most part, were consistent in their argument that humans, especially those wearing clerical collars, were responsible for the deplorable state of alienation between working people and spiritual leaders. While Winnipeg's moderate socialist journal The Voice wanted to "return to basics"³⁹, that is to an earlier era in simpler times, the Vancouver Marxist journal, the Western Clarion, wanted working people to replace Christianity with materialist socialism. This was not a popular viewpoint. It remained restricted to the newspaper's editorial leadership, R. Parmeter Pettipiece and Edward T. Kingsley, both of whom were declared Marxists and sympathizers with American radical Daniel de Leon's Socialist Labor Party.

As corporate capitalism's more barbarous aspects became increasingly visible, the Church's unquestioning support for ruling, industrial elites and class-based governments caused serious concern amongst by middle-class intellectuals as well as labour journalists. Together, they called for a Canadian version of the American constitutional position which rigidly separated Church

and state. No such legal arrangement existed in Canada. Although Church and State had no formal, constitutional connections, they had long existed side-by-side and worked in concert with each other. Although the state power of the Anglican church had been severely curtailed with the advent of responsible government in 1848, nineteenth century reformers, among them trades unionists, feared that conservative forces would launch an attempt to return to an informal "state-churchism", or a sharing of power between spiritual and secular institutions.⁴⁰

Victorian reform movements received support in some of English-Canada's most influential middle-class newspapers. Church-state relationships were the subject of numerous editorials by George Brown, publisher of the Toronto's the Globe. Brown, a founder of the Canadian Confederation, wrote that churches should be restricted to operating buildings and religious institutions. Brown had openly advocated removing Canada's first, and at the time its only English-speaking university, the University of Toronto from Anglican control. This placed the editor into conflict with John Strachan, head of the Anglican Church in Canada and a former leader of the staunchly tory colonial government known as the Family Compact.⁴¹

It was not only the church hierarchy which was suffering the indignity of close inspection. Its theology also came under attack from a core of middle-class thinkers who wrote reformist articles stretching well beyond the ideas published in the trades union press. Until Charles Darwin questioned the Divine origins of the

species, religion, history and science were integrated in the Canadian Victorian intellectual climate. Naturalists, historians and theologians generally shared a belief that the laws of nature operated within a pre-conceived design inspired by a "transcendent guiding intelligence".⁴² For most, this provided sufficient proof for the existence of God. After Darwin published his theories, the triumvirate fragmented. Some Christian theologians suggested that God had designed evolution. Thus, it had to be conceptually Christian. Others lost their faith because they believed that Darwin was arguing a materialist, scientific and irrefutable model. These people could not compromise Darwin with any of the Victorian approaches to Christian theology.⁴³ In 1884, William Dawson LeSeur wrote "Men do not believe what they once did. They cannot believe as they once did; though they may religiously utter old formulas, and close their eyes harder and harder against the growing light."⁴⁴

LeSeur was one of the first intellectuals to suggest natural sciences could totally replace Divine intervention in healing disease. He concluded that it was only a matter of time before they would intervene to perfect human morality.⁴⁵ However, like most of the Victorian labour journalists, LeSeur, the critic of Christianity, remained a Christian critic. While condemning Church practice, he supported the predominant view in working-class journalism that Christianity's salvation lay in stripping itself of its supernaturally-based belief system while retaining its ethical and thus humanist position.⁴⁶

LeSeur's rejection of Victorian orthodoxy was supported by Robert Chambliss Adams. Adams, an American immigrant, founded the Pioneer Free Thought Club in Montréal early in the 1880s. He rejected Original Sin and the belief that people were basically evil in nature. He could not accept the prospect of eternal damnation for the unfaithful. Adams wrote that social imperfection was not necessarily the product of a vengeful God, leaning instead to explanations in a lack of material resources. Adams argued that advancing technology would not only be able to supply basic human wants and needs, but would supply them in abundance. The new prosperity would result in a new morality and the destruction of old ideas. For Adams, advancing technology required a rational, material human mind with an accompanying secular code of human conduct.⁴⁷

LeSeur, Adams and labour journalism in the mainstream, collectively rejected the doctrinaire approach of the Christian Church in an increasingly technological, rational but immoral society. As much as middle class intellectualism and labour journalism may have shared a significant set of ideas, they did not share a constituency. The Free Thought Society attracted an intelligentsia who argued issues beyond labour reform. It sought an upward, not downward influence. It dealt with men of learning, people who communicated with those who held and exercised power. Secular writers recognized the difficulty of supplanting the hold that Christianity had exerted in working-class life. Hamilton's Palladium of Labor observed that "Secularism can not hope to

progress until it shows itself more advanced, more in sympathy with the masses on questions of social reform than the church has done."⁴⁸

As much as they recognized that the relationship between the church and working Canadians contained both intellectual and theological arguments, labour journalists knew that they had to articulate those themes which could be best accepted by working-class readers. It is for this reason that they focused on the popularly-perceived coalition of the clergy and institutional power.⁴⁹ In nearly every Victorian working-class journal, the analysis centered on the clergy's constant solicitation of cash. This shifted criticism from the purely spiritual to the spiritual/material. Labour journalists claimed that admission to Heaven was based on one's ability to pay, a position supported by proletarian poet John Morrissey.

MESSAGE OF THE PREACHER

If you want to gain the kingdom
Says the preacher, gazing round,
Want that home in glory,
Where you lay your burdens down,
Pay attention to this message,
And that heavenly city see!
Give your heart to God Almighty,
And your pocketbook to me!⁵⁰

Most working Canadians could barely afford to live on earth let alone pay an admission fee into Heaven. Yet, the desire to reach Heaven was very much a part of working-class culture. As a result, labour journalists chose to vilify the Church by constantly addressing all those irritations which working people felt most. They believed that this approach would have more impact than the

abstract, intellectual treatises written by LeSeur, Adams and other reformers.

The position appears to have had an impact. An unofficial 1882 survey in Toronto revealed that less than half of the city's working population attended Sunday services. In 1901, this had been reduced to one quarter.⁵¹ Along with alienation, church attendance suffered from the frequently transient nature of urban working-class life in Canada. In spite of some large differences in parish wealth, rural residents showed a more consistent attendance record than their colleagues in the city.⁵² While the Church debated the cause of working-class alienation, the labour press offered a constant stream of class-inspired answers.

In spite of public claims of sympathy for working-class causes, the Church continually provided ample ammunition for its critics. Some clergymen chose inopportune times to criticize working-class movements from the pulpit. Working people's worst suspicions were confirmed when official journals such as the Methodist weekly The Christian Guardian called trades unions "a depraved monopoly."⁵³ In winter 1891, Toronto preacher Hugh Johnston attributed all labour troubles to "demagogues". Johnston advised workingmen to stop strikes and rely on the good will of industrialists at the conciliation table. Phillips Thompson said that Johnston did not understand basic labour relations, claiming that the conciliation process persistently pitted the weak against the strong, a process in which working people inevitably lost the battle.⁵⁴

The alienation of English-speaking Protestants was more extensive than their Roman Catholic brethren. But when the Archbishop of Québec, Monsignor Taschereau decided to remove the trades union movement, in particular the Knights of Labor, from his jurisdiction, he provoked a rupture between organized labour and the Catholic hierarchy. In so doing, he became the first major Canadian clergymen to declare open and institutionally-condoned warfare on working-class organizations. Taschereau believed that working-class Québécois would choose the Catholic Church over the trades union especially if the decision were encouraged by threats of ex-communication.⁵⁵

Taschereau had been concerned about the rise of the Order since its entry into the Province in 1882. By 1887, the Knights were operating thirty-eight Assemblies in Montréal with a membership of 2,500.⁵⁶ They published a weekly French-language journal Le Trait D'Union edited by printer Auguste Lepine. When the Order began to decline in the United States and English-speaking Canada in the 1890s, it continued to grow in Québec. By 1897, seventy-six percent of all Canadian Assemblies were in French Canada.⁵⁷ Taschereau's 1886 threat to withdraw the Church's sacraments from Catholic members of the Order was unsuccessful. Montréal Assemblies reported increases in membership at the height of the crisis, prompting the American Cardinal Gibbons to journey to the Vatican. Gibbons, who had misgivings about both Taschereau's and the Church's attitude to the Order, convinced the Vatican to lift its opposition to trades unions. Taschereau

reluctantly removed his indictment in 1888. He continued to advise loyal Catholics to avoid trades unionism.⁵⁸

The Church feared that foreign ideologies, ranging from socialism to reformist Christianity, were being imported by European immigrants who were instilling them as integral elements in working-class culture.⁵⁹ These new ideologies had the potential to challenge Christian theology. Clerics believed that they would have the potential to reshape civic ethics in a secular mould. The Church saw trades unions as potential windows through which materialist and anti-Christian ideas could invade working-class culture.

HEALING THE WOUNDS

In 1888, American Roman Catholics made the initial attempt to draft a Church-endorsed policy which Nova Scotia editor Robert Drummond published in his miners' newspaper The Trades Journal. The four point document declared, that in spite of its support for the retention of the principles of private ownership, all human beings had a right to those material goods necessary for the sustenance of human life. For example, the bishops directed those persons with more than enough food to share it with those in need as a matter of Christian duty.⁶⁰

In 1891, Pope Leo XIII articulated Catholicism's official view on the relationship between capital and labour in the Papal Encyclical "Rerum Novarum". The Pope stated that "every minister of Holy religion must throw into the conflict all the energy of his mind and all the strength of his endurance".⁶¹ The twenty-six

point document outlined Leo's concern about the seriousness of the conflict between capital and labour. The Pope told industrialists that trades unions had vital roles to play in the development of the body, mind and property rights of members. He advised unions and industrialists to resort to conciliation and arbitration to resolve the economic causes of strikes. He told industrialists that they could achieve workplace harmony through safer working conditions, shorter hours and better wages. However, Leo rejected socialist solutions which he regarded as materialist, atheist and antithetical to Catholic teaching. He warned that only those unions which rejected notions of class conflict and social ownership of property could be sanctioned by the Church of Rome.⁶²

Pope Leo's Encyclical was read in Toronto's Catholic churches on Sunday June 26, 1891. It solicited an angry response from Phillips Thompson. In his Labor Advocate, he wrote that "The Pope knows so little about the labour question that he seems to imagine that it can be settled by some sort of re-arrangement between employers and the employed, in which he is, of course about a quarter of a century behind the age. The time has gone by when men of any religion can be successfully appealed to and asked in the name of their faith "to suffer and to endure" in the hope of a reward in the next world evils of human infliction which it is in their power to remedy."⁶³

The Catholic fear of an alliance between socialists and unionists continued to result in attacks from the Vatican after Leo's Encyclical. In 1901, another Papal communique advised

workingmen to shun socialist trades unions and socialist organizations. The directive was repeated in 1903 when Pope Pius X issued another Encyclical Letter.⁶⁴

Most Protestant denominations were restricted in their attempts to cultivate working-class support because they shared the anti-socialist attitudes of their Roman Catholic colleagues. They believed that labour issues were purely economic, such as safety in the work place, child labour, occupational disease, length of the work week and fringe benefits. Although Protestants did not advocate the doctrinaire approach of Catholic clerics, they sought to defuse class conflict and promote industrial harmony. Although material demands were seen as worthwhile, changes in class-based relationships in either the work place or society were not encouraged. Only American Jewish rabbis stood removed from the debate. They sought to maintain adherence by silence, recognizing that socialism was a significant force in the Jewish needle-trades unions along the U. S. eastern seaboard. Eventually, all churches had a model to follow. Inspired by the formation of the Presbyterian Department of Church and Labor in 1903, the Federal Council of Churches in Canada and the United States eventually adopted a church-labor policy in 1908.⁶⁵

Christianity's most prominent spokesman was the Reverend Charles Stelzle, commissioned by the Presbyterian Church as its special missionary to working people. His weekly column could be found in a number of significant Canadian labour journals after 1905, including London's Industrial Banner, Regina's Saskatchewan

Labor's Realm, Toronto's The Tribune and The Lance, B.C.'s Roseland Industrial World and Moncton's Eastern Labor News.

In the assessment of the Presbyterian leadership, Stelzle was well suited for his mission. He was born in New York City's Bowery tenement district, and like other youth, was forced into work at an early age. In 1885, he apprenticed as a machinist at the Hoe Printing Press Company where he gained a reputation for over-enthusiasm and managerial ambition. Although he was often at odds with his colleagues⁶⁶, Stelzle passed his apprenticeship and joined the International Association of Machinists (IAM). He retained his union card after entering the Presbyterian ministry, a fact he did not hesitate to mention to working-class audiences.

After the incorporation of the Presbyterian Department of Church and Labor, Stelzle spent two years on an information mission to work places in Canada and the United States. When he felt he was comfortable with labour issues, he began drafting plans to reconcile the tensions between the Church and labour.⁶⁷ Speaking to the First Presbyterian Church in St. Louis in the Spring of 1906, Stelzle warned his audience that "workingmen today are moving in two general directions--first, political; second economic. In our own country the growth in the last four years has been sevenfold. If it increases in the same ratio in the next eight years the socialists will be able to elect a president. ... The labor question is definitely and morally a religious problem."⁶⁸

Stelzle recognized the need to address both capital and labor. He advised industrialists to share their wealth with workers. He

believed that this was the only way they could hope to stop socialism. He told his labour constituency to be militant in their economic demands, but advised them not to promote fundamental changes in their social and political relationships with capital. He argued that the worker's most reliable ally in the battle for improved economic status was the Church.⁶⁹

At the same time, Stelzle told industrialists that trades unions could assist in refining what most elites regarded as a coarse morality in the working class. He condemned union critics for suggesting that membership bred intemperance. He credited unions with advancing sobriety, blaming notorious working-class drinking habits on exhaustion and depression arising from poor economic conditions.⁷⁰ Stelzle wanted unions to build more labour temples. He claimed they worked to refine working-class morals by offering lectures and courses geared to upgrade literacy and trade skills.⁷¹

Stelzle was determined to co-opt labour journalism in order to communicate with a working-class constituency. Throughout his term with the Presbyterian Church, he was careful never to alienate labour journalists. He related that "my observations of the labor editors of this country has led me to have for them the greatest respect."⁷² London, Ontario, labour journalist Joseph Marks reported that Stelzle encouraged all unionists to develop their own labour newspapers.⁷³

For Labour Day, 1905, Stelzle advised all Presbyterian ministers in Canada and the United States to use their Sunday

sermons to support his Department's position on the relations of capital and labour. He asked churches to extend invitations to local unions to attend services in a body. Seven thousand Presbyterian congregations heeded his advice. By 1907, the Church reported the participation of eleven thousand congregations.⁷⁴ Stelzle advised ministers to deliver clear, simple messages, to deal with economic and moral questions, and to leave politics to the politicians.⁷⁵

A few labour journalists, particularly socialists, rejected Stelzle's message. Labour journalist and temperance advocate William Ulric Cotton, editor and owner of Cotton's Weekly, complained that "he is sending a lot of stuff to the labor press for publication, which for unreliability and misrepresentation of the fact is seldom surpassed."⁷⁶ Prior to "Labour Sunday", R. Parmeter Pettipiece, writing in his Western Clarion, told the Presbyterian Church it could never succeed in attracting working-class support.

If the gentlemen of the cloth know as much about the labor problem as they know about morality, ethics and salvation and are as successful in inoculating others with that knowledge as they have been to applying the doctrines of Christ to the affairs of men, it does not need much of a scholar to figure out the advance that labor's cause will make during the next 1905 years.⁷⁷

Stelzle, by constructing an elaborate network of alliances, succeeded in blunting labour journalism's mission to undermine the function of the Christian Church in working-class culture. Churchmen eventually recognized that most workers were more amenable to reforming the Church than destroying it. The re-

kindling of Christianity in the working class effectively excluded more materialist solutions for discontent. As a result, After 1900, the most vitriolic anti-clerical messages were only found in the Marxist journals.

ALTERNATE SPIRITS

Eventually only those reformist doctrines which respected working Canadians' Christian heritage became acceptable in working-class culture. Some late nineteenth-century intellectuals believed that non-violent and evolutionary messages could be wedded to Christian humanism. The cross-currents between socialist and Christian thought were the subject of numerous articles published in the labour press. Thompson's Labor Advocate proclaimed that socialism "has, in truth, the intent to teach the practical application of the humanity explained in the Gospel of Christ, and this seven days in the week instead of only one day of hours confined to church services."⁷⁸

A formal alliance between Christian teaching and socialism took place when the British-based Christian Socialist movement emerged in the late nineteenth century.⁷⁹ In North America, the Society of Christian Socialists was founded by a coalition of clerics and university-based intellectuals in 1889. The leader was the Reverend William D. P. Bliss who edited the society magazine The Dawn. Professors George D. Herron and Richard T. Ely acted as lecturers and writers for the movement.⁸⁰ Canada's most influential and vocal Christian Socialist was labour journalist George Wrigley. It is difficult to determine whether Wrigley was

primarily a Christian or a socialist. He considered himself the representative example of the harmonization of both. In his Toronto newspaper Citizen and Country, he published consistent condemnations of Church practices while appealing directly to parishioners to help achieve working-class rights. In 1899, he told Canadian clergymen "You undertake missionary work, home and foreign, but far nearer home than you imagine, there is work for you to do."⁸¹ Before his conversion to Marxism, R. Parmeter Pettipiece argued in his miners' newspaper the Lardeau Eagle that "Socialism is so distinctly Christian that it is often spoken of as "Applied Christianity."⁸² Arthur Puttee's Winnipeg journal The Voice claimed that "it (socialism) is the practical and logical outcome of the teaching of Christ. It is the same system as that instituted among His disciples. [Acts IV, 31-35]"⁸³

Wrigley never surrendered his membership in the Church of England. Writing in 1899, he wrote that he "clung to it hoping to see it become as much sociological as theological."⁸⁴ Wrigley claimed that only the teachings of Jesus Christ should be used to interpret human life, law and civil relations. He advocated replacing competition with co-operation and producing for use not profit.⁸⁵ Wrigley and the Christian Socialists left their mark in Canadian history. They were influential with British-born Fabians in the trades union movement, assisting the social democratic movement in its numerous struggles with Marxists.⁸⁶ Until the emergence of labour-based political parties, Christian Socialists shared the public platform with Marxists and liberal

interventionists, all of whom offered the working class their specific indictments of the capitalist governing class.⁸⁷

As one of the prominent labour journalists, Wrigley assisted in decreasing the pervasive influence that Protestantism held in Victorian working-class culture, although it was hardly his intention. By the time of his death in 1907, theology was being reformed by sociology.⁸⁸ His journals, ranging from The Canada Farmers' Sun, The Era of Brotherhood, Citizen and Country and The Canadian Socialist created a limited but influential public sympathy for Christian Socialism that Marxism or theosophy never enjoyed.⁸⁹

Critiques delivered by Christian Socialists, which had roots in the Canada of George Wrigley and Phillips Thompson, eventually leapt from the labour movement to provide the ideological impetus for the Social Gospel.⁹⁰ Eventually, Edward T. Kingsley became a convert. In 1910 in Montréal, Kingsley declared publicly that he believed that there was little difference in Christianity and socialism.⁹¹ The social analysis which first appeared in labour journals gave birth to the coalition of farmers, labourers and activist clergy who gathered together to found the Co-Operative Commonwealth Federation. It was Canada's first socialist political party, one which continues today under the name of the New Democratic Party.

CONCLUSION

These pioneer labour journalists seldom wavered in their conviction that the Church was the least viable mode of religious

expression. William Cotton declared in 1909 that "the churches of this fair Canada of ours are dead. The spirit of life has departed from them."⁹² No matter how persistent the theme of rejection, labour journalism was unable to lay a foundation for a communal working-class secular consciousness. They were unable to completely wean workers from Christianity through their programme of emphasizing Christian ethics while discarding Church practice and orthodox theology.

It would be an exaggeration to assert that labour journalists were exclusively responsible for leading the working class and farm protesters into political action. Certainly some of the people who founded the C.C.F. had a history in labour journalism. However, it should never be forgotten that Thompson, Wrigley, Wright, Marks, Pettipiece and others gave public expression to alternative political ideas that otherwise would have never been printed. Labour journalism played a significant role in influencing reform movements in the Church. The Church reached out to working people because it came to recognize that a cloistered existence was no longer possible. At the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, the Protestant Church, at least, was well down the road to liberal reform and working-class accommodation.

ENDNOTES

1. CANADIAN LABOR REFORMER, Volume 1, No.1 45, Toronto, Ontario, March 19, 1887
2. The issue is discussed in depth in David R. Spencer, AN ALTERNATE VISION: MAIN THEMES IN MORAL EDUCATION IN CANADA'S ENGLISH-LANGUAGE WORKING-CLASS PRESS 1870-1910, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Toronto, 1990
3. Richard Allen, "The Social Gospel and the Reform Tradition in Canada, 1890-1928" in Canadian Historical Review (49) No. 4 388-389
4. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO, Northbrook, Illinois: AHM publishing Corporation, 1955, p. 30. A dedicated Communist could not be both a Christian and a socialist.
5. EASTERN LABOR NEWS, Volume 1, No. 8, Moncton, New Brunswick, Saturday March 27, 1909. This argument first began to appear in Phillips Thompson's writings for the Hamilton, Ontario journal the PALLADIUM OF LABOR between 1883 and 1887. Thompson, who wrote for virtually every English-language labour journal between 1869 and 1910, never wavered from this conviction, although he experimented with many non-conformist religious beliefs such as Theosophy. His thoughts influenced most other editors during the period, ranging from William Cotton, editor of COTTON'S WEEKLY who argued that Jesus Christ was the world's first socialist to George Wrigley, the Christian Socialist, who founded five major trades union journals in London, Toronto and Vancouver.
6. LE TRAVAILLEUR, Volume 1, No. 38, Lac Megantic, P.Q., Vendredi, 28 Octobre, 1898 stated " La religion et l'instruction inculquées aux enfants par les maitres à la hauteur de leur mission, rendraient à la jeunesse canadienne française l'énergie et le courage qui vont s'affaiblissant de plus en plus, et apprendraient à chacun à vivre de son propre travail au lieu de compter sur la protection des pouvoirs publics." Similar French-language editorial positions can be found in the first edition of L'ARTISAN, 1er Année, Numerous Prospectives, Québec, 5 Janvier, 1888. It states, "Nous respecterons l'autorité religieuse et tout ce qui touche de pres ou de loin à l'Eglise Catholique."
7. There have been many volumes written on Canadian Christian behaviour in the Victorian period. However, one, Ramsay Cook's THE REGENERATORS, Toronto, Ontario: The University of Toronto Press, 1986 gives the most complete overview of religious friction in this period. Also valuable is Carl Berger, SCIENCE, GOD AND NATURE IN VICTORIAN CANADA, Toronto, Ontario: The University of Toronto Press, 1974. The overview in this paragraph is a short synthesis of the concepts contained in these two works.

8. SANDON PAYSTREAK, Book 1, Chapter 16, Sandon and Cody, B.C., January 9, 1897
9. CANADIAN LABOR REFORMER, Volume 1, No. 1, Toronto, Ontario, May 15, 1886
10. PALLADIUM OF LABOR, Volume 2, No. 45, Hamilton, Ontario, Saturday December 20, 1884
11. SECULARISM, Phillips Thompson Papers, Archives of Ontario, M.U. 2983
12. Ironically, Thompson argued this point in one of his major essays on secular thought. See SECULARISM, Phillips Thompson Papers, Archives of Ontario, M.U. 2983
13. Sally F. Zerker, THE RISE AND FALL OF THE TORONTO TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION, 1832-1972: Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1982, p. 9
14. Zerker, p. 9
15. Herbert G. Gutman, WORK, CULTURE AND SOCIETY IN INDUSTRIALIZING AMERICA, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976, p. 66
16. Robert A. Conway, MEMOIRS OF THE 1880s, OTAR, PAMPH 1880, No. 18, p. 24
17. Gregory S. Kealey and Bryan D. Palmer, DREAMING OF WHAT MIGHT BE, The Knights of Labor in Ontario, 1880-1900, Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1982, p. 287
18. Gene Howard Homel, "Radicalism and Early Socialism in Canada's 1890s" in Labour/Le Travail, 5, Spring 1980, p. 14. Also see Michael Cross and Gregory S. Kealey (eds.), CANADA'S AGE OF INDUSTRY, 1849-1896, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982, p. 15a
19. Joy Parr, LABOURING CHILDREN, Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1980, p. 37
34. Parr, p. 37
21. David Onn, "Egerton Ryerson's Philosophy of Education", in Ontario History, Volume LXI, June 1969, p. 78
22. Cross and Kealey, p. 14
23. ONTARIO WORKMAN, Volume 1, No. 12, Toronto, Thursday July 4, 1872

24. Robert V. Andelson, "Where Society's Claim Stops", in The American Journal of Economics and Sociology, 27 (1), 1968, p. 42

25. Benough's social critiques appeared in two journals. His satirical publication Grip which was designed after Great Britain's Punch, published for two decades, between 1878 and 1898. Occasionally he tried broadsheet journalism. His newspaper, the Social Reformer appeared only sporadically from 1889 to 1896.

26. LABOR ADVOCATE, Volume 1, No. 7, Toronto, January, 16, 1891

27. David J. Bercuson, FOOLS AND WISE MEN, Toronto, Ontario: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1978, p. 52

28. The Salvation Army was not identified as a major player. However, like other Protestant denominations, it was accused of supporting the work of the dominant culture. Labour journalists were especially concerned about its role in immigration, begun in earnest around the mid-1880s. The Knights of Labor journalists began to write anti-immigration articles specifically aimed at restricting Oriental, Eastern European and child immigration. The Canadian Labor Reformer, Labor Advocate, Industrial News, Le Trait d'Union and Industrial Banner all carried stories condemning the Salvation Army's immigration policies. After 1900, nearly every working-class journal, both Socialist and Reformer, published articles on the subject.

29. SANDON PAYSTREAK, Book 1, Chapter 31, Sandon and Cody, British Columbia, April 24, 1897. The editor accused the Catholic Church of controlling the votes of its Members of Parliament claiming that a Catholic parliamentarian could not be simultaneously a member in good standing of both institutions. He wanted to know how Wilfrid Laurier and his colleagues were attempted to compromise their potentially divisive loyalties.

30. PALLADIUM OF LABOR, Volume 2, No. 3, Hamilton, Ontario, Saturday January 26, 1884

31. Gregory S. Kealey, TORONTO WORKERS RESPOND TO INDUSTRIAL CAPITALISM, 1867-1892, Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1980, pp. 110-111

32. See Murray W. Nicholson, SIX DAYS SHALT THOU LABOUR: THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE IRISH WORKER IN VICTORIAN TORONTO, Canadian Historical Association, 1983, OTAR, 971.C343, No. 56, p. 1. The subject also appears in Michael Cross, "The Workingman and Social Institutions", in Working Class Life, p. 182

33. LABOR ADVOCATE, Volume 1, No. 34, Toronto, Ontario, July 24, 1891

34. WESTERN CLARION, No. 340, Vancouver, B.C., Saturday September 30, 1905
35. Senior, p. 137
36. Evidence is contained in the following society journals: The Canadian Co-operator, Canadian Granger, Canadian Overseer, Canadian Workman, Dominion Watchman, Grange Bulletin. These newspapers were published in Ontario, mostly between 1877 and 1910, but were distributed nationally.
37. SANDON PAYSTREAK, Book VI, Sandon, B.C., September 13, 1902
38. SANDON PAYSTREAK, Book IV, Sandon, B.C., October 26, 1901
39. THE WINNIPEG VOICE, Volume VIII, No. 2, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Friday June 21, 1901. The writer using the pen-name St. Thomas argued that if workers and clergy were to meet on a one-to-one basis in small gatherings, many of their differences could easily be addressed and worked out.
40. J. M. S. Careless, "Central Canadian Newspapers, 1850-67", in Canadian Historical Review, Volume XXXI, No. 3, September 1950, p. 230
41. J. M. S. Careless, "Central Canadian Newspapers, 1850-67", p. 230
42. Carl Berger, SCIENCE, GOD AND NATURE IN VICTORIAN CANADA, Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1983, p. 32
43. Berger, pp. 54-55
44. Cook, p. 41
45. Cook, p. 45
46. Cook, p. 45
47. Cook, p. 61
48. PALLADIUM OF LABOR, Volume II, No. 34, Hamilton, Ontario, Saturday, October 4, 1884
49. See Russell Hann, "Brainworkers and The Knights of Labor", in Gregory S. Kealey (ed.) Essays in Canadian Working Class History, Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1976, p. 38. Hann points to Thompson's flirtation with Secularism and E. E. Sheppard's hatred for clergymen which resulted from a childhood in a fundamentalist home.

50. INDUSTRIAL BANNER, Eleventh Year, No. 6, London, Ontario, May 1903
51. Paul Rutherford, A VICTORIAN AUTHORITY: THE DAILY PRESS IN LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY CANADA, Toronto, Buffalo, London: The University of Toronto Press, 1982, pp. 16-17
52. French, p. 104
53. Doris French, FAITH, SWEAT AND POLITICS, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1962, p. 104
54. LABOR ADVOCATE, Volume 1, No. 11, Toronto, Ontario, February 13, 1891
55. Charles Lipton, THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT OF CANADA, 1827-1959, Montréal: Canadian Social Publications, 1966, p. 69
56. Lipton, p. 69
57. Jacques Rouillard, LES SYNDICATS NATIONAUX AU QUEBEC, Québec, P.Q., Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1979, pp. 15-16
58. Lipton, p. 69
59. Donald Avery, DANGEROUS FOREIGNERS, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979, p. 46
60. THE TRADES JOURNAL, Volume IX, No. 18, Stellarton, Nova Scotia, Wednesday May 9, 1888.
61. REPORT, 1891, The Ontario Bureau of Industries, OTAR, AB/L, p. 266
62. The complete text was published in the 1981 REPORT, of the Bureau of Industries of the Province of Ontario, pp. 266-268
63. LABOR ADVOCATE, Volume 1, No. 31, Toronto, Ontario, July 3, 1891
64. Philip Foner, HISTORY OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN THE U.S., Volume 2, New York: International Publishers, 1955, p. 114
65. Foner, pp. 128-134
66. David Montgomery, FALL OF THE HOUSE OF LABOR, Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1987, 190-191
67. Foner, p. 129
68. THE TRIBUNE, Volume 1, No. 30, Toronto, Ontario, March 31, 1906

69. EASTERN LABOR NEWS, Volume 1, No. 22, Saturday, July 10, 1909. Messages with consistently similar themes were printed from Stelzle's numerous press releases in the following journals. THE LANCE, Volume II, No. 76, Toronto, Ontario, Saturday, October 23, 1909. SASKATCHEWAN LABOR'S REALM, Volume 1, No. 4, Regina, Saskatchewan, August 2, 1909. This list is by no means representative of the number of Canadian Labour newspapers who published Stelzle's releases. Evidence of his influence can be discovered in most of the non-socialist journals between 1900 and 1910.
70. THE TRIBUNE, Volume 1, No. 6, Toronto, Saturday, October 14, 1905
71. INDUSTRIAL BANNER, Fourteenth Year, No. 4, London, Ontario, February 1906
72. SASKATCHEWAN LABOR'S REALM, Volume 1, No. 20, Regina, Saskatchewan, October 25, 1907
73. INDUSTRIAL BANNER, Fourteenth Year, No. 12, London, Ontario, October, 1906
74. SASKATCHEWAN LABOR'S REALM, Volume 1, No. 12, Regina, Saskatchewan, July, 1907
75. SASKATCHEWAN LABOR'S REALM, Volume 1, No. 12, Regina, Saskatchewan, July, 1907
76. COTTON'S WEEKLY, Volume XXXVIII, Cowansville, P.Q., Thursday, July 29, 1909
77. WESTERN CLARION, No. 335, Vancouver, B.C., Saturday, August 26, 1905
78. LABOR ADVOCATE, Volume 1, No. 25, Toronto, Ontario, May 22, 1891
79. Foner, p. 44. A history of the British chapters of Christian Socialism is contained in James W. Hulse, REVOLUTIONARIES IN LONDON, Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1970
80. Foner, p. 44
81. CITIZEN AND COUNTRY, Volume 2, No. 23, Whole Number 73, Toronto, Ontario, Saturday October 21, 1899
82. LARDEAU EAGLE, Volume 1, No. 19, Ferguson, B.C., June 20, 1900
83. THE VOICE, Fourth Year, No. 35, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Friday February 11, 1898

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91. Richard Allen, "The Social Gospel and The Reform Tradition in Canada, 1890-1928", in Canadian Historical Review, Volume 49, No. 4, 1968, pp. 388-389. A more detailed analysis of the interplay can be found in Allen's book, THE SOCIAL PASSION: RELIGION AND SOCIAL REFORM IN CANADA, Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1971
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A Pennsylvania Newspaper Publisher as Captain of "Gideon's Army":

J. W. Gitt, Henry Wallace and the Progressive Party

by

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American Journalism Historians Association
October 3-5, 1991 – Philadelphia**

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ABSTRACT

A Pennsylvania Newspaper Publisher as Captain of "Gideon's Army": J. W. Gitt, Henry Wallace and the Progressive Party

One of the most influential voices to convince F. D. R.'s former Vice President Henry Agard Wallace that he should take his "peace platform" to the nation on the Progressive Party's presidential ticket in 1948 was Josiah William Gitt, publisher of The Gazette and Daily in York, Pa. From March 1948 to July 1950, Gitt was state chairman of the Progressive Party of Pennsylvania, and for at least a year before that, he was active in the party's forerunner, the Progressive Citizens of America.

The Gazette and Daily, already well known in liberal circles, became more nationally recognized as the only commercial daily newspaper in the United States to fully support the Wallace candidacy, both through news coverage and in editorials. In fact, some people, both on and off the staff, began to call it "the house organ of the Progressive Party." As always, however, J. W. "Jess" Gitt exercised his prerogative as an independent newspaper publisher, listening only to the voice of his own conscience.

Documented mainly through Gitt's personal correspondence, party records and interviews, this paper examines the relationship between the newspaper publisher who lived his entire life in south-central Pennsylvania and the politician who served the U.S. Presidency thirteen and a half years, longer than any other member of Roosevelt's original New Deal cabinet. Their views on the need for international cooperation, far advanced of the prevailing cold war climate, today seem quite prophetic.

A Pennsylvania Newspaper Publisher as Captain of "Gideon's Army":

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The most influential voice to convince F. D. R.'s former Vice President Henry Agard Wallace that he should take his "peace platform" to the nation on the Progressive Party's presidential ticket in 1948 was Josiah William Gitt, publisher of The Gazette and Daily newspaper in York, Pennsylvania. Tucked deep in the heart of conservative Pennsylvania Dutch country, the morning tabloid, winner of several N. W. Ayer lay-out awards, was recognized in liberal circles as a champion of the under-dog. But the paper and its owner were to become even more widely known as the only commercial daily in the country to fully support Wallace's candidacy. J. W. Gitt ("Jess" to his friends) committed not only his paper's editorial and news columns to the Progressives' campaign, but donated his own personal time and money to the party's activities. His interest in creating a third party began long before the nominating convention on that hot July day in Philadelphia in 1948.

Documented mainly through Gitt's personal correspondence, party records and interviews, this paper examines the relationship between the newspaper publisher who lived his entire life in south-central Pennsylvania and the politician who served the U.S. Presidency thirteen and a half years, longer than any other member of Roosevelt's original New Deal Cabinet. Their views on the need for international cooperation, far advanced of the prevailing cold war climate, today seem quite prophetic.

The personal backgrounds of these two men who admired each other so much should be noted for their similarities. Born just four and a half years apart in rural-small town America, Gitt in 1884 in Pennsylvania and Wallace in 1888 in Iowa, each man was descended from Scottish Protestants who had settled in northern Ireland before immigrating to the new world. Gitt's ancestors came directly to south-central Pennsylvania in 1741 and Wallace's

stopped off in western Pennsylvania in 1823 before moving on to Iowa. Each had a grandfather who was a minister, a career choice not uncommon amongst early progressives. Wallace's grandfather was forced to leave the ministry due to ill health, but became a prosperous farmer-landlord who started a farm newspaper in Des Moines with two sons. Assuming the name of Wallace's Farmer in 1896, the paper became the most influential farm journal in the Midwest.

Wallace took over as editor in 1921 when his father (Henry C.) became Secretary of Agriculture in Harding's cabinet. Wallace's bachelor of science degree from Iowa State University in 1910 and his continuing interest in solving agricultural problems, in particular developing methods to hybridize seed corn, kept him attached to his rural roots.

Unlike Gitt's long line of family Democrats, however, Wallace's family remained progressive Republicans until Henry Agard switched his registration to Democrat in the 1936 Presidential campaign, four years after he was sworn in as Roosevelt's Secretary of Agriculture. He assumed an editorship for the second time in December 1946, of The New Republic after his split with Truman's cabinet. Just one year later he would be announcing his own quest for the Presidency.

J. W. Gitt graduated from Franklin and Marshall College in Lancaster, Pa., in 1904 at the age of 20. He attended the University of Pennsylvania law school but returned to York to read law with a local firm and was admitted to the Pennsylvania bar in 1908. He purchased the 120-year-old The York Gazette in 1915 and The York Daily in 1918, combining the two papers into The Gazette and Daily, a paper which was to bring him national, even international, recognition. "Jess" Gitt never was tempted to move out of York County. He made his home all his life in Hanover, Pa., a town about 15 miles southwest of York on the Maryland border, just above the Mason-Dixon line, where his 101-year-old widow, Elizabeth Moul Gitt, still lives.

Although Gitt certainly knew Wallace's writings, the first documented evidence of the publisher having a personal connection with the politician was in April 1946 when Wallace stopped in York on a cross-country speaking tour to address the Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner of the Men's Democratic Society of York, of which Gitt was a prominent member. "Progressive sentiment is rising throughout the country," he told a reporter for The Gazette and Daily on April 27. "The American people are always progressive, but sometimes when they get a bit of money they get fat and lazy," said Wallace, by then Truman's Secretary of Commerce (a post he'd been given as a salve after being dumped as Roosevelt's running mate in 1944). Also by then, thoroughly disillusioned with his new boss and the Democratic Party in general, Wallace had set out from Washington to explain his views to the American people.¹

Achieving peace through the United Nations and prosperity through the government's control of big business were the goals of both the former New Dealer and the Pennsylvania publisher. Neither Wallace nor Gitt was opposed to capitalism per se, but both envisioned "progressive capitalism" which, they thought, would allow more people to share in the wealth. Indeed, the political ideals and aims of these two men were so finely meshed that it is no wonder Gitt became Wallace's most ardent media supporter--so much so that he was sometimes criticized for allowing his newspaper to become "a house organ of the Progressive Party and its candidate."²

From 1946 through the summer of 1950 when both men resigned from the Progressive Party over the Korean War issue, The Gazette and Daily carried news stories on all the doings of the party and its most famous candidate. Sometimes the paper reprinted Wallace's speeches in full, such as his so-called "Madison Square Garden Speech" delivered on September 12, 1946, which resulted in Truman's request for his resignation a week later.³ Properly titled "The Way to Peace," the speech triggered a controversy when Truman claimed he had never approved it but Wallace insisted he had. Deemed too pro-Russian by

Wallace's detractors, the speech originally had contained several criticisms of the Soviet Union which Wallace softened when he realized how pro-Russian was the Garden crowd.⁴ Wallace struck at Truman's "get tough" policy by stating, "The tougher we get, the tougher the Russians will get." He proposed that each nation respect the other's sphere of influence while working for a lasting peace through the United Nations, which would control all atomic weapons and all the world's air bases. Gitt shared Wallace's world view and refused to cease considering the Soviet Union an ally once World War II was over.

"The date of the opening of the Cold War is most commonly set in 1946, early in the post-World War II Truman Administration, when the wartime alliance between the United States and the Soviet Union was being dismantled," stated James Aronson in his book, The Press and the Cold War.⁵ Forced to resign from Truman's cabinet on September 20, 1946, Wallace became determined to take part in the 1948 campaign because he felt that "peace was the overpowering issue of the times," he later told Curtis MacDougall, journalism professor and documentarian of the Progressive Party in his three-volume Gideon's Army.⁶

Wallace's second appearance in York as a speaker was on March 7, 1948, when he gave the keynote address for the "Pennsylvania People's Convention." According to Common Sense, a four-page tabloid published for the Progressive Party by The Gazette and Daily, "an historic independent party for Pennsylvania" was formed at the convention. The reference was to the Progressive Party of Pennsylvania, headquartered in Harrisburg. The more than 2,500 delegates from all over the state elected J. W. Gitt as their chairman "by acclamation."⁷ He already had been chairman of the temporary Pennsylvania Progressives for Wallace committee, and he was to become, according to MacDougall, "the heaviest donor to the Progressive coffers."⁸

In his keynote address, Wallace spoke about the newspaper publisher's influence on his decision to run for the presidency on the Progressive ticket.

"Josiah Gitt is my idea of a truly fine American," he said, and then explained:

I would like to tell you a little story about Jess Gitt and the kind of American he is. You have all read in your newspapers, unless you confine yourselves to the York Gazette--you have all read that in making this fight I was responding to the pleas of some allegedly 'shady characters'.

Well, of all the allegedly unsavory characters who urged this course upon me, none made such an impression as that fine American Jess Gitt. Early last December I talked with Jess Gitt in New York. He was with some other folks who came to ask me to run as an independent candidate. They wanted me to help in building a new political party. Some of these people put the proposition in a purely personal sense. Maybe they thought it was flattering. They said it was up to me whether or not we would have a new party.

But not Jess Gitt. He put it differently. He said: 'Look here, I'd like you to run. I think it would help, but, whether you run or not, there's going to be a new party. The times and conditions demand it.'

With Jess Gitt this was no question of personalities. He knew the facts. They added up to the need for a new political alignment in America. He was determined to help get that new alignment, whether Henry Wallace said 'yes' or Henry Wallace said 'no'.

I like Jess Gitt. And I think that Jess and you and I are getting that new alignment.⁹

A "new party" alternative was something Jess Gitt had been thinking about since the early 1930s. He had met with some of his close friends in Washington in 1931 to discuss the possibility of a third party.¹⁰ Details of that meeting are not directly available through Gitt's correspondence, except in references many years later. Even though Cordell Hull, Roosevelt's Secretary of State, had been a personal friend of Gitt since the 1920s, the York publisher never gave his unqualified support to the "New Deal"--not because he thought it was too radical but because, for him, it was too conservative. Toward the end of his life, in the early 1970s, he expressed his views in an interview with McKinley Olson:

Franklin Roosevelt stopped too short. He didn't go far enough. If I had been him, I would have at least taken over the public utilities; it would have been a cinch at the time. F. D. R. was very severely criticized later by some people for having saved the capitalistic system. He did save it, for the monopolists, but the big shots were too dumb to know it. They crucified him, called him all kinds of names.¹¹

A few years before the 1948 campaign, Gitt had expressed his concern about "the reign of the monopolists" in two long letters to an old friend in Washington, Attorney Huston Thompson, undoubtedly one of those present at the 1931 meeting. "It seemed to me that the President pretty much sold us down the river when he turned over War Production to the monopolists and vested interests," he said in his letter dated February 5, 1943.¹² In a second letter to Thompson dated February 10, 1943, Gitt expressed concern about "world monopoly":

In defeating fascists we are acquiring fascism. The whole trouble is that we liberals have lost sight of the ultimate ends. We have been too well satisfied with present results which in themselves are useless or nearly so from the long term standpoint. We are further from a League of Nations or any other type of collective security than in 1918. What the big business shots want, of course, is world monopoly and unless there is a decided change for the better we are more than likely to come out of this war with that kind of fascism in control.¹³

Gitt's ideas about the control of U.S. foreign policy by international business interests were also held by the ousted member of the Truman administration. In a speech in Boston at the convention of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America on September 22, 1947, Wallace had charged that U.S. foreign policy was based on "support of reaction, heavy armaments and plans for universal military training, and interference with the internal affairs of almost every nation in the world."¹⁴ Soon after that, he began calling for voters to back him by electing progressive candidates in 1948.

Exactly when Wallace began to see himself as the leading progressive candidate is unclear. Less than three months after his resignation as Secretary of Commerce, he had appeared as featured speaker at the organizational meeting in December 1946 of the Progressive Citizens of America (PCA), formed by a merger of two popular-front groups, the National Citizens Political Action Committee (NC-PAC) and the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions (ICCASP). Already he was being talked about as a possible third party Presidential candidate in the 1948 election.¹⁵

In early January 1947, Gitt was informed that he had been elected to the PCA's national board of directors. Signed by co-chairmen Jo Davidson and Frank Kingdon, the letter said, "The independent progressives must close ranks if the principles of democracy are to be translated into constructive national policy." It called for "progressive victory in the 1948 elections."¹⁶

An exchange of letters between Gitt and Wallace that January showed a concern about the founding of another organization just a week after the PCA--that is, the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) which stated in its first policy paper: "We reject any association with Communists or sympathizers with Communism in the United States as completely as we reject any association with Fascists or their sympathizers."¹⁷ The PCA, on the other hand, felt it could use Communist Party members to its advantage in organizing drives and thus refused to capitulate to red-baiting pressure. In a few years time, however, both Gitt and Wallace would come to believe what the red-baiters had been saying all along--that the Communists were destroying the Progressive Party.

Undoubtedly with an eye toward the 1948 election, the York publisher attempted to persuade Wallace to become part of PCA by sending him a copy of his January 22, 1947, editorial, "What Progressives Can Do." First of all, Gitt said, they should "refuse to be diverted or divided by the enemy drawing

Red herring across the trail." Gitt later sat on the Progressive Party's platform committee, but in this editorial he outlined his own platform:

Stand for and fight for a more equitable distribution of the products of the soil and the factory; a foreign policy which will encourage peace and goodwill and not act as a partner of reaction in protecting itself against a better distribution of wealth and income abroad; protect labor in its right to bargain on equal terms with capital and toward that end preserve and continue the Wagner Labor Relations Act without amendment or emasculation; put into practice the American ideal of the equality of man; destroy monopoly and put an end to restraint of trade and the maintenance of high prices by either open or tacit agreement; secure full employment and make it a national policy; do the planning necessary to make full employment continuous, with minimum wages high enough to enable those who labor to secure for themselves and their families a high standard of living; provide at government expense an education for every one who desires it in proportion to the individual's capacity to absorb and not in accord with ability to pay; provide medical attention to all based upon need and not ability to pay; provide old age pensions high enough to enable those too old to work to live a happy life in their declining years; and see to it that unemployables for physical reasons have enough to maintain them in good circumstances.¹⁸

Obviously, the editorial made an impression on Wallace because he wrote a letter praising Gitt to George Seldes from his editor's office at the New Republic on February 27, 1947, in which he expressed concern that a diversionary tactic was being used against the Progressives. Wallace wrote to the publisher of the weekly newsletter In fact:

I have long been impressed by the courage and intelligence of J. W. Gitt. He is a real asset to the progressive cause. The reactionaries are trying to conduct a preventive war against the progressives by calling them communists. This causes them to fight among themselves, and thus the reactionaries are able to win without furnishing any constructive program of their own whatsoever.¹⁹

Gitt's growing involvement with the Progressive movement began the serious red-baiting of him and his newspaper. He was respected on the golf

course and in the board rooms as the skilled golfer and businessman he was. And because his ancestors had settled in that area of south-central Pennsylvania in 1741, he could hardly be labeled an "outsider". However, as publisher of The Gazette and Daily (1918-1970), Gitt was often slandered by those who could not understand that to defend the right of Communists (or communists) to exist and express their ideas did not mean that one had to hold membership in the Communist Party, U.S.A. (CP). (This red-baiting continued in the 1950s when his paper published black-listed writers on its famous "op. ed." page, and in the 1960s as it took a strong stand against the war in Vietnam but supported equal rights for black Americans.)

In their book about the National Guardian, the leftist newsweekly whose trial issue was run off Gitt's presses in York in the summer of 1948 as the National Gazette, co-founders Cedric Belfrage and James Aronson note the few who had the courage to withstand the assaults on intellectual freedom getting into full swing by the late 1940s. "Josiah Gitt was among the few Americans of some stature who stood up with Wallace in defiance of red-baiting," Belfrage wrote. "In each geographical and occupational area there was one or a handful of these--ranging politically from loyal Rooseveltian to socialist--though all wouldn't stay the course."²⁰

If the American liberal-left had ever hoped to build a united front, that dream was set adrift in the reactive aftermath of Truman's urgent address to Congress on March 12, 1947. Later known as the "Truman Doctrine," the President set forth a series of proposals offering long-range economic and military aid to Greece and Turkey. In describing a growing Soviet threat to those two countries, Truman alienated himself even further from those who insisted upon cooperation with the Soviet Union in order to maintain world peace. The CP viewed the Truman Doctrine as "unabashed imperialism." The PCA saw the proposal as heading the United States toward war, but with the hope that a popular front would grow as more people criticized the

administration's foreign policy. The ADA, at first silent, finally gave its endorsement on March 30, thus aligning that organization with Truman's foreign policy.²¹ Liberals and left-liberals within Congress expressed some opposition, most notably Democratic Senators Claude Pepper of Florida and Glen Taylor of Idaho, both strong Wallace supporters. (Taylor would become Wallace's running-mate.) Even some conservatives saw it as the beginning of long-range American military support that could only grow.²²

On the day after Truman's speech before Congress, Henry Wallace addressed the nation on NBC Radio and dubbed his former boss's speech "a turning point in American history."²³ He condemned support of a reactionary regime, expansion of U.S. military aid and by-passing of the United Nations. "We must give the common man all over the world something better than communism," Wallace said. "I believe we have something better than communism here in America. But President Truman has not spoken for the American ideal."²⁴

The Gazette and Daily gave Wallace's speech full front-page coverage and its publisher was one of the many to write congratulatory letters to Wallace. He shared his views with the man he would soon be urging to campaign as Truman's replacement by saying, in part:

It seems to me that the whole future of humanity is hanging in the balance and that a resort to force by reaction to beat off communism will sooner or later put an end to civilization as we know it.

Lining up with reaction can come to no good. Personally I am so firmly convinced that reaction is attempting to commit suicide and carry us with it, that it seems imperative to me that all of us who do know better must speak out fearlessly and regardless of possible present political results. Somehow or other we have got to head off this ignorant and dangerous international policy.

And may I say that like you I am certainly not a communist or fellow traveler or anything of the kind.²⁵

Throughout the ensuing years, Gitt's letters frequently expressed denial of being a communist or fellow traveler. Although possessing the courage of the independent thinker, he seemed to feel the necessity of denying those charges used to red-bait him even when writing to those who would not think of doing so.

In April 1947 Gitt received a letter from Montgomery Ostrander, executive director of the Eastern Pennsylvania Chapter, PCA, requesting that he address PCA members in State College, Pa.²⁶ Gitt replied: "I am very much in sympathy with PCA and I am willing to do anything that I reasonably can to further its purposes. Except to make public speeches or devote a whole lot of time to it." He said The Gazette and Daily took "all the time" and he believed he could "do more good through the paper than by attempting to do something that I am less well fitted to do."²⁷

"The paper" often was used as Gitt's excuse to avoid speaking in public, but those who knew him said the more probable reason was his basic shyness. Writing letters and editorials was a more comfortable means of expounding his views in attempting to create political change. Nevertheless, he was soon to find out that his publicly expressed political beliefs would force him to spend more and more time with the Progressive Citizens of America, and even to speak on occasion.

The year 1947 was a party-building one for Progressives, who could be counted all over the country throughout the wide range of left-liberal political thought. Specifically, they saw Truman's foreign policies leading to a tightening of tensions on the world scene which could lead to another war, or at the very least to a long "cold" war if not a "hot" one. They were searching for a candidate they felt would work toward maintaining peace, rather than escalating a "get tough" stance with Russia. Henry Wallace was becoming more and more the favored candidate, especially after his speaking

tour of European nations that April during which he openly opposed Truman's program of aid to Greece and Turkey. Upon his return to the United States, Wallace reported that the Europeans greeted the Truman Doctrine "with fear because they regard it as a step leading toward war."²⁸

As honorary chairman of the York branch, PCA, Gitt asked Wallace to speak in York at a pre-Labor Day rally. Although Wallace declined, he did make many speeches throughout the country in the fall of 1947. Even though those speeches seemed almost like a campaign tour, he had not yet announced his candidacy or affiliated with the new party. Several old friends and supporters--such as Michael Straight, New Republic publisher, and Frank Kingdon, an original PCA co-chairman who had resigned to run for U.S. Senate on the Democratic ticket in New Jersey--tried to warn him against a third party campaign. "You won't have a Gideon's army to support you," Kingdon told Wallace in early December, providing the catch-phrase for the ensuing Wallace campaign.²⁹

According to MacDougall, Wallace "definitely made up his mind to run for the Presidency on a third party ticket" on December 2, 1947, at a small gathering in the New York studio of sculptor Jo Davidson, the other original PCA co-chairman. Gitt was not among those present, but he was in attendance on December 17 when a subcommittee of the PCA's executive committee called on Wallace in his New York hotel headquarters to tell him about the executive committee's vote of December 15 to request him to run. (Along with Gitt, this subcommittee consisted of C. B. "Beanie" Baldwin, later campaign manager, John Abt, the party's general counsel, Mrs. Elinor Gimbel, Lillian Hellman, Harold Young, Michael Nisselson and James Imbrie--all ardent Wallace supporters.) This gathering represented the first chance Wallace had to declare his definite willingness to run. They urged him to announce his candidacy by the end of the year from Chicago. MacDougall described a final scene:

When Wallace raised the question of the possible vote he would receive, Gitt replied, 'It makes no difference how many votes you get. You are in honor bound to run.' In the opinion of many who were 'close to the top' at the time--and I know of none who dissents from this view--the insistent urging of Josiah Gitt was a strong factor in causing Wallace to decide to run. It was Gitt whom Wallace asked to walk back to the New Republic office with him, at the conclusion of the meeting, for further conversation on the important decision he had made.³⁰

Wallace finally announced his candidacy on the Progressive Party ticket in a national radio broadcast from Chicago on December 29, 1947. In an editorial for the New Republic, titled "Why I Choose to Run," he tried to answer those who feared an involvement in the campaign from the far left. "Many of my friends who have supported my decision argued in advance that it was dangerous, because the Communists wanted it. But I have never believed in turning from a principled position because it happened to win the support of others with whom you have important disagreements."³¹

He would lose a lot of potential liberal support over the Communist issue. For instance, the ADA's national leadership issued a statement that a third party "would mean a retreat from American responsibility abroad, directly serving the world-wide interests of the Communist party."³² It would take a publisher with an equally independent streak to throw his newspaper's total support into the new party's first Presidential campaign.

According to Cedric Belfrage in his book, The American Inquisition 1945-1960, "out of some 1,800 commercial dailies, two and a quarter published Wallace's viewpoints fully and without distortion." The two were The Gazette and Daily and the New York Star (successor to the recently defunct PM, the liberal New York newspaper which tried to survive with no advertising), even though the latter finally endorsed Truman. The one-quarter was Ted Thackrey in the New York Post, "whose wife (*the*

paper's owner) . . . allowed him to write positively about Wallace in an otherwise hostile setting."³³ All other major New York dailies were pro-Dewey. Thus, the Communist Daily Worker in New York and the independently owned Gazette and Daily in York, Pa., became the only two newspapers in the country to support Wallace throughout his entire campaign, a fact which also increased the red-baiting of Gitt and his paper.

As the year 1948 progressed toward the summer's national political conventions, Gitt received more and more letters from readers asking why they should vote for Wallace. In one reply, he insisted that Wallace's election was "not beyond the realm of possibility." But he also saw support for Wallace at the polls as "a protest against the bi-partisan policy which is leading us to war and depression." Whether Gitt actually believed Wallace had any chance of winning but only said so to boost voter support is arguable. At least he hoped for "a large vote" for Wallace because "even if he does not win, it will scare the older parties very badly and have a very good and wholesome restraining effect upon their undemocratic actions."³⁴

The Progressive Party of Pennsylvania became the host group as Philadelphia was chosen to be the site of the new party's founding convention, which convened on July 23, 1948. As chairman of the host group, Gitt officially welcomed the 3,240 delegates and alternates, plus more than 8,000 visitors.³⁵ He set the tone for brief speeches throughout the convention and received the greatest applause when he said:

We are not going to be diverted from our historically necessary task by fear or timidity because of hysteria whipped up by reaction, or smoke screens or loud whispers created or circulated by unscrupulous influences which would have one believe that love of peace and liberty and following the dictates of one's conscience is not in the American tradition.³⁶

The press covering the convention had looked for an excuse to scream

"red" and found it when the convention, after half an hour of loud debate, rejected an amendment to the party platform submitted by three delegates from Vermont. The resolution, if passed, would have helped put a stop to rumors that the platform committee was controlled by Communists or fellow travelers. It read: "Although we are critical of the present foreign policy of the United States, it is not our intention to give blanket endorsement to the foreign policy of any nation."³⁷ Gitt told MacDougall he sat on the platform committee throughout the discussion on the Vermont resolution, hoping it would pass but doing nothing about it. "I guess I lost my nerve," Gitt said. Wallace himself told MacDougall, "I thought nothing of it at the time. It became important later in the newspapers."³⁸

The issue of Communist support in the Wallace for President movement remained the major controversial issue. Wallace himself went no further in repudiating it than a statement at Center Sandwich, N. H., on June 28, 1948:

I'm never going to say anything in the nature of Red-baiting. But I must say this: if the Communists would run a ticket of their own this year, we might lose 100,000 votes but we would gain 3 million. I know if the Communists really wanted to help us, they would run their own ticket this year and let us get those extra votes.³⁹

The statement was not reported in the press until five days later, at which time Gitt wrote to Wallace: "You seem to have handled the matter about as I thought it should be handled."⁴⁰

The Communist Party did not run a ticket of its own in 1948 and if Wallace seemed unperturbed about Communist influence on his own campaign, there were those who did worry. Gitt and the Yugoslav-born writer Louis Adamic went to see Wallace at his Farvue Farm in South Salem, N. Y. Wallace told a Chicago Daily News reporter two and a half years later: "They said they had it from British sources that the Communists actually wanted to keep the vote for me as low as possible to show the world a

reactionary influence in America. I couldn't believe it at the time."⁴¹

Nearly five years later, at the beginning of 1956, Wallace sent a letter to Gitt asking him to "write out your recollections of the visit of yourself and Louis Adamic to me in the late summer or early fall of 1948." Specifically, he wanted to know "just what Adamic felt were the real sentiments of the Communists vis a vis the Progressive Party and me personally in the 1948 campaign." He had begun the letter with high praise for the York publisher: "A man like you is so rare in times like these that the only strain on my conscience is that I did not speak strongly enough about your contributions to genuine, old-fashioned Americanism."⁴²

Gitt wrote his recollections of their meeting in a letter dated January 24, 1956, but he did not mail it to Wallace until more than five months later when he enclosed it with an apologetic note, dated July 6, 1956. He said he had started to answer Wallace's request "at least a dozen times and I have always wound up coming to the conclusion that it is a long story that is practically impossible to reduce to writing." He suggested that instead of a letter he would rather talk with Wallace in person about their visit. "Louis felt that the Communists were cutting your throat politically. He was very much upset about it, as was I."⁴³ Gitt did enclose his original reply to Wallace's request for a reconstruction of that meeting. Since the contents are basic to an understanding of the Communist controversy within the Wallace for President movement, a few key paragraphs follow:

As nearly as I can remember, Louis was much distressed about the manner in which your campaign was being run. He had the feeling that there had been a tremendous sentiment in your favor earlier in the campaign, which was not being properly developed, because the Communists' real aim was to use you for their purpose which did not include any particular desire to have you successful.

Louis thought they were far more anxious to control the party after the election than to see you get a big vote. He was constantly 'needling'

me to induce you to make a change in the management of the Progressive party for that reason. . . .

What he sensed was that the Communists were not really for you, were sabotaging the movement on the lower levels at least, and were not cooperating with the people like him and me who were all for Wallace irrespective of all other political considerations. . . .

I am not so sure history will not prove Louis to have been right, and that we would have been better off had we listened more sympathetically to him. . . . 44

Wallace's prompt answer, dated July 10, 1956, disclosed the deep personal bitterness he had come to feel about an issue which many felt he had refused to deal with satisfactorily during the 1948 campaign. He opined, "What a shambles the Communists made out of a movement which would have been a strong and helpful influence in American life!"⁴⁵

In the years after the Progressive Party's stinging defeat at the polls in 1948 (only 1,157,00 votes, or 12,00 votes less than Strom Thurmond's States' Rights Party), both Gitt and Wallace came to believe that one of the major reasons for that defeat was the Communist support they received at the time. They had refused, however, to cave in to red-baiting when that tactic was used so forcefully against them. Many believed the Progressives needed the Communists' organizational expertise to launch their new party. Historian Norman Markowitz observed: "Given the crucial role of the Communists in the creation of the Progressive party, an anti-Communist purge in any case would probably have killed the party in its womb. Such a purge also would have been an abject surrender to the cold-war liberals and would have removed a major reason for the party's existence."⁴⁶

Because Wallace received only 2.38 percent of the national vote and 1.48 percent of Pennsylvania's vote,⁴⁷ Gitt was besieged with letters asking what went wrong. One of his most succinct replies went to a young Israeli man who had worked briefly for The Gazette and Daily:

What I make out of the last election is that Wallace raised a lot of issues that enabled Truman to win. People were not ready to vote as liberal as Wallace was, but went for Truman in spite of his bad handling of foreign policy, which, it seems to me, the people did not understand. Wallace's bad showing was due to red baiting, mishandling of news on the part of most of the press, and lack of knowledge of just what our foreign policy was.⁴⁸

Gitt also received many letters lauding him for his role in the Wallace campaign. Most of the letters tried to look to the future with optimism, such as the one written just nine days after the November 2, 1948, election by Reba and Frank Lincoln of Philadelphia:

Through your own great personal effort and that of your paper, we have created a new Progressive Party recognized in 45 states (*exceptions were Illinois, Nebraska, Oklahoma*) and very favorably looked upon by war torn Europe and Asia. Our party has provoked Mr. Truman to come out for Civil Rights and against the Taft Hartley Act. We have stymied Republican reaction.

We have all felt it a great privilege and honor to be guided by your honesty and sincerity, and we are deeply grateful to you. With hope that our third party may yet become the first party ⁴⁹

Gitt's reply also showed optimism: "Personally I am not discouraged. Our party stands for certain definite principles which have my own hearty approval and for which I must continue to work."⁵⁰

The year 1949 was one of trying to hold together the pieces of the new party. When Wallace later said that the Communists had made "a shambles" of the Progressive movement, he implied that the mere presence of Communists working within the new party had made it more open to harassment. Not only known Communists, but many persons of liberal-left political persuasion suffered job losses and intimidation throughout the late 1940s. MacDougall noted in his conclusion to Gideon's Army: "The longer a

person stuck to his Progressivism, the more likelihood there was that the price he would ultimately pay would be greater. Whereas the Dixiecrats of 1948 were welcomed back into the Democratic fold with everything forgiven, no such generous attitude prevailed toward the Progressives."⁵¹

It is known that many Progressives voted for Truman and not Wallace, while remaining members of the Progressive Party. The estimated number was set at seven to ten million by Rexford Guy Tugwell, an original New Dealer who also was active on the Wallace for President Committee.⁵² The staff of Gitt's own newspaper at the time was a case in point. The reporter who covered the 1948 Progressive Party convention, David Lachenbruch, recalled: "Most Gazette and Daily staffers, at least among the outsiders, were for Wallace, but many of them got cold feet and voted for Truman because they were afraid of Dewey. The election taught me that it doesn't work to vote for the lesser of two evils."⁵³

Gitt continued to run news items about the party and speeches by Wallace in his paper, especially those addresses made by the Progressive candidate at peace rallies throughout the country in the spring of 1949. James Higgins, soon to become The Gazette and Daily's assistant editor and chief editorial writer, went along on the Wallace tour as a reporter and cabled stories back to the paper. In a letter to Charles M. Gitt, J. W.'s son and the paper's editor, Higgins said, "The meetings of what I consider to be the great people of America are moving beyond belief. . . . The hope of the world is in the cheers that respond to him."⁵⁴

Before setting out on his speaking tour, Wallace had testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (on May 5, 1949) against the North Atlantic Treaty Organization pact: "Two years ago when President Truman announced the Truman Doctrine of containing Russia and Communism at every point, I predicted that it would cause us to bleed from every pore."⁵⁵ Within little more than a year the outbreak of the Korean War would

necessitate that statement to be taken literally as well as figuratively.

After his nation-wide speaking tour, Wallace went to live permanently at his Farvue Farm in South Salem, N.Y. When Robert Wagner retired from the U.S. Senate on June 27, 1949, some Wallace supporters attempted to convince him to make a bid for that seat. But he refused to enter the New York senatorial race between Herbert Lehman and John Foster Dulles. According to Markowitz, "Wallace felt increasingly isolated in the third party and remained in it only out of a sense of loyalty to the surviving non-Communist Progressives."⁵⁶

At the Progressive Party's convention in February 1950, Wallace called for a stronger stand on the Communist issue and stressed the need for the delegates, only half the number in 1948, to spread the word that the party membership was largely non-Communist.⁵⁷ But the following summer, Wallace was presented with an issue which provided him with the most respectable way out of the party--as it did for Gitt.

That issue was the Korean War, which split American liberals and radicals even further apart. Fighting broke out in Korea between the North and the South on June 25, 1950. Two days later the United Nations Security Council labeled North Korea as the aggressor and called for meeting the "attack" with armed resistance. Member nations were to "furnish such assistance to the Republic of Korea as may be necessary to repel the armed attack and to restore international peace and security in the area."⁵⁸

I. F. Stone wrote in his book, The Hidden History of the Korean War, first published in 1952, a year before the truce ending the war was signed: "Whether on June 25 the North attacked without provocation or went over to the offensive after an attack from the South, the attempt to pick that tempting plum solved many political problems on the anti-Communist side."⁵⁹ It certainly presented a solution to Wallace's political problem, no matter how heart-breaking the decision must have been. According to

Markowitz, "The Korean crisis permitted him to directly challenge the Communists within the party over an issue of foreign policy."⁶⁰

The Progressive Party's executive committee called an emergency session for July 6, 1950, at which Wallace became even more estranged from the other party leaders. He objected to the committee's resolution criticizing the Security Council's call for armed resistance in Korea and opposed any U.N. action until the Soviet delegation returned to the Security Council. (They had been boycotting the Council to protest the U.N.'s refusal to seat the People's Republic of China.) After much negotiating the two sides remained stale-mated and on July 15, along with the Progressive Party's official resolution, Wallace issued his own statement. It was reprinted in full in The Gazette and Daily of July 18, 1950, and read in part:

With the world divided as it has been since 1945, I have long believed and often publicly stated that the U. S. should fight if Russian troops moved in strength into Turkey. Further Russian expansion in the Near East would over-balance the world and I have made my views known to press conferences and to the State Committee on Foreign Relations. With world affairs having reached their present pass, I believe the only safety for the U. S. and the U. N. is to continue their efforts to push the North Koreans north of the 38th parallel.

I say this fully realizing how many times even the conservative press of the U. S. has called attention to the dictatorial and corrupt methods used by Syngman Rhee's South Korean government. But the U. S. has been forced by unwise actions on the part of both Russia and the U. S. to take a stand. The U. N. also, because Korea is peculiarly a creation of the U. N., has been forced to take a stand. Again I say that under such conditions I stand by my country and the U. N.⁶¹

Wallace resigned from the Progressive Party on August 8, 1950, when it became clear to him that the party's executive committee would stand behind its resolution. Many of the remaining non-Communist members within the national leadership also resigned. Gitt had resigned a couple of

weeks before Wallace, although his specific letter of resignation has never been found.⁶² Gitt's correspondence contains several references to his resignation, however, most directly in an August 14, 1950, reply to a Progressive Party member in New Hampshire:

You will no doubt be surprised to learn that I beat you to it by several weeks. My resignation went in about a week or two before Wallace's. Frankly, with a pretty certain knowledge of what Wallace was likely to do.

I thoroughly agree with your letter in general and do hope that something will arise to take the place of the Progressive Party and that we will be found working together again.⁶³

Gitt wrote to another party member who inquired about his resignation: "May I say that I have never done anything that I can remember that was more difficult than this." In conclusion he stressed, "I hope you understand that I am still as much of a liberal as I ever was. I am not the kind of liberal who can set aside his principles when it becomes apparent to him that someone else is attempting to use him."⁶⁴

Wallace tried to talk Gitt out of resigning from the party, even though he noted, "I know exactly how you feel." In a letter dated July 11, he told Gitt, "The boys want me to urge you to withdraw your resignation. Jim Imbrie especially wants you back in the fold. Jim doesn't realize how temporary the present truce is between the PP leaders and myself. They are sincere and I am sincere but we just don't believe the same things now that our country has blundered into war. I am for my country and the UN."⁶⁵

At the core of both men's resignations was fear of Communist domination of the party. It was a factor Gitt did not like to acknowledge publicly, but he did so in a letter to a Progressive Party ward organizer in Philadelphia, dated August 31, 1950: "I am still very much upset that I found it necessary to sever myself from the party which I did only after I

had mulled the matter over in my mind for many months and had come to the conclusion that there was no longer any outside chance that it could be kept free of communist domination."⁶⁶

A member of The Gazette and Daily's editorial staff at that time, John T. Hough, recalled: "JW hated to be called a Communist dupe, because it suggested he was stupid. But he refused to panic and stubbornly refused to disavow Communist sympathy at a time when this took courage. . . . He finally jumped the Communist line when the Korean war broke out, writing an editorial which his staff greeted with relief and delight."⁶⁷

Gitt wrote several editorials about the "Korean crisis," as the first one on June 28, 1950, was titled. By then many of the editorials were being written by Higgins, who said he refused to write any about Korea because he did not hold the position that North Korea and Russia were responsible for the outbreak of fighting.⁶⁸ Gitt's faith in the United Nations as a peace-keeping organization and his anguish that Russia had done something to upset world peace was clearly evident in his editorials. "We sincerely hope that the United States, whatever any other nation may do, will firmly stand back of the United Nations and insist that the dispute be adjusted through United Nations offices," he wrote.⁶⁹

Two days later an editorial specifically placing the blame on the Russians appeared: "Only the naive or gullible individuals will believe for an instant that North Korea would be acting without the consent of Russia. . . . One can only hope that out of this crisis all of us may learn enough to do the things, including the support of the United Nations, that are so imperative if we humans are to avoid chaos and worse."⁷⁰

Although Gitt's belief in the United Nations as a keeper of world peace was deeply entrenched, and though he believed the aggressor to be Russia-North Korea, he knew the government of South Korea was hardly blameless in other matters. The opening of his July 5, 1950, editorial

stated: "We may as well face the facts, unpleasant as they may be. The South Korean government on behalf of which American troops are in combat is no more a government of the people, by the people and for the people than was the China government of Chiang Kai-shek."⁷¹

Gitt's disassociation from the Progressive Party soon after that took a lot out of him emotionally. In 1950 he was 66 years old and could have retired, but he had too much pride in his newspaper for that. Yet, his personal correspondence diminished dramatically after that year, and he also began to leave more of the editorial writing to Higgins. But he continued to publish his views in signed "Food for Thought" columns which he wrote intermittently until he sold the paper in October, 1970, three years before his death on October 7, 1973 at age 89.⁷²

With The Gazette and Daily to present his voice to the public, J. W. Gitt retired less from public life than did his political idol. Henry Wallace spent more and more time on his farm in upstate New York and ventured out only infrequently to make statements in front of boards and commissions. He died far from the public eye on November 18, 1965, at age 77.

It is certain that both the newspaper publisher and the national politician experienced the Progressive Party campaign of 1948 as the political highlight of their lives. It is also understandable that each felt a tremendous emotional deflation after the party suffered its disastrous defeat at the polls in 1948, and then just two years later was dealt a more crippling blow by the inner-party struggles over the Korean War issue.

Asked if he thought Gitt really believed that Wallace could be elected president, Zalmon H. Garfield, director of the Progressive Party of Pennsylvania from 1949 to 1952, replied in 1991: "He probably did think so. We all got swept away with the enthusiasm of the time."⁷³

That "enthusiasm" was experienced by all who truly believed the Progressive Party and its Presidential candidate would create a better

world for all Americans regardless of race or sex. More blacks and women attended the party's 1948 convention as delegates, including racially mixed delegations from the South, and served along with Gitt on the platform committee than previously in U.S. political history. Additionally, the Progressives believed that peaceful co-existence with the Soviet Union was an achievable necessity, long before *glasnost* became a household word. And surely without the courageous voice of J. W. Gitt and The Gazette and Daily, the Progressive Party and Henry Wallace would not have been able to project their vision of a "world at peace" into the far corners of this nation.

REFERENCES

"JWG" below refers to the J. W. Gitt Papers, originals of which are kept by Elizabeth Moul Gitt, widow, in her home outside Hanover, Pa. Photocopies of the most political material, or pertaining to the newspaper, are on deposit in the Historical Collections, Pattee Library, the Pennsylvania State University, University Park. These consist of two large boxes--Box 1 with 28 files, and Box 2 with 21 files.

"HAW" below refers to the Henry A. Wallace Papers, on deposit in the Special Collections at the University of Iowa Library, Iowa City. Several libraries own the collection on microfilm.

The University of Iowa also holds the Progressive Party Records (PPR), deposited by Curtis D. MacDougall, and the C. B. Baldwin Papers (CBB), deposited by his widow. The PPR in particular verify J. W. Gitt's key role in the Progressive Party, both as publicist through his newspaper, and as financial mainstay of the Pennsylvania party headquarters in Harrisburg and other offices throughout the state.

NOTES

¹ "Defeat Reaction or Suffer Chaos, Wallace Warns Here," The Gazette and Daily, 29 April 1946, pg. 1.

² Interview with Walt Partymiller, The Gazette and Daily's cartoonist.

³ "War-With-Russia Talk Is 'Criminal'," The Gazette and Daily, 14 Sept. 1946. (JWG, box 1, file 2)

⁴ Norman D. Markowitz, The Rise and Fall of the People's Century: Henry A. Wallace and American Liberalism, 1941-1948. (New York: The Free Press, 1973), pp. 181-193.

⁵ James Aronson, The Press and the Cold War. (Indianapolis-New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1970), p. 25.

⁶ Curtis D. MacDougall, Gideon's Army, 3 vols. (New York: Marzani & Munsell, 1965), vol. 1, p. 81. (See JWG, box 2, file 20, for complete speech.)

7 "New Pennsylvania Progressive Party Is Formed in York," Common Sense, n.d., p. 1. (JWG, box 1, file 1.) The Historical Society of York County in York has on file the March through September 1948 monthly issues.

8 MacDougall, vol. 3, p. 831. (According to MacDougall, it was Gitt's idea to establish the party's headquarters in Harrisburg, the state capital.)

9 "Text of Wallace Talk Before Pa. Progressive Party," Common Sense, n.d., p. 2. (See JWG, box 2, file 20, for full text.)

10 JWG, 1 June 1948.

11 McKinley C. Olson, ed., J. W. Gitt's Sweet Land of Liberty. (New York: Jerome S. Ozer, Publisher Inc.), p. 59. (The book, mainly a collection of Gitt's editorials, also contains excerpts from those taped interviews.)

12 JWG, 5 February 1943. (Thompson was assistant attorney general 1913-1918, then was appointed by Wilson in 1918 to the Federal Trade Commission for a seven-year term, serving twice as its chairman.)

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14 Let's Come Out Fighting! (New York: United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America, 1947), pamphlet, p. 5.

15 Mary Sperling McAuliffe, Crisis on the Left. Cold War Politics and American Liberals. 1947-1954. (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1978), p. 5.

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18 "What Progressives Can Do," The Gazette and Daily, 22 January 1947, editorial page.

19 JWG, 27 February 1947.

20 Cedric Belfrage and James Aronson, Something to Guard: The Stormy Life of the National Guardian 1948-1967. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), p. 13.

- 21 McAuliffe, pp. 22-30.
- 22 Ibid., pp. 30-31
- 23 Walton, p. 145. (For substantial quotation, see pp. 145-148.)
- 24 Ibid., p. 148.
- 25 Ibid., pp. 149-150. (Also HAW, 15 March 1947, la 43-524.)
- 26 JWG, 21 April 1947.
- 27 JWG, 22 April 1947.
- 28 "Europeans Fear Truman Doctrine, Wallace Declares," The Gazette and Daily, 1 May 1947, p. 1.
- 29 Markowitz, pp. 257-258. (Also see "The Story of Gideon," MacDougall, vol. 1, p. 3, and Book of Judges, Bible, chapters 6-8 inclusive.)
- 30 MacDougall, vol. 1, pp. 243-244. (Chap. 12, "The Decision to Run.")
- 31 Henry Wallace, Stand Up and Be Counted! Why I Choose to Run, pamphlet (New York: the New Republic, 1947).
- 32 Markowitz, pp. 258-259.
- 33 Cedric Belfrage, The American Inquisition 1945-1960 (Indianapolis -New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1973), p. 80.
- 34 JWG, 16 July 1948.
- 35 MacDougall, vol. 2, p. 506.
- 36 Ibid., p. 509.
- 37 Ibid., p. 571.
- 38 Ibid., p. 578.
- 39 Ibid., p. 427.
- 40 Ibid.

- 41 MacDougall, vol. 1, p. 280.
- 42 JWG, 2 January 1955, *sic*. (Obviously a new year's mistake and should be dated 1956.)
- 43 HAW, 24 January 1956, la51-344.
- 44 Ibid.
- 45 JWG, 10 July 1956. (Louis Adamic was mysteriously shot to death on 5 September 1951, in his burning farmhouse at Riegelsville, N.J., a few days before his book, The Eagle and the Roots, was published by Doubleday. (MacDougall, vol. 1, p. 281.) Gitt and Wallace were among those who questioned whether his death was a suicide, as reported. Walt Partymiller, a friend of Adamic, assured this researcher that it was and gave as the reason the author's "constant and total harassment by the FBI.")
- 46 Markowitz, p. 270.
- 47 MacDougall, vol. 3, inside front and back covers.
- 48 JWG, 29 December 1948.
- 49 JWG, 11 November 1948.
- 50 JWG, 17 November 1948.
- 51 MacDougall, vol. 3, p. 865.
- 52 Ibid. (Tugwell had been Wallace's Undersecretary of Agriculture. His article, "Progressives and the Presidency," was published in the April 1949 issue of The Progressive magazine, which endorsed Norman Thomas, the Socialist candidate, in the 1948 election. Its editor, Morris Rubin, often explained that his magazine grew out of the LaFollette movement and was not connected with Wallace's party. MacDougall, vol. 1, pp. 291-292.)
- 53 Interview, New York, 20 November 1978.
- 54 JWG, 12 May 1949.
- 55 Markowitz, p. 306.

56 Ibid.

57 Ibid., p. 308.

58 I. F. Stone, The Hidden History of the Korean War (New York: Monthly Review Press, Second Modern Reader Paperback Edition, 1971), p. 133.

59 Ibid., p. 43

60 Markowitz, p. 310.

61 Henry A. Wallace, "Personal Statement on the Korean Crisis," The Gazette and Daily, 18 July 1950, p. 17.

62 Neither a letter from MacDougall dated 10 August 1978, nor this researcher's search of the Progressive Party Records and the C. B. Baldwin Papers in the University of Iowa archives, nor an interview with Zalmon Garfield, who took over the leadership of the Pennsylvania Progressives from Gitt, in San Francisco on 13 July 1990, have provided any clues as to the whereabouts of Gitt's letter of resignation from the Progressive Party. Garfield said that Gitt was "a meticulous man and should have written such a letter" but he could not remember what might have become of it.

63 JWG, 14 August 1950.

64 JWG, 11 July 1950.

65 HAW, 11 July 1950, Ia46-626. (Imbrie had been chairman of the New Jersey Independent Citizens Committee, a PCA affiliate.)

66 JWG, 31 August 1950. (Gitt was never precise in spelling "communism" and "communist" with a small "c" or a capital "C".)

67 Letter from John T. Hough, Falmouth, Mass., 29 September 1977.

68 Interview, Martha's Vineyard, Mass., 6 August 1979, and subsequent conversations, including Boston, 5-7 August 1991.

69 "The Korean Crisis," The Gazette and Daily, editorial, 28 June 1950. (JWG, box 1, file 4).

70 "The Peace of the World," The Gazette and Daily, editorial, 30 June 1950. (JWG, box 1, file 4).

71 "The Korean Conflict," The Gazette and Daily, editorial, 5 July 1950.
(JWG, box 1, file 4).

72 The paper's sale was prompted by labor and financial problems and the rapidly declining health of the owner's son, Charles M. Gitt, the editor, who subsequently died a year before his father.

73 Interview with Zalmon H. Garfield, San Francisco, 11 June 1991.

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**War, Women and Work: A Study of Gender Displays
in Advertising Images During World War II**

A paper presented at the American Journalism Historians Association
Annual Meeting, October 1991, Philadelphia

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ABSTRACT

War, Women and Work: A Study of Gender Displays in Advertising Images During World War II

Women's images in American advertising have undergone rich but sporadic changes since the late nineteenth century. While scholars have produced varied historical works about women in relation to American advertising in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, one historical era of the past two centuries has been relatively overlooked. For decades, historians of advertising neglected the World War II period. Although the topic of women in advertising during World War II has only recently been written about in detail, the period and topic bear further scrutiny.

This study has two purposes. One is to help determine whether advertisers made a concerted change in their shaping of women's images during and after World War II. The other purpose is to indicate further research on the topic of women and advertising during the war years. This examination is an initial attempt to better explain the relationship between the advertising industry, the actual 'reality' of working women, and sociocultural constructions of female gender identity immediately before, during and immediately following World War II.

This study attempts to help answer such questions as: How did women's images of advertising change from 1940 to the height of the war, and then after the war? How closely did advertising images correspond to the rapid-fire social, economic and political developments taking place in women's lives and the larger culture? Did, in advertising magnate's Raymond Rubicam's words, women have to be convinced through propaganda to take less than "socially desirable" jobs? Or is that interpretation a myth the advertising community has advanced since Norman Rockwell's image of Rosie first graced the cover of the *Saturday Evening Post*?

The research design of this study is a content analysis of women's images in advertisements from three magazines — two general circulation and one general circulation women's magazine. The magazines are the *Saturday Evening Post*, *Life* and *Ladies Home Journal*. The years selected for this study are 1940, 1943 and 1946. Because of the extremely large number of ads in the magazine issues of the sample group, only full-page ads were analyzed for content.

War, Women and Work: A Study of Gender Displays in Advertising Images During World War II

Introduction

Women's images in American advertising have undergone rich but sporadic changes since the late nineteenth century, when pictures of women began to appear on biscuit packages and flour sacks. While scholars have produced varied historical works about women in relation to American advertising in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, one historical era of the past two centuries has been relatively overlooked. For decades, historians of advertising neglected the World War II period. This state of affairs began to change in the early 1970s when interest in the advertising industry's often uncertain relationship with the federal government during World War II triggered a modest stream of scholarship. More recently, there has been a surge of interest in women's images in advertising during the period of American involvement in the war.

Although the topic of women in advertising during World War II has only recently been written about in detail, the period and topic bear further scrutiny. Because the war era bridged two very different historical experiences — the 1930s Depression and the post-war era of prosperity — this oversight seems particularly acute. For instance, as Betty Friedan noted in *The Feminine Mystique*, the 1930s witnessed a noticeable emphasis on career-women characters in magazine fiction, a phenomenon that changed drastically in the late 1940s when suburban America's socio-cultural boundaries swelled to accommodate the burgeoning post-war middle classes.¹ But what of the war period? How did advertisers adjust to

what was then nothing less than an unprecedented, unplanned and badly needed influx of women into the nation's coal mines, warehouses, automobile plants, railroads, aircraft assembly plants and other business operations? Also, how did advertisers react after the final victory of September 1945?

Background Information

Between 1940 and 1943, more than 15 million men and women had either joined the American armed forces or entered the domestic labor force. The unemployment rate in the United States plummeted from 13 percent in 1937 to 1.3 percent in 1943.² Because so many men had volunteered or been drafted into the military, the country faced a serious "manpower" shortage by late 1942. After Pearl Harbor, the nation's unemployed breached the employment gap for a time, but with the almost immediate need for new factories, retooled auto plants, and enlarged aircraft production factories and shipyards, it rapidly became apparent that women would have to be used as a means of filling the wartime labor shortage. President Roosevelt declared in an October 1942 speech that societal prejudices about women performing industrial work would have to be forgotten.³

In 1940, about 25 percent of white adult American women and about 38 percent of black women worked in manufacturing, clerical or domestic-service jobs. To put this in historical perspective, just 5 million women worked in the American labor force in 1920. By 1940 the number was at 11 million, and by 1944 more than 19 million women worked in the United States. By this time fully 37 percent of adult American women were in the civilian work force. Most of this crushing

influx came in manufacturing and heavy industry, which were then almost exclusively retooled and reconfigured for the defense effort. According to the U. S. Department of Labor, this explosion of women workers increased the number of women working in durable goods production from 8 percent before the war to 25 percent in 1944.⁴ Moreover, the flood of female workers into the aircraft, ammunition and shipping industries helped to account for this surge in numbers. At the beginning of 1944, women constituted 34.2 percent of all ammunition workers, 10 percent of ship production workers, 10.6 percent of steel workers, 8 percent of railroad employees, and fully 40 percent of aircraft industry workers.⁵

However, if the entrance of women into the workplace was rushed, their exit in 1945 and 1946 was just as hasty. With millions of demobilized men discharged from the armed services into the workplace in 1946, most of the major defense industries "permanently" reassigned women to the kitchens of cramped apartments and newly constructed suburban ranch houses and bungalows. Women, many claimed, would be only too happy to escape their unpleasant interlude of grime, noise and long hours of riveting, soldering and welding.

But it is also interesting to note that government surveys taken in 1944 revealed that up to 80 percent of women workers in war production plants expressed a desire to work after the war in "comparable" positions at similar wage scales.⁶ Still, not all of the "laid off" women marched off into suburban domestic bliss in San Fernando Valley, Shaker Heights or Long Island. Many single or divorced women had to relocate into positions as domestic or clerical workers or waitresses — occupations which paid far less in wages and provided few benefits.

Literature Review

Most histories of American advertising either fail to address or barely note the World War II period, much less the topic of women and advertising during the war. Many of the histories of advertising in the twentieth century end before World War II, skip the war, or begin after the war.⁷ Frank W. Fox's monograph, *Madison Avenue Goes to War* is the only lengthy treatment of advertising during World War II.⁸ Fox writes of the relationship between the advertising community and the federal government during World War II, and argues that the war likely saved the advertising industry from repressive consumer-protection legislation because the pre-war consumer movement was especially strong and quite critical of advertising.

Fox theorizes that the War Advertising Council was formed with the cooperation of an initially unsympathetic Roosevelt Administration as a way to help advertisers survive during the dislocations of wartime. Many traditional advertising messages were thus replaced, with the government's blessing, by institutional advertising — in other words, patriotic propaganda and public service messages. Thus, government agencies were better able to publicize certain messages, and, by sponsoring these patriotic appeals, big business was able to not only "keep its name" in the public's eye during the war period when fewer consumer goods were sold, but reinforce ideas of post-war prosperity as well.

While most histories of advertising skirt World War II, histories of the war period which focus in some way on women in American society have led to provocative conclusions about women's contributions to the war effort, gender

relationships in political and economic spheres during the war, and even advertising and women during wartime. William Chafe, in his seminal work, *The American Woman: Her Changing Social, Economic and Political Roles, 1920-1970*, documents how during World War II for the first time in American history married women came to outnumber single women in the workforce. Chafe also disparages the myth that most working women during this period were barely out of their teens. He shows that by 1945 half of all women employees in the United States had reached age 35.⁹ In contrast, Susan M. Hartmann's *The Home Front and Beyond* and Karen Anderson's *Wartime Women* both present the argument that instead of establishing a pattern of work-oriented independence for women, World War II reinforced more traditional gender identities.¹⁰

John Morton Blum's *V Was for Victory* is considered one of the most detailed cultural and political histories of the war years. Blum establishes President Roosevelt's initial reluctance to trust any propaganda effort, given his fear of unleashing domestic political forces he could not directly control. Blum explains that Roosevelt's Office of War Information, which lacked the personnel or organization for propaganda dissemination, settled on the recently dispossessed advertising industry to handle the chore of constructing images calculated to arouse patriotism but not Republicans.¹¹ Leila J. Rupp's *Mobilizing Women for War* compares German and American propaganda in women's magazines of both countries during the war for thematic contrasts and similarities. Rupp asserts that both propaganda machines tactically compared wartime defense work, no matter how difficult or dangerous, to household chores.¹²

Maureen Honey deflates the enduring myth that women defense workers were overwhelmingly white, young and middle-class and wanted nothing more than to become full-time housewives after the war. In *Creating Rosie the Riveter*, Honey describes the "Womanpower Campaign," launched by the Magazine Bureau and the War Manpower Commission in September 1943 to encourage women to disregard cultural prejudices about working outside the home. To this end the "Magazine War Guide" was developed so that thousands of magazine editors nationwide could be put in touch with writers experienced in producing "acceptable" wartime fiction — fiction loaded with heroines with great aplomb for work and capturing spies. Honey notes that the Bureau regularly flooded publishers with photographs and background information on women workers who excelled at making the transition from home to defense work.¹³

Sherna Berger Gluck's *Rosie the Riveter Revisited* is an oral history of ten women defense workers who worked in a variety of defense jobs in southern California during the war. Lastly, D'Ann Campbell in *Women at War with America* contends that the tendency of scholars to focus on "Rosie the Riveter" obscures the fact that most wartime housewives did remain in the home and did not receive credit for their role in keeping families intact.¹⁴ Another important body of writings concerning women and advertising during the war era is the advertising trade journals from 1940 to 1946. Discourse during the war years within the two most popular advertising trade journals, *Printer's Ink* and *Advertising & Selling*, indicates how the advertising community reacted to women in the workplace. The number and focus of articles dealing with women and advertising before, during and after the war indicate how those in advertising

were certainly aware of the new social reality of women as wage-earners. Immediately before and after the war, women were rarely discussed at length in the two trade journals. But during the war, women — primarily working women — were an important journal topic. However, the advertising trade people usually focused on certain market-oriented aspects of working women, asking: "How can we target this new group of consumers?"

In the pre-war period of 1940 and 1941, the few journal articles about women and advertising focused on the mechanics of understanding and reaching female consumers. For example, in one May 1940 issue of *Printer's Ink*, the average female consumer is described as a "... wholesome-looking woman with clear, blue eyes ... to be seen at the market any day picking over fresh fruits or snaring bargains in a department store." An August 1940 *Printer's Ink* article detailed a readership study indicating how women would pay closer attention to food ads if recipes and products were displayed together.¹⁵

During the war, however, the number of articles devoted to women and advertising increased significantly. Most of the articles focused on two topics: 1) how to reach the new group of working women; 2) the post-war future of women in the workplace and how that would affect advertising strategies. Articles devoted to the problem of reaching the new social group of working women were published mostly in the first two years of the war. But even before the war started, *Printer's Ink* had begun to take steps to address the potential social situation of women in the workforce during a "military" economy. For example, an August 1941 article reported that working women would have a "profound effect on

merchandising." The general message was that "... women at work have more money to spend, and, being out in the world every day, more incentive to improve their dress. They wear out clothes faster, particularly shoes and hosiery."¹⁶

In 1942, several articles in both journals dealt with reaching blue-collar women workers. For example, a March 1942 *Advertising & Selling* article called for more images of women factory workers because they were becoming a group of consumers with greatly increased purchasing power: "Miss Factory never sees her counterparts in advertising illustrations ... she feels rudely neglected." An August 1942 *Advertising & Selling* article detailed how women control most consumer purchasing and also called for more ads directed toward women workers: "So far, little has been done to make a heroine of the lady on the assembly line." Another article in the August 1942 issue described how to get good action photographs in industrial plants for wartime ads. The key was not to photograph in the plant but to create a plant setting in the studio. In the photographs depicting women factory workers, "office girls" were used "instead of professional models because models do not look like factory girls."¹⁷

After 1942, few articles in the two journals dealt with the topic of reaching women workers. However, articles continued to be published throughout the war about whether women would work after the war. Views on each post-war scenario were published. For example, Jean Austin, editor of *The American Home* magazine, wrote in an October 1942 issue of *Printer's Ink* that "... a woman doing war work in slacks is a woman right now dreaming of going back to

her life as a woman at home." Carmel Snow, editor of *Harper's Bazaar* magazine, wrote in an April 1943 issue of *Printer's Ink* how "... many women will refuse to go back to the kitchen when the war is over but will continue to maintain their places in a man-sized world to do a man-sized job."¹⁸ In any case, a common discussion was how to reach women in the post-war years, no matter what their work status at the time. The underlying assumption of this discussion was that the war was changing the perceptions of the consuming public, men and women. Concerning women, the question for advertisers was always similar to the following:

"Will the girl who has learned how to be ... a welder or a worker in an airplane plant be quite so responsive to the good old "you-won't-get-your-man-if-you-don't-watch-out" technique ...?"¹⁹

But the answer to this question was not presented in the journals during the first year after the war. In 1946, no articles in the two journals dealt at length with the topic of women and advertising. Apparently, the new social reality of working women was no longer considered a pressing issue.

Theoretical Framework and Hypotheses

Central to this study are two theoretical concepts. The first springs largely from feminist theory and postulates that certain traditional notions of gender such as 'females are more nurturant than males' are not based on intrinsic or essential elements like biological structure. Rather, such notions of gender are considered to be social and cultural *constructions* of meaning.²⁰ The second central concept of this paper, developed largely by critical scholars of mass media, concerns how advertising images feed into the constructive process of gender meanings. Sut

Jhally claims that the debate on whether gender images are true or false is a misleading argument. "Ad images," he claims, "are neither false nor true reflections of social reality because they are in fact a part of social reality."

Following Erving Goffman, Jhally stresses that advertising gender displays are "hyper-ritualizations" which emphasize some aspects of gender displays while de-emphasizing others.²¹ Thus, in American capitalist culture, advertising-oriented gender displays in various conventionalized forms have become a pervasive and powerful part of the process of how notions of gender are constructed and maintained. These potent gender displays of capitalist image makers influence notions of gender among the populace — perhaps even as much or more than the day-to-day gender displays of interpersonal relations.

Jhally's thinking about gender displays helps place in perspective the rather unusual World War II experience of women's images in advertising. Although women had been portrayed as independent and career-minded in the magazine literature of the 1930s, seldom before World War II had advertisers presented women as anything other than traditional sexual ornamentation, homemakers or mothers.²² However, the aftermath of Pearl Harbor presented a barrage of new political, economic and social issues for the American woman, and the advertising community was forced to reconfigure its imagery much as factories had to retool assembly lines for the war.

Indeed, patriotism was used as a major recruiting device to lure women into the industrial workforce. The "Women's Bureau" of the "War Manpower Commission" had to work hard to combat initial reluctance among employers to

hire women.²³ These initial objections were, in part, overcome by advertising gender constructions that presented images of women at work while respecting the traditional separation of sex roles. Maureen Honey claims that this was accomplished by presenting women in magazine advertisements as self-sacrificing soldiers and martyrs — not feminist pioneers.²⁴ T. Jackson Lears' discussion of "therapeutic ethos," the desire to reach psychic fulfillment through consumption, also applies here, for advertisers had to appeal to women not only as consumers, but also as patriots and working-class pioneers.²⁵ Thus, the war prompted an odd, prolonged, topsy-turvy state of advertising seige — one which has no historical precedent.

But how did women's images of advertising change from 1940 to the height of the war, and then after the war? How closely did advertising images correspond to the rapid-fire social, economic and political developments taking place in women's lives and the larger culture? Did, in advertising magnate's Raymond Rubicam's words, women have to be convinced through propaganda to take less than "socially desirable" jobs?²⁶ Or is that interpretation a myth the advertising community has advanced since Norman Rockwell's image of Rosie first graced the cover of the *Saturday Evening Post*?

This study has two purposes. One is to help determine whether advertisers made a concerted change in their shaping of women's images during and after World War II. The other purpose is to indicate further research on the topic of women and advertising during the war years. This examination is an initial attempt to better explain the relationship between the advertising industry, the

actual 'reality' of working women, and sociocultural constructions of female gender identity immediately before, during and immediately following World War II. Three hypotheses are used as a springboard for analysis and discussion:

H1: Women in magazine advertisements of 1940 will primarily be depicted as having no wage-earning work roles.

H2: Magazine advertisements of 1943 will substantially reflect the new social situation of women joining the paid work force. Women in advertisements will be depicted more often as wage earners in a work environment.

H3: Advertising in 1946 will revert to the pre-war displays of women. Women in magazine advertisements of 1946 will primarily be depicted as having no wage-earning work roles.

Method

The research design of this study is a content analysis of women's images in advertisements from three magazines — two general circulation and one general circulation women's magazine. The magazines are the *Saturday Evening Post*, *Life* and *Ladies Home Journal*. The years selected for this study are 1940, 1943 and 1946. These years were selected because they represent the years immediately before, during and immediately after World War II. The months selected for this study are January and October. January was selected because it is traditionally a slow advertising month; October was selected because it is traditionally a heavy advertising month. Because of the extremely large number of ads in the magazine issues of the sample group, only full-page ads were analyzed for content. Despite the focus on only full-page ads, the number of ads in the sample remains quite

large. The sample contains a total of 1,957 full-page advertisements from 54 magazine issues: 519 from 1940; 576 from 1943; and 864 from 1946. The sub-sample of full-page advertisements portraying women contains a total of 1,071: 332 from 1940; 256 from 1943; and 483 from 1946.

A 'focus group' approach was used in the coding process. Instead of separate coders coding all or parts of the content and later checking the reliability of the separate coding, the authors chose to consult with one another in the coding of all content. An intra-coder retest of 200 randomly chosen advertisements — 10 percent of the sample — was conducted by the authors six months after the initial coding. The agreement coefficients of the four coding categories averaged .945 in this retest²⁷

The content of each full-page advertisement in the sample group was examined according to the following coding categories: 1) general depictions of men and women as well as gender relations; 2) rhetorical form; 3) depictions of settings; and 4) depictions of work roles. Each of these categories included numerous subcategories, many of which were collapsed for purposes of analysis.²⁸ The first category was used to examine the presence or absence of men and women in ads. Ads depicting children or just products were coded as having no adults portrayed. The second category was used to discern the rhetorical form of an ad — whether it appealed to women in general; homemakers or mothers; had no specific appeal to women indicted; or was institutional- or duty-oriented. The third category indicated whether the setting women were depicted in was in a wage-earning work environment; a home work environment; a leisure setting; or some "other "

setting, which was usually no environment at all. The fourth category was used to determine whether women depicted in ads were homemakers and/or mothers; wage-earning workers; members of volunteer organizations or the military; or had no discernable work role.²⁹

Results

The evidence supports all three of the study's hypotheses. To increase clarity, the major findings are here reduced to two areas — depictions of work roles and settings. In 1940, as predicted, women appeared as homemakers and/or mothers in 36 percent of all ads containing images of women. In 59 percent of these ads, women did not appear in work roles. No women appeared as members of the armed forces or volunteer organizations, and only 5 percent appeared as wage-earning workers.³⁰ In 1943, images of women as wage-earners increased substantially to 19 percent, while images of women in no discernible work role decreased substantially to 38 percent. While images of women as homemakers and/or mothers remained relatively stable at 30 percent, images of women as members of the armed forces or volunteer organizations increased to 13 percent. In 1946, as predicted, images of women reverted to roughly the same level of pre-war displays. Images of women as wage-earners decreased to 7 percent. Women appeared in no discernible work role in 60 percent of the ads. Images of women as homemakers and/or mothers remained relatively constant at 33 percent. No women appeared as members of the armed forces or volunteer organizations. The differences between these frequencies are significant (chi-square = 51.8; d.f. = 4; $p < .005$).³¹ (Please see Figure 1 on page 18.)

Depictions of settings also tended to confirm the hypotheses. Images of women in a workplace setting other than the home went from 5 percent in 1940 to 24

percent in 1943, and then declined to 6 percent in 1946. Images of women in a setting other than a workplace, home or leisure (labeled "Other" in the figure) went from 43 percent in 1940 to 15 percent in 1943, and then increased to 39 percent in 1946. Images of women working in a home setting remained constant in 1940 and 1943 at 22 percent, but declined to 13 percent in 1946. Images of women in a leisure setting increased from 30 percent in 1940 to 39 percent in 1943 to 42 percent in 1946. These differences are also significant (chi-square = 116.11; d.f. = 6; $p < .005$). (Please see Figure 2 on page 19.)

Discussion

The hypotheses of this study are confirmed. However, in order to avoid misinterpretation, the findings must be considered in conjunction with the two central theoretical concepts discussed earlier in this paper. It is true that advertisers in the magazines analyzed did adjust substantially to the tremendous social, political and economic transformations of the war years. In particular, images of wage-earning, working women increased significantly from 1940 to 1943, while images of women without a work role decreased substantially from 1940 to 1943. And images of women working in a setting other than the home increased dramatically from 1940 to 1943.

However, while the changes in the depictions of women were significant, they did not parallel the *scope* nor the *reality* of the rather radical changes that took place in society at large. Apparently, traditional female gender constructions in advertising based on a social and cultural system of male dominance persisted

during the war. It appears that advertisers — at least those with ads in the magazines sampled — were restrained in their use of portrayals of women's new roles in the workplace. This caution existed despite two important factors: 1) government agencies clearly made repeated appeals to the advertising community to target women for job recruitment; 2) working women were a new group of consumers with considerable purchasing power — a seemingly important group for advertisers to target, as the trade journals *Printer's Ink* and *Advertising & Selling* often pointed out in the early years of the war.

This reaffirms Maureen Honey's point that gender construction in world War II advertising did not threaten traditional notions of sex role division. The images of women in the work place might have been new and surprising, but the social position of the woman worker was qualified by connotations of her new role being that of a patriotic martyr who will work only while the nation was at war.

Traditional, pre-war female gender stereotyping was apparent even in many of the 1943 advertisements depicting wage-earning female workers. For example, an advertising images typifying women's stereotypical images in the pre-war period is a 1940 Campbell's Soup ad in which the mother serves a handsome executive-type father and a Jack-Armstrongish son. The woman depicted is the idealized homemaker and mother, whose hair is attractively coiffed even as she prepares lunch. Whereas the 1940 ads rarely showed a woman at work outside the home, the 1943 ad images did depict women outside the home — but often in ways that seemingly patronized the women figures at work. For example, a Pond's Cold Cream ad from October 1943 tells the stories of five female war workers whose fiances were overseas in the armed forces. All of the women are young and

pretty, the wartime version of beauty queens giving testimony for cosmetic products. The copy reads that "these girls have given up personal ambition" in order to work, but they are "none the less feminine for all their efficiency." (Please see Illustrations 1 and 2 on pages 20 and 21.)

Women's images underwent a drastic *re-transformation* after the war. In advertisers' schemes, women returned en masse to the kitchens of home nests with a song on their lips and uniformly cheerful smiles. The White Motor Company, for example, features an ad with an immaculately dressed mother and grandmother cooking and cleaning in a post-war house while grandchildren study. Juxtaposed with the image of the homemakers is an image of working *men* in a utility company truck ready to supply the power necessary for home appliances. It appears the message of the ad is indeed about *power*, not only electric power but power relations between men and women — the underlying meaning indicates that men should provide, and women should nurture. (Please see Illustration 3 on page 22.)

Conclusion and Directions for Further Research

As Jhally notes, advertising is seldom an accurate reflection of reality, but it does contain elements of social reality and is itself *part* of social reality. This study establishes that changes in depictions of women in wartime advertising were significant. However, it appears that advertisers during the war never quite relinquished their version of the pre-war social reality. Even during the turbulent years of the war, advertisers did not abandon to any great extent the traditional

pre-war images of women. And as soon as the war was over, pre-war images of women once again filled the pages of the mass magazines. Except for images of homemakers and mothers, images of working women were largely abandoned by advertisers soon after the Allied victory.

It can be argued that therapeutic ethos, T. Jackson Lear's notion of psychic fulfillment through consumption, impelled the advertising industry to recast women's images during the war and revert to pre-war depictions after the war. The "psychic" problem was that women in a male-dominated society were abruptly thrust into new, traditionally male work roles during the war, and then cast out of these work roles after the war. Advertising helped to smooth over the uncertainty that accompanied these changes. The trade literature of the day indicates advertisers knew the war would not last forever. Thus, it appears the wartime advertising industry performed the slippery task of presenting women in new gender roles while figuring out a way not to depart too far from its pre-war formulas. The result was a curious farrago of wartime social realism, patriotic imagery and traditional gender stereotyping.

This content analysis indicates the general nature of certain mass magazine advertising images of women during the World War II era. However, this study is by no means definitive — it could be built upon in several ways. For example, one could code for specific companies or types of products in conjunction with types of women's images. Interesting questions concerning the nature of women's images in advertisements for automobile manufacturing companies or home appliance companies could be answered through such coding. Coding for depictions of

men's work roles could be quite useful — images of men's work roles could be compared to images of women's work roles.

One could explore the gender displays of children before, during and after the war. One could more closely examine images of nuclear families during the war years. Why did some advertisements of working women trivialize them while other advertisements showed respect for them? An answer to this question might be found in the use of more elaborate coding categories which would differentiate among types of working-women images. In addition, the reader should bear in mind that the results of this study might not generalize to other mass media of the same period. Therefore, future research on this topic might focus on the differences of depictions of women among various mass media.

Figure 1

$\chi^2 = 51.8$; d.f. = 4; $p < .005$

	1940	1943	1946
Wage Earner	5%	19%	7%
Homemaker/Mother	36%	30%	33%
No work roles	59%	38%	60%
Armed Forces/Volunteers	0%	13%	0%
	N = 332	N = 256	N = 483

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Figure 2

$\chi^2 = 116.11$; d.f. = 6; $p < .005$

	1940	1943	1946
Workplace Outside Home	5%	24%	6%
Work at Home	22%	22%	13%
Leisure	30%	39%	42%
Other	43%	15%	39%
	N = 332	N = 256	N = 483

Illustration 1

(Saturday Evening Post, January 13, 1940, p. 29)



A WINTER DAY— *with a happy ending*



A soup that cheers you when you're cold!

When the snow drifts high and finger tips tingle, a plate of Campbell's Vegetable Soup is welcome indeed! Steaming and savory, it comforts you with its very look. Its invigorating, full-flavored beef stock is chock-full of nourishing garden vegetables—*from different kinds*. Almost a meal in itself, Campbell's Vegetable Soup, mothers say, matches in good flavor the finest vegetable soup they can make at home. Keep it on hand, and enjoy it often!



Campbell's
Vegetable Soup

CONTAINING 12 GARDEN VEGETABLES PLUS RICH BEEF STOCK

A good soup bill,
Perhaps a quilt,
Then Campbell's Soup—
The final thrill!



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BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Illustration 2

(Ladies Home Journal, October, 1943, p. 45)

THESE ENGAGED GIRLS ARE ALL WAR WORKERS !

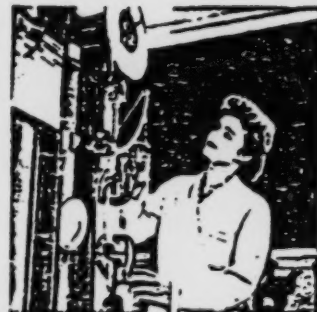
You are needed too!



ANNE NISSEN—handles explosives in a big munitions plant. This was Anne's first job. She has been promoted step by step, and has become a "job-instructor," training other girls.



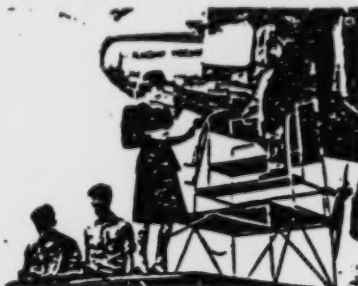
MARTHA MONTGOMERY—an accredited first-aid, is especially interested in wartime care of small children. Proper care for children of working mothers is one of the most really important home front war jobs, and one in which understanding workers are urgently needed.



PHYLLIS GRAY—tests tensile strength of fabric to be used for parachute bags, tents, uniforms! She went straight from college into war industry, working for a big Textile Company.



MURIEL Lenger—is gravely serious about her job at Bendix testing altimeters for planes. Muriel's mother has a war job at Bendix, too—on the assembly line.



ROSEMARIE HEAVEY—one of the new airline girls affectionately dubbed "hamper helpers." They work 8-hour shifts—in jobs men were filling barely a year ago.

Any job that frees a man is a war job... find yours today !

SLIM AND PRETTY Anne Nissen, engaged to Larry Van Orien (now in the Army), sums it up like this: "I couldn't have Larry do all the fighting. I wanted to do my share"... so she took the job a man left behind!

What are you doing?

Right now there are hundreds of different war jobs for women and girls—especially necessary home front jobs that need to be filled because the men who held them are now with our armed forces.

Women and girls must take their places.

Many areas need women in all kinds of civilian jobs—in stores, offices, restaurants, plants, laundries, in transportation, in community services.

Experience is not necessary. Hundreds of thousands of girls and women who never dreamed of working before are stepping into these jobs every day.

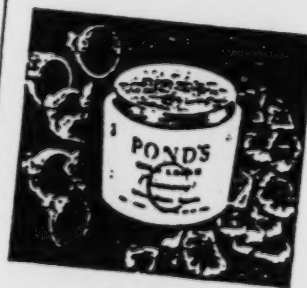
There's a war job for you, too! Look through the Help Wanted section of your local paper for specific needs in your area. Then get advice from your local U. S. Employment Service. Don't wait. America at war needs women at work. Apply for your war job now!

Typical of so many gallant American girls and women today...

... these girls have given up personal ambition so as to back up their fighting men. But they are none the less feminine for all their efficiency. Keeping lovely is very much a part of their everyday living—on their jobs, and off!

And Pond's Cold Cream is their favorite way to help keep their faces feeling and looking clean—fresh, smooth and soft.

As Phyllis Gray says—"A war job doesn't leave much time for fancy beauty care—so it means a lot to have a luscious, soft-smooth cream like Pond's to help keep your face bright and fresh and soft to touch."



Today—many more women use Pond's than any other face cream at any price.



THE MORE WOMEN AT WORK

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THE SOONER WE'LL WIN

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Illustration 3
(Saturday Evening Post, January 9, 1946, p. 5)



Switch to Better Living

A FLICK OF THE FINGER makes modern living more convenient, healthier . . . in a hundred different ways. Night becomes day . . . the family's meals are cooked to perfection . . . wash day is reduced to hours. These are only a few of the home tasks performed by the same low cost *dependable* electric power that turns so many wheels

of industry and enables millions of jobs to be provided.

Because *dependability* is a 24-hour-a-day requirement of the electric industry, dependable trucks are used in great numbers to keep uninterrupted service maintained. In this

field, White trucks have always enjoyed marked preference. As in so many others in which dependable, low cost service is the im-

portant factor, White trucks are leaders in the electric power and light field.

THE WHITE MOTOR COMPANY
Cleveland, Ohio, U. S. A.
THE WHITE MOTOR COMPANY OF CANADA
LIMITED, Factory of Montreal



FOR MORE THAN 45 YEARS THE GREATEST NAME IN TRUCKS

Notes

¹Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique*, (New York, London: W.W. Norton and Co., 1983), pp. 71-84.

²Alan Winkler, *America During World War II*, (Arlington Heights, Illinois: Harlan Davidson, 1986), pp. 49-57.

³Sherna Berger Gluck, *Rosie the Riveter Revisited: The War and social Change*, (Boston: Wayne Publishers, 1987), p. 10.

⁴U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Handbook of Labor Statistics*, Bulletin 916, (Washington, D. C. : Government Printing Office, 1947).

⁵Chester Gregory, *Women in Defense Work During World War II*, (New York: Exposition Press, 1974), pp. 81, 95, 114, 130.

⁶U. S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, *Women Workers in Ten Production Areas and Their Post-War Employment Plans*, Bulletin 209, (Washington D. C. : Government Printing Office, 1946).

⁷See, for example, Roland Marchand, *Advertising and the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1986); Stuart Ewen, *Captains of Consciousness: Advertising and the Special Roots of the Consumer Culture*, (New York, Toronto: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1976); W. Leiss, S. Kline and S. Jhally, *Social Communication in Advertising: Persons, Products and Images of Well Being*, (Toronto, New York and London: Methune, 1986); Michael Schudson, *Advertising, the Uneasy Persuasion*, New York: Basic Books, 1984); Stephen Fox, *The Mirror Makers: A History of American Advertising and Its Creators*, (New York: Vintage books, 1985); and Helen Woodward, *The Hidden Persuaders*, (New York, 1960).

⁸Frank W. Fox, *Madison Avenue Goes to War: The Strange Military Career of American Advertising, 1941-45*, 4:1 (Brigham Young University, June 1975), From the Charles E. Merrill Monograph Series in the Humanities and Social Sciences.

⁹William Chafe, *The American Woman: Her Changing Social, Economic and Political Roles, 1920-1970*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972). For a similar interpretation see Margaret Mead, "The Women in the War," in *While You Were Gone: A Report on Wartime Life in the United States*, Jack Goodman, ed., (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1946), pp. 274-289. Mead argues that World War II merely accelerated a trend of women entering the workforce that had long been developing in the United States.

¹⁰Susan M. Hartmann, *The Home Front and Beyond: American Women in the 1940s*, (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1982); Karen Anderson, *Wartime Women: Sex Roles, Family Relations and the Status of Women During World War II*, (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1981).

¹¹John Morton Blum, *V Was For Victory: Politics and Culture During World War II*, (New York and London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1986). Another important cultural and social history of the war years is Richard Polenberg's *War and Society: The U. S., 1941-45*, (New York: Lippincott, 1972). Also see Studs Terkel, *The Good War: An Oral History of World War II*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984). See "Rosie" pp. 108-134.

¹²Leila J. Rupp, *Mobilizing Women for War: German and American Propaganda 1939-1945*, (Princeton University Press, 1978).

¹³Maureen Honey, *Creating Rosie the Riveter: Class, Gender and Propaganda During World War II*, (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1984), pp. 47-53.

¹⁴Gluck, op. cit. D'Ann Campbell, *Women at War with America: Private Lives in a Patriotic Era*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984).

¹⁵Anna Richardson, "American Women are Friends of Advertising," *Printer's Ink* 191 (May 31, 1940): 14; and C.B. Larabee, "Women Read Service Copy more Eagerly than Hot War News," *Printer's Ink* 192 (August 2, 1940): 13-15.

¹⁶P. H. Erbes, "The Women Take Over," *Printer's Ink* 196 (August 15, 1941): 9, 71.

¹⁷Lawrence Karp, "Selling the Female Industrial Group," *Advertising & Selling* 35 (March 1942): 26; Sylvia Carewe, "Where's the Woman's Angle in This War?" *Advertising & Selling* 35 (August 1942): 23; John Murphy, "How to Get Action Photos in Wartime Advertising," *Advertising & Selling* 35 (August 1942): 30.

¹⁸Jean Austin, "Women People?" *Printer's Ink* 201 (October 23, 1942): 21; Carmel Snow, "Woman War Worker Today—Executive Tomorrow!" *Printer's Ink* 203 (April 2, 1943): 38.

¹⁹William Day, "Copy Themes-194?" *Advertising & Selling* 35 (December 1942): 13.

²⁰There are numerous works detailing this theoretical position. For general discussions of gender construction in feminist theory, see Jane Flax, "Postmodernism and Gender Relations in Feminist Theory," *Signs* 12 (1987): 621-43; and Evelyn Fox Keller, "Feminist Perspectives on Science Studies," *Barnard Occasional Papers on Women's Issues* 3 (spring 1988): 10-36.

²¹Sut Jhally, *The Codes of Advertising: Fetishism and the Political Economy of Meaning in the Consumer Society* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987), p. 135. In addition, see Erving Goffman, *Gender Advertisements* (New York: Harper and Row, 1979).

²²This is not to suggest that significant numbers of women did not work outside the home before world War II. Louise Lamphere records in her history of New England working women how "participation of women in wage labor began in the early years of the industrial revolution." Lamphere, *From Working Daughters to Working Mothers: Immigrant Women in a New England Industrial Community* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1987), p. 43.

²³Anderson, *Wartime Women*, pp. 27-28.

²⁴Honey, *Creating Rosie*, p. 6.

²⁵T. Jackson Lears, "Salvation to Self-Realization: Advertising and the Therapeutic roots of the Consumer Culture," from *The Culture of Consumption*, Richard Fox and T. Jackson Lears, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983), p. 27.

²⁶See Raymond Rubicam, "Advertising" in *While You Were Gone*, op. cit., pp. 421-46.

²⁷In content analysis, an agreement coefficient above .8 is considered extremely reliable. An agreement coefficient of .945 indicates the intra-coder reliability is 94.5 percent above the level of chance agreement.

²⁸A complete explanation of the coding scheme may be obtained from the authors by mail.

²⁹The agreement coefficients of each category are as follows: Category one: .97; category two: .97; category three: .95; and category four: .89.

³⁰"Wage-earners" include blue- and white-collar workers, although nearly all women models were depicted in blue-collar roles such as waitresses or industrial workers.

³¹Because some cells in the category variable "Armed Forces/Volunteers" were empty, this category was excluded from the test of significance because its empty cells would skew results.

**The Only Good Indians:
A Comparative Examination of Press Coverage
of the War with the Southern Cheyennes
(1864-1868)**

Paper presented at the
American Journalism Historians Association Meeting
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
1991

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Introduction

Many historians date the start of the Plains Indian War with the Sand Creek Massacre on November 29, 1864. Hostilities continued almost without pause through 1890 and the Battle of Wounded Knee, making it arguably America's longest war.¹ Yet scant analysis has been performed of news coverage of the war, particularly in its early years.

This study examines press coverage of the start of the Plains Indian War, concentrating on the Southern Cheyennes tribe from 1864 through 1868. The reason for this focus is threefold: the Sand Creek Massacre in 1864 involved this tribe; the Southern Cheyennes effectively were removed from the war by a remarkably similar massacre in 1868, allowing a comparison over time in the way the two events were reported; and this time period overlaps the Civil War, a tumultuous event in American history that helped establish the genre of war reporting in this country.

The issues under study include identifying and distinguishing the correspondents, papers, and magazines that carried news of the Indian War and analyzing how their coverage fit into the larger political and economic context of the time. More important, however, is how or if the correspondents and editors saw the larger, historical import of contemporary events. This study is not exhaustive of all newspapers and journals for the five-year period; particular attention is given to popular magazines, politically and geographically influential newspapers, and publications with extensive coverage of the issue. The study does, however, examine a broad range of coverage of the time, pointing out the representative and the idiosyncratic, because both are informative of the subject.

The Sand Creek Massacre

In the spring of 1859, 150,000 would-be gold miners marched across the Plains to Pike's Peak; 110,000 got discouraged and tromped back again. George Bent, a half-Cheyenne, observed: "The plains swarmed with hurrying bands of gold-seekers; the buffalo were frightened off, the last of the timber in the big groves along the streams was cut down, and the Indians did not know where to turn."² The first issue of the *Rocky Mountain News*, published in Denver on April 23, 1859, editorialized:

"The poor Indian . . . is now pushed rudely on by the resistless rush of Yankee enterprise; and ere the year shall close, the Indians . . . will have closed by a leap, almost the last space between them and their mournful destiny."³

In 1861, troops from the newly established Colorado Territory were raised to fight for the Union in the Civil War. The resulting power vacuum worried settlers who heard rumors "that emissaries from the Confederacy were making inflammatory speeches, and doing their best to alienate the Southern Cheyennes . . ."⁴ In November 1863, when Governor John Evans received a report that the Indian tribes were uniting against the whites to reclaim their lands, he took the report seriously and demanded the use of military force to clear the Indians from Colorado Territory.⁵ He was supported in this cause by his close friend William Byers, editor of the *Rocky Mountain News*.

Frontier papers and politics were inextricably intertwined. Politicians often provided financial backing in exchange for political support, whereas editors used their papers "to springboard themselves into politics."⁶ What often was lacking was news. Articles were "borrowed" from competing papers; Congressional acts were published in full not only to keep people informed but to fill space.⁷ Editorial copy filled the remainder, providing more knowledge about the character of the editor than of anything else.⁸ Of Byers' *Rocky Mountain News*, Henry Stanley said, "Among the most enterprising of Colorado newspapers is the *Denver News* (Republican), characterized by boldness of speech and extreme partisanship . . ."

As pressure mounted in 1863 to obtain clear land rights from the Indians, Byers' editorials became calls to action. A March 1863 editorial appeared under the head "Exterminate Them." Agreeing with the *Santa Fe New Mexican* that extermination is the best policy, Byers notes that "We have yet to see the first redskin who could be trusted. . . . They are a dissolute, vagabonish, brutal and ungrateful race, and ought to be wiped from the face of the earth."⁹

In early 1864, two reports of stolen livestock heightened tensions between the Colorado First Cavalry under the leadership of "Fighting Parson" John Chivington¹⁰ and the Southern Cheyennes. In both instances the soldiers punished the Cheyennes;

in neither instance was there proof that the Cheyennes had committed the thefts. Thus, when the Southern Cheyennes heard that troops were approaching their camp, Chief Lean Bear rode out to parley with the soldiers and prove his tribe's peaceful intentions.¹² As Lean Bear approached, however, the soldiers shot him from his horse. Chief Black Kettle ordered the remaining Cheyennes to run and not to fight.¹³

The Black Hawk Daily Mining Journal welcomed the news: "It would be well to have the boys [Chivington's command] stirred up some."¹⁴ Although Black Kettle and his band of peaceful Southern Cheyennes fled south, many of the young warriors were incensed over the killing of Lean Bear and joined with the more aggressive Northern Cheyenne tribe, who had pledged revenge. Chivington countered by giving orders to "kill Cheyennes whenever and wherever found."¹⁵

On June 11, the mutilated bodies of the Hungate family were found on their ranch approximately 10 miles from Denver. Although the tribal affiliation of the murderers was unknown, Byers identified them as Cheyennes.¹⁶ The bodies were brought to Denver and put on public display, where they whipped up a public frenzy. Evans had to take decisive action. On June 27, the Rocky Mountain News printed a circular written by Evans and addressed "To the Friendly Indians of the Plains." It instructed peaceful Indians to go to Fort Lyon, where they would be shown to a place of safety; the remaining Indians would be punished (see Figure 1).¹⁷

In July, no Indian depredations were committed in Colorado, but Byers printed stories of atrocities from Kansas and Nebraska, stressing their coordination, planning, and imminence. The Black Hawk Daily Mining Journal got so disgusted with Byers' "news" that in their August 22 issue they pointed out the sheer distances involved and labeled some of the stories as mere fabrication.¹⁸ On August 10, the News published Evans' proclamation addressed to "Patriotic Citizens of Colorado," authorizing them to pursue and kill all hostile Indians.¹⁹ Byers wrote an editorial in the same issue, supporting his friend the governor wholeheartedly.

Eastern humanitarians who believe in the superiority of the Indian race will raise a terrible howl over this policy, but it is no time to split hairs nor stand upon delicate compunctions of conscience. Self preservation demands

decisive action, and the only way to secure it is to fight them in their own way. A few months of active extermination against the red devils will bring quiet and nothing else will."¹⁰

The News and the Kansas City Journal continued to heighten public anxiety by printing rumors of planned attacks under the leadership of white guerrillas and of narrow escapes from general Indian massacres.¹¹ In an editorial on August 24 Byers asked his readership, "Shall we not go for them, their lodges, squaws and all?"¹²

In late August, Major Wynkoop, commander of Fort Lyon,¹³ received a note from Black Kettle, stating that the Southern Cheyennes had seen Governor Evans' circular to friendly Indians and that they desired peace. Wynkoop, impressed with Black Kettle's sincerity, agreed to accompany him to meet with Governor Evans. But when Wynkoop tried to arrange a council, the Governor was not agreeable. Throughout the year Evans had been writing to Washington insisting that he needed more troops to defend the citizens of Colorado Territory against Indian attacks. Evans had finally received permission to recruit the Third Colorado Volunteer Cavalry for a period of 100 days, but they had yet to see action. The press was ridiculing them as the "Bloodless Hundred Dazers,"¹⁴ and their time was running out. Evans asked Wynkoop, "What shall I do with the third regiment, if I make peace?"¹⁵

But Evans eventually agreed to a council, and on September 28 he met with Black Kettle and several other chiefs. Evans accused the Southern Cheyennes of being allied with the Sioux, but Black Kettle protested, saying they were at peace and not allied with any tribes at war. Evans insisted the matter was out of his hands; it was up to the military now. Chivington, who was also in attendance, told the Indians to go to Fort Lyon and surrender their arms to Wynkoop.¹⁶ Wynkoop told Black Kettle to bring his village to camp nearby the fort, and he would consider them military prisoners.¹⁷

When General Curtis heard that the Southern Cheyennes had moved near Fort Lyon under Wynkoop's promise of protection, he relieved Wynkoop of command for "holding unauthorized peace talks."¹⁸ Major Anthony, Wynkoop's replacement, told the Southern Cheyennes to go back and camp on Sand Creek and he would contact headquarters for instructions. His cable to headquarters, however, said that he had

the Indians within reach; if they would send out the necessary troops, he could attack."⁹ Chivington decided to make his move, marching 500 to 600 troop members and four howitzers down to Fort Lyon while maintaining a strict cordon of secrecy.¹⁰ Arriving on November 28, he picked up Anthony and 125 of his men, then travelled 40 miles northeast in an all-night march toward Black Kettle's camp on Sand Creek.¹¹

The soldiers surrounded the camp in the early morning hours, attacking from all sides at sunrise. The Indians were still asleep and taken completely by surprise. Many witnesses say Black Kettle had a U.S. garrison flag flying over his lodge and upon hearing the commotion ran up a white surrender flag under it. Indians ran for the protection of the flags, but were shot down. As the troops advanced, the remaining Indians ran upstream. Using their hands and the butts of their rifles, they dug pits in the dry sand bed of the river. According to Little Bear, "All who failed to reach these pits in the sand were shot down."¹² The troops finally withdrew when night came, and the remaining Indians fled.¹³

The next day, a guide tried to identify the dead Indians, but, he said, "They were so badly mutilated and covered with sand and water that it was very hard for me to tell one from another."¹⁴ Black Kettle mistakenly was identified among the dead: "There was one there of his size and dimensions in every way but so tremendously mutilated that I was mistaken in him."¹⁵ News of the battle first broke in the *Rocky Mountain News* on December 7:

The First and Third Regiments have had a battle with the Indians on Sand creek, a short distance northeast of Fort Lyon. Five hundred Indians are reported killed and six hundred horses captured. Captain Baxter and Lieutenant Pierce are reported killed. No further particulars. A message is hourly expected with full details. Bully for the Colorado boys.¹⁶

Chivington's official report, printed the following day in the *News*, went out over the wire and was picked up by a few papers across the country, running in the *New York Tribune* on December 9 and the *Daily Alta* (CA) on December 11, among others. The report gives no tribal affiliation, mentioning only that 400 out of 900 Indians were killed, including the chief Black Kettle, "making almost an annihilation of the entire tribe." In fact, of the approximately 500 Indians in the camp, 105 women and children and 28 men were killed.¹⁷

On December 17, Byers published a colorful account of the march "through the driving, blinding clouds of snow" and of the camp, which was "well supplied with defensive works," although Cheyennes never fortified their villages and many witnesses saw the Indians dig the rifle pits during the battle. The story ends: "All acquitted themselves well and Colorado soldiers have again covered themselves with glory."¹ The troops, now christened the "Bloody Thirdsters," returned to Denver waving their trophies: scalps, parts of scalps, and tobacco pouches made from men's and women's genital skin.²

Most papers carried no news of the battle. Sherman was marching toward the sea, and all eyes were turned south. Even when Congress announced at the end of December that it would conduct an investigation of the affair,³ many papers took no notice. One paper that did was the *Rocky Mountain News*. On December 30 Byers raged that Black Kettle's Cheyennes "fought like devils to the end" and that the scalps of white men, women, and children had been found in the village. This was a greatly multiplied scalp count from their original report of December 12 that said no scalps had been found, or Chivington's original story that one scalp had been found. The *News* agreed that an investigation should be conducted, but they suggested that it investigate those who called the Indians friendly and gave them gifts.⁴

In February, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* condemned "The recent conduct of Colonel Chivington . . . attacking a defenceless Indian village and perpetrating wholesale massacre of men, women, and children, [which] should excite for those poor creatures the generous pity of the nation . . ."⁵ But the *Daily Miner's Register* (CO) suggested that although the do-gooders back east would not like it, the military should offer a bounty for the scalps of Indian men, women, and children.⁶

The report of the congressional Joint Special Committee was made public in July 1885, three months after the end of the Civil War. For the many papers that printed the committee's conclusion, like the *New York Times*, it was the first mention that a battle with Indians had taken place. It was not a pretty picture: "And then the scene of murder and barbarity began--men, women, and children were indiscriminately slaughtered. . . . Not content with killing women and children . . . the soldiers

indulged in acts of barbarity of the most revolting character."¹¹ This report was never published in Colorado, although Governor Evans' reply refuting its conclusions was published by the *News* in September. Military commission proceedings, held in Denver, were closed to the press. Chivington wrote his own synopsis of them, which was published in the *News* on June 24, 1865. This somewhat less-than-objective account was the only word that the Colorado people had of the investigations.¹²

After Sand Creek, Black Kettle's band fled north and joined the Northern Cheyennes, including the militant Dog Soldiers, and their allies, the Sioux. Black Kettle was no longer in power; most who survived wanted revenge, not peace. Although they had not fought in winter before, the combined Cheyennes and Sioux forces raided the Platte River route. As the raids continued over the summer, The *New York Times* despaired over what to do; civilization was not working, and extermination was not civilized. In exasperation they seriously concluded that if the Indians "would take it into their heads to move southward to Mexico, where the bulk of their race is now concentrated, it would be a happy thing for them and for us."¹³ Black Kettle still sued for peace among his tribe, and in January 1866 he and the Southern Cheyennes who favored peace moved back south.

The Indian War Correspondents

During 1866, the character of Indian war reporting changed. The exciting Civil War news that sold so many papers had to be replaced by something equally exciting, and the frontier held the answer. But few experienced Civil War correspondents, who had helped develop the genre of war reporting, came west.¹⁴ The reporters who did come were mainly unaccredited, voluntary contributors, and Watson notes that they were more gifted in imagination than accuracy, having consumed a heavy diet of dime novel Indian adventure fare.¹⁵ Correspondence was often in the form of letters addressed to the paper,¹⁶ reading like a travel diary of a foreign land. Army officers would supplement their meager pay by providing copy, and a distinction was made in the field between "the only real correspondents in the party" and the "others who vaunted their pretensions."¹⁷ An Associated Press story of October 1866 claims that many unofficial reports of the Plains Indian affairs were exaggerated

because they emanated "from parties interested in keeping up the excitement and misleading the public." The *New York Tribune*, which ran the story, took pains to point out that their own correspondent was completely trustworthy.¹¹

The accredited correspondents had to become part of the troops. John F. Finerty¹¹ wrote the following often-quoted passage about the hardships of being an Indian War correspondent.

Let no easy-going journalist suppose that an Indian campaign is a picnic. If he goes out on such business he must go prepared to ride his forty or fifty miles a day, go sometimes on half rations, sleep on the ground with small covering, roast, sweat, freeze, and make the acquaintance of such vermin or reptiles as may flourish in the vicinity of his couch; and, finally, be ready to fight Sitting Bull or Satan when the trouble begins, for God and the United States hate non-combatants.¹¹

Another problem for the correspondents was getting the story back. Telegraphs lines were subject to Indian raids and other disasters. Stanley noted that it was normal practice for the overloaded stages "to dump the mail into some of the creeks that run across the road. In Plum Creek, above Fort Larned, when the expedition passed over it, were found five bags of mail matter . . ." Stanley thought much more highly of "the daring express rider, who faithfully conveys in his saddle bags . . . the letter from the newspaper correspondent across the burning plains, and desert wastes, alone, dashing through black night and the chilling storm of sleet and rain."¹⁴

For the fledgling correspondent another danger lurked. While the experienced newspapermen were growling about a lack of news, a greenhorn reporter for the *New York Graphic* was being "stuffed" with news: "The stories told of Indian atrocities to captives . . . were enough to make the stoutest veteran's teeth chatter, and at times our newly-discovered acquisition manifested a disinclination to swallow, unstrained, the stories told him . . ."¹¹ Likewise, Finerty tells of the naive Mr. Davenport of the *New York Herald*: ". . . some of the young officers and his brother correspondents used to banter him a good deal with regard to the horrors of Indian warfare."¹⁴

A recurring theme was that the East knew of Indians only from books, but the West knew about Indians firsthand. A special correspondent for the *New York Times* wrote:

Nothing strikes one more on crossing the Missouri River than the marked change in feeling toward the "sauvages". . . . East of that river the subject is rarely broached or spoken of only in the "poor Indian" style. But crossing the few hundred yards of that stream makes a decided difference. Indian affairs are often alluded to and always in a decided manner."

Most correspondents journeying west remarked on the need to adjust to the reality of Indians, which did not conform to the noble savage ideal of James Fenimore Cooper. Davis wrote in *Harper's*: "It was not 'Lo, the poor Indian!' but Lo, the poor white! Cooper might have his Indians; we did not care for their company." A new settler wrote to the *Nebraska City News*: "The thought struck me that had Cooper had such examples of Indian life before him the world would never have been delighted with his *Leather Stocking Tales*." Stanley searched in vain for the beautiful Indian female features "as described by the Cooper and Murray type of romances."

Late in 1866, *New York Times* correspondent "C" reported that the citizens of Colorado were chafing against the liberal, unrealistic attitudes of the government in the East and the lack of action taken against the Indians during the year.

The people of Denver have not forgotten the mangled bodies brought into their city, and the terrible vengeance that was sworn upon the Indians in consequence. A part of that revenge was administered by Colonel Chivington at Sand Creek, but he did not complete it. All through the Western Territories the people would rejoice to have an Indian war inaugurated of such proportions that they would be warranted in taking the rifle in hand and "cleaning out" the Indians from Missouri to the mountains."

The Fort Phil Kearney Massacre

On December 21, 1866, the call to renew the Indian war that the citizens of Colorado had been hoping for came over the wire. Commander Carrington of Fort Phil Kearney," upon hearing that Indians were attacking an incoming wood train," ordered Captain Fetterman and his 80 men "to relieve the train, and under no circumstances to cross the ridge." But the troops rashly charged after the Indians and fell into an ambush out of sight of the fort, where all were killed and their bodies found badly mutilated.

On December 27, *The New York Times* published a small notice at the bottom of page 4, stating a massacre had occurred at Fort Phil Kearney. The full wire account appears the next day on page 1. A "grand coalition" of 12 tribes is held responsible, and the post reported captured by treachery." On January 19, 1867,

the Times published two letters, dated January 2 and January 4, from an unnamed correspondent at Fort Laramie. The first clarifies that the Minneconjous Sioux, supported by the Northern Cheyennes, were the principal Indians behind the attack and gives the road being constructed through their hunting grounds as the reason for it. The second adds no facts, only commentary: ". . . that horrible butchery of friendly Indians by Colonel Chivington did not mend matters much. We must now have a war of extermination, I suppose."¹

Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper published their account on January 19, including a full-page illustration of soldiers on the ground or reaching imploringly up to Indians who hold knives in their teeth and wave hatchets and scalps overhead. One Indian is in process of obtaining another scalp. The account notes that Carrington has been relieved of command, "it being claimed that he could have prevented the massacre."²

Commander Carrington's wife later wrote a scathing criticism of the coverage of the Fetterman massacre. She tells of the Albany Argus (NY), which published "from reliable information" a tear-jerking, fanciful version of the climax of the fight, with soldiers driven to the gates of the fort but the people inside afraid to let them in. The poor wretches begging outside "all fell in one heap of mangled humanity, unsupported and uncared for."³ Of the engravings in the illustrated papers she writes: "There was certainly no difficulty as to historical precedents or illustration of Indian warfare from which to combine a proper sketch, and accordingly the work was begun, even before the couriers had reached Laramie with details of the transaction itself."⁴ Of Dr. Hines, who furnished an eyewitness account to Harper's, Carrington writes that he "saw of the fight . . . nothing."⁵

On April 4, hard on the heels of the Fetterman Massacre, the New York Semi-Weekly Tribune reported that the commanding officer, his family, and the entire garrison at Fort Buford had been killed by a force of 2,000 to 3,000 Indians. But on April 9 they retracted the report. Harper's ran the story on April 13 under the head "Another Terrible Indian Massacre."⁶ Leslie's story on April 20 begins, "The public mind has scarcely calmed down from the horror excited by the Fort Phil

Kearney massacre when it is roused by another, if possible, still more dreadful." Although the article states that the exact fate of the commander's wife is unknown, they report one account of her "enduring every atrocity" and being "tied on the back of a wild horse and turned loose on the plains."¹⁰ On May 10, the Tribune labeled the whole story a hoax; Harper's and Leslie's never did print retractions.

Leslie's blames the incident on the War and Interior Department administrations in Washington, and the question of whether to keep the Bureau of Indian Affairs within the Department of the Interior or to transfer it to the War Department began to dominate coverage. New York Times correspondent "C" wrote at the conclusion of his Fetterman Massacre report: "The fact is that Indian matters out here have been horribly bungled, and they will be in a mess until they turn over the Indian affairs to the army, as it was years ago."¹¹ The current arrangement had the Bureau of Indian Affairs overseeing the Indian agents, who had a monopoly over distributing supplies to the tribes. Frank Leslie's observed that "an Indian war offers contractors, favorites, and Government swindlers generally a rich booty."¹²

But the Senate ultimately refused to transfer the Indian Bureau. In the wake of the Fetterman Massacre, however, the Army increasingly was pressured to punish the Indians. Stanley wrote: "The Indians lately have horrified the people of the United States by diabolical and cruel massacres. These call for instant retaliation and severe punishment."¹³ So once again the troops took the field to punish the hostile Indians. As the New York Tribune editorialized on hearing of the upcoming military campaign: "Death or Indian agents; what an alternative!"¹⁴

General Hancock's Summer Expedition

The soldiers made famous in the Civil War were now commanded to lead their troops against the Indians. Trying to juggle government demands that peace be made on one hand with popular demands that the Indians be punished on the other, General Sherman sent Major General Hancock and 1,400 troops out with the ambiguous orders to find the Indians and treat with them if friendly, punish them if not. With the troops went two correspondents: Theodore R. Davis of Harper's and Henry M. Stanley of the Missouri Democrat (St. Louis).

Davis, an artist-correspondent for Harper's during the Civil War, wrote lengthy pieces that demonstrated a keen eye for ethnographic detail and a didactic bent. But he also had a cynical side, saying it was dangerous to venture too far from a ranch or post "for the flesh is weak, and the red baby must be made familiar with the different varieties of hair, and blonde tresses are highly prized among the Indians."¹³ Davis also marvelled at the skill with which the Indian women tanned and decorated buffalo hides, but he could not resist adding that "a result is obtained which is highly creditable to the uneducated and somewhat savage wives and daughters of 'Nasty Elk,' or whatever euphonious term the master of the lodge may see fit to designate himself by."¹⁴

Stanley, born the illegitimate John Rowlands of Wales,¹⁵ shipped to sea as a cabin boy, jumping ship in New Orleans. After working several years for Henry M. Stanley Sr. he was adopted, provided he take his adoptive father's name. As a soldier during the Civil War he wrote up the naval battles he witnessed and did well enough that he was hired by the *Missouri Democrat* at \$15.00 a week, which he supplemented by also writing for the *New York Herald*, the *New York Tribune*, the *New York Times*, the *Chicago Republican*, and the *Cincinnati Commercial*, among others.¹⁶

In the wake of the Fetterman Massacre, Hancock, his troops, and the two correspondents set out to confront the Cheyennes because, Hancock said, they "appear to be as deserving of chastisement as any other."¹⁷ Major Wynkoop was now Indian Agent Wynkoop, and Hancock notified him that he wanted to meet with the Cheyennes at Fort Larned. As an incentive, Hancock was to turn over to them a young child that had been taken captive at Sand Creek. But Harper's noted that it was hoped "that the savages may be prevailed upon to leave the boy with his present friends, that he may be properly cared for and educated."¹⁸ What Harper's failed to mention was that the boy's education and friends among the whites constituted a stint as an exhibit in a traveling circus.¹⁹

Wynkoop persuaded the Cheyennes chiefs at a village set up in the area for the summer buffalo hunt to come talk with Hancock. The chiefs were mainly from the Northern Cheyennes tribe, although some Southern Cheyennes were also present to help

with the hunt. Not present in the village were Black Kettle and his lodges of Southern Cheyennes. Hancock called for a nighttime meeting around a large bonfire, telling his officers "to don their loudest garments."¹¹ But his attempt at impressing the Indians backfired, who thought that a nighttime council signified either great stupidity or great evil, an impression that was compounded when Hancock demanded to know why certain Indians were not present. The Cheyennes explained that Hancock himself had demanded that only chiefs be present, and the Indians he was asking for were not chiefs. Hancock countered that if the Indians he wanted would not come see him, he would go find them at their village.

When the Indians heard Hancock and his troops approaching their village the next afternoon they feared another massacre like Sand Creek and secretly started sending out their women and children. Word spread that the Indians were abandoning the village, and Hancock sent General George Armstrong Custer and the Seventh Cavalry to surround the village and prevent anyone from escaping. Custer writes in *My Life on the Plains*¹² of their careful, silent encirclement of the village in the murky night only to discover that they were too late--the village was abandoned. Most household belongings remained; in some lodges dinner was still cooking over the fire. Custer said his command "at once resolved itself into individual plundering committees"; Stanley reported the scene more like a farce: "The soldiers rummage and pick up things in the most senseless manner, and after carrying them a few yards throw them away, when they are soon picked up by somebody else, and thrown away again."¹³

Within the camp was a young girl, about ten, who had been raped. Davis reported the child as a half-breed, outraged by Cheyennes; Stanley reported her as white and "outraged no less than six times," although he fails to say just how the number was determined. Stanley later reported Chief Gray Head's story that she was Cheyenne and "not in her right mind" and that she had been intact when the Indians were forced to leave her behind.¹⁴ Probably the best contemporary press rendering of the affair was the wire report published in the *New York Tribune* among others that the girl was called Indian by some, white by others, and had been raped either way.¹⁵

Hancock ordered the Indian village and all its contents burned. The Indian agents protested, but the correspondents supported Hancock's action. Stanley wrote for the *Democrat* that "the Indians deceived him and commenced hostilities, and he was compelled to burn their village," optimistically concluding that "Kansas is now free from all hostile Indians, and is open to the immigrant." For the *New York Tribune* he wrote that the Indians had "taken everything of value with them."¹ Davis reported that the destroyed property easily could be replaced by the Indians in a single summer.² Given that each lodge required a minimum of 10 buffalo skins and 8 tree trunks, which could only be found on the slopes of the Rocky Mountains, the Cheyennes would have to kill 3,000 buffalo and tan their hides and journey to the mountains to chop down and carry back 2,400 poles. Mr. Davis had a busy summer planned for the Cheyennes.

Medicine Lodge Treaty

On July 20, 1867, Congress once again decided to try for a peaceful solution to "the Indian problem," calling for the formation of a Peace Commission to meet with the Plains tribes. No less than 11 newspaper correspondents covered the proceedings. Stanley stated with satisfaction: "We present quite an imposing appearance, and with the formidable number of newspaper correspondents, the expedition to the Indian sachems becomes important."³

Although treaties with many of the tribes were quickly signed, the commissioners decided to treat with the Cheyennes as a whole rather than as two separate tribal groups as had been done earlier. But the Northern Cheyennes took their time coming into camp, and it soon became obvious that Black Kettle's band of Southern Cheyennes was in dispute with the militant Dog Soldiers of the Northern Cheyennes. Black Kettle warned the commissioners that the Dog Soldiers were not to be trusted; the Dog Soldiers threatened Black Kettle unless he returned to the Indian camp. Five days later the combined Cheyennes tribes finally agreed to talk with the commissioners, but as one reporter put it, they "acted very independently."⁴ When their hostilities of the summer were mentioned, they replied that all had been done in revenge for the burning of their village by Hancock. When the commissioners

tried to get them to sign a treaty that greatly restricted their range, Buffalo Chief spoke for his tribe: " . . . as yet, we do not want the blessings of civilization. We do not claim this country south of the Arkansas, but that country between the Arkansas and the Platte is ours."¹ The Cheyennes finally agreed to sign when they were verbally promised that they would retain hunting rights in Kansas, Nebraska, and Colorado.

Harper's, not wanting to appear unduly optimistic, said "hostilities are, for the present, at least, concluded."¹ Stanley exhibited his usual boundless optimism, however, and a bit of inaccuracy. He dramatically noted that the commissioners had "solemnized a treaty of peace and friendship with the scourge of the plains--the Southern Cheyennes," somehow missing the point that the Southern Cheyennes had been pushing for peace while their northern cousins had been the most belligerent. Stanley grandly surmises: "Peace has been concluded with all the Southern tribes. Civilization is now on the move, and westward the Star of Empire will again resume its march, unimpeded in the great work of progress."¹

Only one correspondent, Hall of the Chicago Tribune, presented a deeper reading of what actually transpired at the Medicine Lodge Peace Treaty council. He said, "The more I see of these Cheyennes the higher opinion I have of them," and he concluded that they had no idea what they were agreeing to when they signed the treaty.¹⁴ Captain Barnitz of the Seventh Cavalry expressed a similar concern.

. . . they have no idea that they are giving up, or that they have ever given up the country which they claim as their own, the country north of the Arkansas. The treaty all amounts to nothing, and we will certainly have another war sooner or later with the Cheyennes . . . in consequence of misunderstanding of the terms of present and previous treaties."

The Call for a Winter Campaign

Although the Senate was slow to ratify the treaty, the Indians held to its terms until August 16, when the news broke "that the Sioux and Cheyenne as it is supposed --at all events Indians--have broken out again."¹⁴ The Solomon and Saline river raids were conducted by a middle group of Cheyennes, comprising members of both the Northern and Southern tribes under the leadership of Northern Cheyenne warrior Roman Nose. Accounts are mixed of how the raids started and who was at fault, but the

result was that this group of Indians was killing settlers, raping and killing women, and burning settlers' homes throughout western Kansas."¹⁰⁷

The army was ordered "to make strenuous efforts to discover Indians, and in the event of . . . discovering any . . . to utterly destroy them!"¹⁰⁸ At the end of August *The New York Times* published an editorial on the "war of extermination against these particular tribes [Cheyennes and Arapaho] [which] seems to have been authorized and inaugurated." But no longer is their answer a simple plea for civilization--now the *Times* suggests that the guilty tribes be punished.¹⁰⁹ Leslie's printed a letter from a frontiersman declaring his countrymen's hatred of the Indians justified: "Would that the people could see the Indian as he really is. I think they would demand a war of extermination." The editors add the caveat that although they printed the letter as received, they could not support the massacre of "squaws and the pappooses [sic]."¹¹⁰ Harper's was more resigned; the government had tried everything else, the only choice left was to fight a war of extermination.¹¹¹

Late in September, the warring band pinned a party of scouts down on an island for days. The scouts lived on putrefied horse flesh seasoned with gunpowder and listened to their friends die from their wounds while waiting for relief troops to come. When the troops finally appeared, the Indians scattered.¹¹² The story of the fight appeared in the *New York Herald*, marking the appearance of DeBenneville Randolph Keim as an Indian War correspondent. Keim wrote the story from interviews obtained after the fact; a device he was to use many times. Not for Keim the discomforts of the forced march; he attached himself to Sheridan's camp, ate in the officers' tent, then penned his stories from the tales that came back. Knight describes Keim as "an eastern gentleman on a well-equipped camping trip."¹¹³

Keim, who had covered the Civil War for the *Herald*, wrote in accordance with the views of the *Herald's* publisher, James Gordon Bennett Jr., who was in favor of a military solution to "the Indian problem." The Indians, Keim said, "certainly display the most perfect contentment in their low condition, and it is a problem, yet to be solved, whether civilization will not supplant their present contentment

for a life of squalid poverty, intoxication, immorality, disease, and inevitable extermination."¹¹⁴

On October 14, The New York Times published Sheridan's lengthy military report on the raids in which he terms the Indians "insolent and overbearing" and states that "these Indians require to be soundly whipped."¹¹⁵ To do so, a winter campaign is to be inaugurated, because the Indians' grass-fed ponies are in no condition for battle during this time. Davis drew for his readers two pictures: the Indian pony in spring, showing a bone-thin, head-down nag; and the Indian pony in August, looking like a prize carriage horse.¹¹⁶ The Nation told its readers that "whether we want to exterminate them or plant them on a reservation, we have first to catch them, and this, it seems, must be done in the winter."¹¹⁷ The Daily Alta (CA) heralded the winter campaign as a way to mete out "the most severe punishment" and "to settle up the Indian question as far as the Cheyennes and the Arapahos are interested."¹¹⁸

Of the upcoming campaign, Sherman wrote Brevet Major General Hazen, commander of Fort Cobb, Indian Territory, "that General Sheridan [may] be forced to invade the reservation in pursuit of hostile Indians. If so, I will instruct him to do all he can to spare the well disposed . . ."¹¹⁹ Hazen replied that "the Indians of this agency are in a destitute condition, and think they have a claim upon this country I have written to [their agent] to come here and place his Indians on their own lands, wherever that may be . . ."¹²⁰ In fact, where they were is exactly where the lands ceded to them by the treaty were--they were in Indian Territory.

On November 20, Black Kettle appeared at Fort Cobb to tell Hazen he wished to move his camp closer to the fort for protection. But Hazen said he was not authorized to make peace¹²¹ and wrote another letter to Sherman, asking what to do.

. . . as General Sheridan is to punish those at war and might follow them in afterwards, a second Chivington affair might occur, which I could not prevent. I do not understand that I am to treat for peace, but would like definite instruction in this and like cases.¹²²

The Battle of Washita

On November 18 Camp Supply was established in the northern edge of Indian Territory to serve as a base of operations for the winter campaign. Sheridan, with

Keim in tow, left Fort Hays and arrived at Camp Supply on November 21.¹¹³ He ordered Custer and the Seventh Cavalry

To proceed south, in the direction of the Antelope Hills, thence towards the Washita River, the supposed winter seat of the hostile tribe; to destroy their village and ponies; to kill or hang all warriors, and bring back all women and children.¹¹⁴

Custer wrote to his wife, "We are going to the heart of the Indian country where white troops have never been before."¹¹⁵

On November 23, Custer's troops marched out at 6:00 a.m. in the middle of a blinding snowstorm. On November 26, they picked up an Indian trail heading south and followed it throughout the night. About 3:00 a.m. they heard sounds of a pony herd, a barking dog, and a baby crying, indicating they had reached their target, a winter camp. Custer divided his force into four groups and told them to surround the village; they would attack on his signal at dawn.¹¹⁶

The village Custer had stumbled upon was Black Kettle's, who had returned to camp after his talk with Hazen just the night before. He discussed with his wife his concerns over the safety of the camp; they decided the next day they would move further down river to be closer to their allies.¹¹⁷ It was now the next day, and it was too late. At daybreak, a single shot rang out from the far side of the village just before Custer could give the signal, beginning the fight. Within 10 minutes, the cavalry had control of the village.¹¹⁸

Black Kettle and his wife were killed together in the village. Many women and children were gunned down while trying to hide in the surrounding brush. Barnitz tells of riding into the midst of a group of women and children but not shooting them because he did not care "to waste ammunition on them, though to tell the truth, I was not at all sentimental about it . . ."¹¹⁹ During the battle an Indian woman was seen killing a boy and then herself with a knife. By white accounts, it was a captive white boy cruelly murdered; by Indian accounts, it was a mother killing her son herself rather than have him killed by soldiers.

What Custer did not realize when he attacked was that approximately 6,000 Indians were camped in a 10 to 15 mile path seven miles down river. By 10:00 a.m.,

reinforcements were starting to arrive, but the Indians were so taken by surprise that they did not mount a concerted attack.¹¹⁰ Only Major Elliott's command of 17 men, who had been positioned for the attack on the far side of the village, were caught by the reinforcements and killed. Custer's troops killed 103 Indians, of which only a small proportion were warriors, and took 53 women and children prisoner. They set fire to the lodges and killed most of the pony herd because it was too large to take with them. At dusk Custer retreated with his forces.¹¹¹

Custer's chief scout, California Joe, brought the news back to Camp Supply that Custer was returning victorious. It was from California Joe that Keim, the only accredited correspondent with the campaign, got his story.¹¹² When Custer marched back into camp, his men waving the scalps of Black Kettle and others and his 53 prisoners in tow, he was given a hero's welcome.

The official report of the battle was carried over the wire and printed by most newspapers on December 2 or 3. It reported Black Kettle and 150 Cheyennes killed, 53 taken prisoner, and Elliott missing (Custer had not stopped to determine his fate). The New York Times ran an editorial on December 4, stating that although they were sure it was "a pretty murderous affair," a hard blow was necessary. "The fight on the Wachita [sic] is a proof of the theory that a Winter campaign, and that alone, can avail against the Indians. . . . one or two repetitions of Custer's victory will give up peace on the Plains."¹¹³ The Daily Alta (CA) sounded one of the few cautionary notes, writing on December 5 that Custer apparently was on reservation land and had attacked a friendly tribe, circumstances that could result in "a severe Indian war."¹¹⁴

Overall, the reviews were favorable however. Harper's notes that "Sheridan's harvest is one which could only be garnered in the winter season, and thus far he has proved himself an efficient reaper." They castigate the Department of the Interior for the "sad bungle of this Indian matter," and congratulate the War Department for demonstrating how to get things done. They even manage to put a favorable spin on the number of Indian children killed: "The desperation of the

fighting at the battle of the Washita may be judged from the fact that no male prisoners over eight years of age were taken."¹¹³

Keim's account for the *Herald* was written December 6, but it was not published until December 26 because the messenger carrying it was killed en route. As the battle begins, Keim has Black Kettle rushing from his bed to the door of his lodge -- "He looked around him, and witnessing the frenzied columns, fired his rifle and gave one wild whoop." That Black Kettle was war whooping is as probable as Keim's report that Black Kettle's son was killed--Black Kettle had no children. Elliott's men, caught by the Indian reinforcements, faced "death by the horrible torture which the hellish ingenuity of the savage alone can invent." Of the woman who stabbed the child, Keim graphically details the "smoking entrails" falling onto the snow.¹¹⁴

Army reports also were published. Winter campaigns were obviously the key to "ending the war and having permanent peace," Sheridan wrote. He assured the Senate that abundant evidence existed that Black Kettle's band was the "guiltiest of all" and that in regards to the Cheyennes "I can scarcely make an error in any punishment awarded, for they all have blood upon their hands." To the War Department he states that he has "wiped out old Black Kettle . . . a worn-out worthless old cypher."¹¹⁵

Peace commissioners Tappan and Taylor and now resigned Agent Wynkoop wrote letters to the press, angrily denouncing the battle and comparing it to the Sand Creek Massacre.¹¹⁶ The effect of the protest, however, was that Sherman sent out counteractive material: "This you know is a free country, and people have the lawful right to misrepresent as much as they please . . . but the great mass of our people cannot be humbugged into the belief that Black Kettle's camp was friendly . . ."¹¹⁷ An editorial in the *Army-Navy Journal* agreed: "We are told that Black Kettle's band was friendly, and accordingly that Custer is a second Chivington. This is not the fact. . . . Black Kettle suffered a just fate."¹¹⁸ Harper's later printed Sheridan's report to Sherman, which emphasized the expediency and necessity of winter campaigns on villages, while disclaiming any responsibility for the results: ". . . I have to select that season when I can catch the fiends, and if a village is

attacked, and women and children killed, the responsibility is not with the soldier, but with the people whose crimes necessitated the attack.¹¹¹

The Nation closed the year with a long editorial on "The Indian Difficulty," asserting that Indians may have their good points, but they are also "cruel and treacherous, filthy and dishonest." "Whatever it takes to civilize the Indian is necessary and good, although it is to be regretted that "perhaps even under this treatment the Indians could not be saved; but if they cannot bear civilization, it will at least kill them decently, and be a humane substitute for the revolver, the small-pox, and the whiskey-bottle."¹¹²

As for the object of this attention, some of the remaining Southern Cheyennes fled north and joined with the Northern Cheyennes. They would avenge their families 8 years later at the Little Big Horn. The majority surrendered to Sheridan at Fort Cobb on December 31, begging for peace on his terms because they were destitute.¹¹³ When the Comanches also surrendered several days later, their chief, Tosawi, approached Sheridan and said, "Tosawi, good Indian," to which Sheridan replied, "The only good Indians I ever saw were dead."¹¹⁴

The Nation gave a good report of the southern reservations the next year, reporting that agriculture was in place and the Indians were being introduced to civilization. As an earlier Cincinnati Gazette article had pointed out, when the Indians were placed on reservations and civilized they began to speak English so well that "it seems as though it were cruel to call them Indians."¹¹⁵ Keim closed his report of Sheridan's winter campaign with the following rosy picture.

All the tribes south of the Platte were forced upon their reservation. Thus, by the powerful and efficient aid of Sheridan's Troopers, the wild tribes were made accessible to the generous heart of humanity, and the tempering influences of industry, education, and christianity.¹¹⁶

Conclusion

Hindsight and the perspective of revisionist history make it temptingly easy to denigrate press coverage of this early period in the Indian War. But to do so would be both unproductive and unfair. What must be judged is how well the press covered affairs from within the framework provided them. Thus, when George Bent said, "What

the Indian did to the white man was shouted by every newspaper in the land, but what the white man has done to the Indian has never been told," he was correct.¹¹¹ But perhaps it should not be said how biased against the Indians the reporting was, but that given the circumstances it is amazing how insightful of the larger issues a few of the reports managed to be.

In some sense all news originated with the military: most wire stories were official military reports of battles; accredited correspondents had to fight with the troops; and most papers had to depend on wire reports or letters from army officers. The physical limitations of the communications systems and the mobile, guerilla nature of the war allowed only the military angle to shine through. It is not surprising, then, that the position on the "Indian problem" adopted by the military leaders is also the position taken by many of the papers. What is alarming is the little attention paid to major frontier events during the Civil War period and the lack of import afforded Custer's incursion into "Indian Territory." Even the irony seems to have been lost.

The three accredited correspondents were experienced Civil War correspondents. Stanley had an active curiosity and a sense for historical significance, but his adventuresome nature and overwhelming optimism often undermined his import. Davis possessed anthropological insight, but he never could set aside his cynicism long enough to put events into their larger, cultural context. Keim was a political animal, an elitist who illuminates the motivation of the military leadership but fails to provide a factual accounting of events.

Much of their coverage and that of the unaccredited correspondents can be characterized as the search for a scapegoat. Only two alternatives to the "Indian problem" were ever presented--extermination or assimilation--and when neither seemed to work, everyone looked for someone else to blame. The Bureau of Indian Affairs blamed the military, the War Department blamed the Indian agents, the West blamed the East, and the establishment press blamed the frontier press. Although no one could term the frontier press objective, it must be recognized that the frontier press was not one body politic but a collection of editors trying to speak to the

concerns of their readership. In the face of eastern naivete as embodied in such papers as *The New York Times*, their earthy expressions of frontier reality appear all the more glaring, but none the less real.

The overwhelming ethnocentrism exhibited by the majority of the reports published reflects the well-publicized contemporary scientific treatises that proved Indians were distinct beings from Anglo-Saxon stock and therefore perhaps incapable of "civilizing influences."¹³ Certainly it was impossible to tell them apart. Sherman wrote to Grant: "We . . . cannot discriminate--all look alike and to get the rascals, we are forced to include all."¹⁴ Many reports did not include any mention of tribal affiliation--Indians were Indians. When reports did include tribal distinctions, they still tended to ignore intra-tribal differences. For example, Keim, who had demonstrated knowledge of the various branches of the Cheyennes tribe, could still write: "In the war with the government, all the Cheyennes and Arapahoes took the warpath . . ."¹⁵ It was a rare editor, like that of the *New York Daily Tribune*, who was able to ascertain this stereotypic attitude, but even he sees it in the other guy, not in himself.

The war code which prevails among the whites is that for an offense committed by any one Indian, all other Indians are liable to be shot; and that if no offense at all has been committed, nevertheless, an Indian, like a black snake, deserves death on general principles. . . . These sentiments may be read in any border newspaper.¹⁶

For the Southern Cheyennes under Black Kettle's leadership, who had wanted only peaceful coexistence, this lack of distinction ultimately was responsible for their near extinction as a tribe. In Sheridan's words, working for peace was not enough, Black Kettle and his people were only good Indians when they were dead. This inability to recognize Indians as individuals was still evident in 1934, when workers building a bridge over the Washita River found a body that was identified as Black Kettle's based on the jewelry it still wore. The bones were given to the *Cheyenne Star* newspaper, which exhibited them in their storefront window for many years.¹⁷ Even today, on the Plains in Colorado, in the middle of a barren patch of sand, scrub, and low-growing cottonwoods by the side of a wet-weather creek, is a bronze historical marker that records the area as the place where, on November 29,

1864, the "Sand Creek Battle or Massacre" took place. The nation still has not made up its mind.

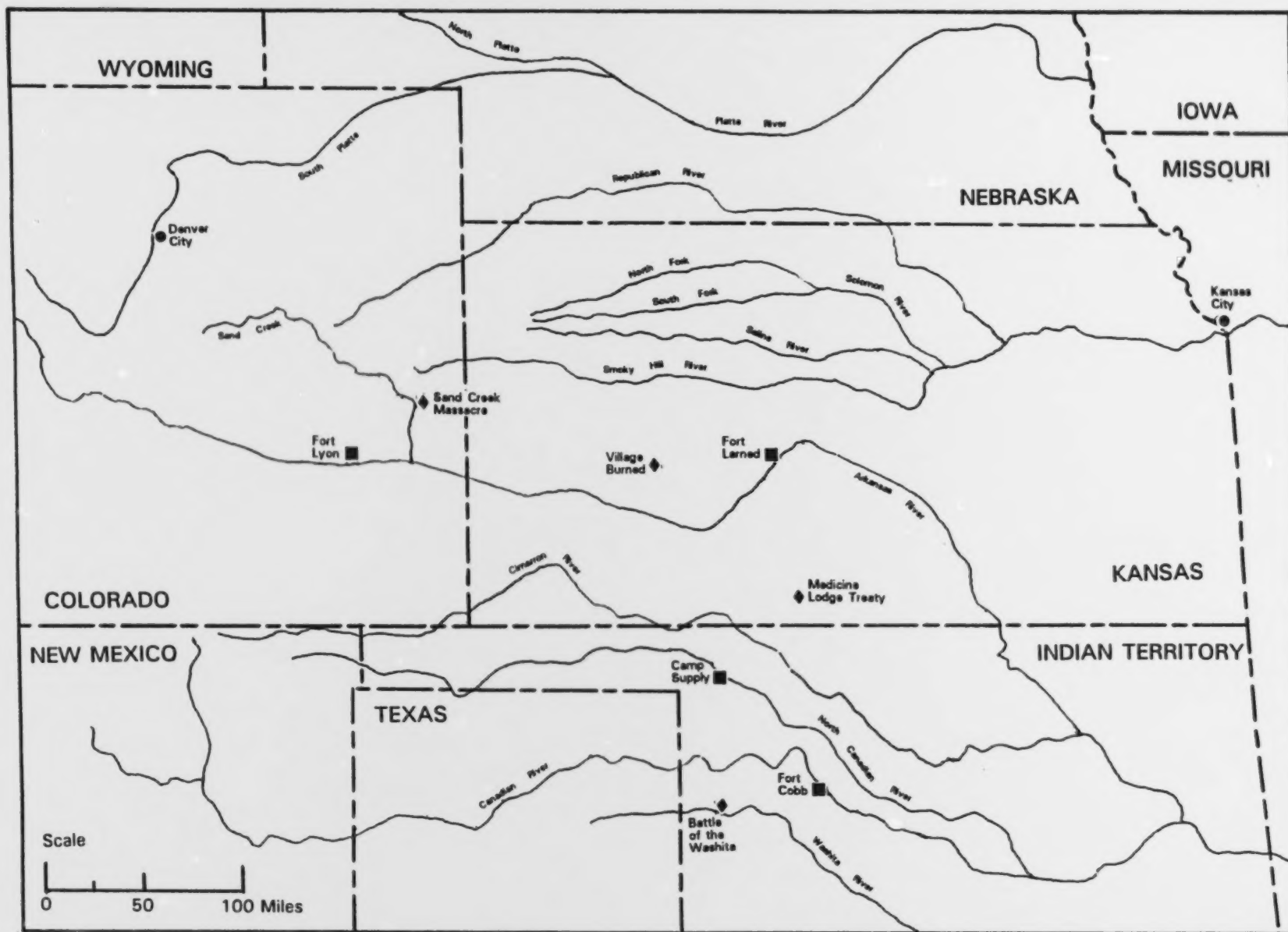


Figure 1. Map of the Central Plains (1864-1868)

Endnotes

1. Dee Brown, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*, (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1970), 12.
2. In George E. Hyde, ed., *The Life of George Bent Written From His Letters*, (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968) 108.
3. In David Svaldi, *Sand Creek and the Rhetoric of Extermination A Case Study in Indian-White Relations* (New York: University Press of America, 1989), 135. Svaldi has written extensively about the role played by the *Rocky Mountain News* in fomenting public opinion against the Indians, and I am indebted to him for much of the information in this section.
4. Captain Eugene F. Ware, *The Indian War of 1864* (Topeka, KS: Crane & Company, 1911; reprint, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980), 126.
5. Donald J. Berthrong, *The Southern Cheyennes* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), 169; George Bird Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915; reprint, Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), 133; LeRoy R. Hafen and Francis Marion Young, *Fort Laramie and the Pageant of the West, 1834-1890* (Glendale, DA: A. H. Clark, 1938; reprint, Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 314.
6. David Fridtjof Halaas, *Boom Town Newspapers: Journalism on the Rocky Mountain Mining Frontier, 1859-1881* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1981), 25.
7. Jay Gurian, "Sweetwater Journalism and Western Myth," *Annals of Wyoming* 36 (April 1964), 81; John Gregory Bourke, *On the Border With Crook* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1971), 92.
8. Thomas H. Heuterman, "Assessing the 'Press on Wheels': Individualism in Frontier Journalism," *Journalism Quarterly* 53 (Autumn 1976): 428.
9. Henry M. Stanley, *My Early Travels and Adventures in America* (London: S. Low, Marston, 1895; reprint, Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), 176.
10. *Rocky Mountain News*, 24 March 1863, in Svaldi, *Sand Creek and the Rhetoric of Extermination*, 150.
11. Chivington was a former Methodist minister who left the ministry because he said he preferred fighting to praying.
12. Lean Bear had also won acclaim from the settlers in the region for warning the whites of General Pike's plan to recruit the Seminole Indians for the rebellion. See LeRoy R. Hafen, ed., *Overland Routes to the Gold Fields, 1859, The Southwest Historical Series*, vol. 11 (Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark, 1942).
13. Hyde, ed., *The Life of George Bent*, 131-132; Brown, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*, 71; Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes*, 145-146.
14. April 23, 1864, in Janet Leconte, "Sand Creek," *Colorado Magazine* 41 (Winter 1964): 317.

15. Berthrong, *The Southern Cheyennes*, 185, 189. Chivington, in a public address to the citizens of Denver, said his policy was to "kill and scalp all, little and big; nits make lice."
16. Published in the *Denver Commonwealth*, 15 June 1864, which Byers was co-editing at the time. In Svaldi, *Sand Creek and the Rhetoric of Extermination*, 163.
17. *The Sand Creek Massacre: A Documentary History* (New York: Sol Lewis, 1973), 67-68. (This document will be referred to from hereon as SCM Doc.)
18. In Lecompte, "Sand Creek," 230.
19. SCM Doc., 53.
20. *Rocky Mountain News*, 10 August 1864, in Svaldi, *Sand Creek and the Rhetoric of Extermination*, 171.
21. In Svaldi, *Sand Creek and the Rhetoric of Extermination*, 172; the *Kansas City Journal* articles were reprinted in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* on 17 September 1864, 402.
22. *Ibid.*, 172-175.
23. Wynkoop fought under Chivington in the Civil War and had vowed to kill every Indian he saw until ordered otherwise.
24. *Black Hawk Daily Mining Journal*, 28 November 1864, in Svaldi, *Sand Creek and the Rhetoric of Extermination*, 182.
25. Stan Hoig, *The Sand Creek Massacre* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), 112.
26. Proceeding of Camp Weld Conference, in SCM Doc., 176-177.
27. Hyde, ed., *The Life of George Bent*, 142-143; Berthrong, *The Southern Cheyennes*, 210-211; Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes*, 160-161.
28. Hyde, ed., *The Life of George Bent*, 146.
29. Anthony said later "I never made any offer to the Indians. It was the understanding that I was not in favor of peace with them. They so understood me, I suppose; at least I intended that they should." See Anthony's testimony before the Joint Senate Committee on the Conduct of the War, in SCM Doc., 4, 25-29. See also Hyde, ed., *The Life of George Bent*, 146-147; Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes*, 165-166.
30. Chivington enforced secrecy by stopping all road traffic, conscripting travelers the troops passed on the road, and even stopping riverboat traffic. Hyde, ed., *The Life of George Bent*, 148; Irving Howbert, *The Indians of the Pike's Peak Region* (New York: Knickerbocker Press, 1914), 98-99.
31. Hyde, ed., *The Life of George Bent*, 149; Brown, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*, 87.
32. Hyde, ed., *The Life of George Bent*, 154.

33. Many full accounts of the Sand Creek Massacre have been written. See Hoig, *The Sand Creek Massacre*; Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes*; Hyde, ed., *The Life of George Bent*; and Brown, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*.
34. SCM Doc., 14. The guide was John Smith, whose half-breed son Jack had been in the village at the time of the attack and was executed the night before when Chivington refused to take prisoners.
35. Ibid., 14.
36. In Svaldi, *Sand Creek and the Rhetoric of Extermination*, 182.
37. See accounts by Hyde, ed., *The Life of George Bent*; Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes*; and Brown, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*.
38. SCM Doc., 63.
39. Hyde, ed., *The Life of George Bent*, 162; Hoig, *The Sand Creek Massacre*, 160-161; A. C. Hunt's testimony in SCM Doc., 49-52.
40. The investigation was prompted by a letter to Congress from Colorado Chief Justice Benjamin Hall. See Hoig, *The Sand Creek Massacre*, 163-164.
41. In SCM Doc., 63-64.
42. 4 February 1865, 307.
43. In Halaas, *Boom Town Newspapers*, 82.
44. Joint Committee Report, in SCM Doc., 5.
45. In Lecompte, "Sand Creek," 333.
46. 12 August 1865, 4.
47. Oliver Knight, *Following the Indian Wars: The Story of the Newspaper Correspondents Among the Indian Campaigners* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960), 4.
48. Elmo Scott Watson, "The Indian Wars and the Press, 1866-1867," *Journalism Quarterly* 17 (December 1940): 301-302.
49. Knight, *Following the Indian Wars*, 39.
50. John Gregory Bourke, *On the Border With Crook* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1971), 346.
51. Watson, "The Indian Wars and the Press," 303.
52. Finerty covered the Indian War for the *Chicago Times* beginning in 1876. In his introduction to Finerty's book, *Warpath and Bivouac*, Oliver Knight says of him, "Time was when a good reporter was recognized as having a nose for news and a stomach for whisky. John F. Finerty was a good reporter."

53. John F. Finerty, *Warpath and Bivouac or The Conquest of the Sioux* (originally printed 1890; reprint, 3d ed., Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), 80.
54. 25 April 1867, 11 May 1867; in Stanley, *My Early Travels and Adventures in America*, 49, 96.
55. Bourke, *On the Border With Crook*, 346.
56. Finerty, *Warpath and Bivouac*, 34.
57. *The New York Times*, 11 September 1866, 2.
58. Theodore R. Davis, "A Stage Ride to Colorado," *Harper's Monthly Magazine* 35 (July 1867): 150; 4 June 1859, in Hafen, ed., *Overland Routes to the Gold Fields*, 312; 20 April 1867, in Stanley, *My Early Travels and Adventures in America* 41.
59. 11 September 1866, 2.
60. There was some confusion at the time over the spelling of "Kearney." Most newspaper reports of the 1860s favored spelling it with the second "e," and that usage has been adopted here. In actuality, however, the man the fort was named for spelled his name "Kearny," and it is with this spelling that the place name appears today.
61. Theodore Davis, in a Harper's article published February 1868, noted that the Indians often attacked wood trains because the wood was obtained from their burial grounds. (The Plains Indians buried their dead in trees, not in the ground.) Davis defended the government's actions, however, noting that wood was so scarce it was either use the burial trees or travel 50 to 60 miles to find wood, "and even then the supply is limited."
62. Margaret Irvin Carrington, *Absaraka: Home of the Crows* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1868; reprint, Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), 202.
63. *The New York Times*, 27 December 1866, 4; 28 December 1866, 1.
64. *The New York Times*, 19 January 1867, 1.
65. On page 280.
66. In Carrington, *Absaraka: Home of the Crows*, 220.
67. *Ibid.*, 219.
68. *Ibid.*, 222. Hines' account appeared in *Harper's Weekly*, March 23, 1867, accompanied by a full-page illustration of masses of Indians attacking a very few soldiers. Hines' account claims that the Indians responsible were Sioux, Crow, and Blackfeet.
69. In Watson, "The Indian Wars and the Press," 308-309.
70. *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, 20 April 1867, 66.
71. *The New York Times*, 19 January 1867, 2.
72. *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, 1 February 1868, 306.

73. 13 April 1867, in Stanley, *My Early Travels and Adventures in America*, 35.
74. 23 March 1867, 4.
75. Theodore R. Davis, "The Buffalo Range," *Harper's Monthly Magazine* 38 (January 1869): 154.
76. *Ibid.*, 161.
77. This is the Stanley of "Dr. Livingstone, I presume" fame. James Gordon Bennett sent him on the African trip when he could not reach DeBenneville Randolph Keim. Stanley later received an honorary doctorate from Oxford--during which a student yelled out "Dr. Stanley, I presume?"--and served in Parliament.
78. Knight, *Following the Indian Wars*, 57-58.
79. Berthrong, *The Southern Cheyennes*, 268.
80. *Harper's Weekly*, 27 April 1867, 270.
81. The Cheyennes failed to recognize the boy at first because he was a child of one of the Arapaho families also camped at Sand Creek. See Hyde, ed., *The Life of George Bent*, 256.
82. Theodore R. Davis, "A Summer on the Plains," *Harper's Monthly Magazine* 36 (February 1868): 294.
83. George Armstrong Custer, *My Life on the Plains* (new edition; Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), 41; the book was known by Custer's detractors as *My Lie on the Plains*.
84. Custer writing as "Nomad," in Brian W. Dippie, ed., *Nomad: George Custer in Turf, Field and Farm* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1980): 20-26; Stanley, *My Early Travels and Adventures in America*, 39.
85. *Missouri Democrat*, 2 November 1887, in Kansas State Historical Society, ed., *A British Journalist Reports the Medicine Lodge Peace Councils of 1867*, *The Kansas State Historical Quarterly* 33 (Autumn 1967): 301.
86. 25 April 1867, 1.
87. Stanley, *My Early Travels and Adventures in America*, 47; *New York Daily Tribune*, 23 April 1867, 1. A history published in 1902 estimated the value of the destroyed property at \$100,000, however. See Edward Sylvester Ellis, *The Indian Wars of the United States, From the First Settlement at Jamestown, in 1607, to the Close of the Great Uprising of 1890-1891* (Chicago: J. D. Kenyon, 1902), 285.
88. Davis, "A Summer on the Plains," 295.
89. *Missouri Democrat*, 19 October 1867, in Kansas State Historical Society, ed., "A British Journalist Reports the Medicine Lodge Peace Councils of 1867," 255.
90. *New York Times*, 11 November 1867, 1.

91. Stanley, in the Missouri Democrat, 2 November 1867, in Kansas State Historical Society, ed., "A British Journalist Reports the Medicine Lodge Peace Councils of 1867," 315.
92. Harper's Monthly Magazine 36 (January 1968): 265.
93. 25 November 1867, in Stanley, My Early Travels and Adventures in America, 290; Missouri Democrat, 2 November 1867, in Kansas State Historical Society, ed., "A British Journalist Reports the Medicine Lodge Peace Councils of 1867," 320.
94. In Stan Hoig, The Battle of the Washita (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1976), 37.
95. In Robert M. Utley, ed., Life in Custer's Cavalry: Diaries and Letters of Albert and Jennie Barnitz, 1867-1868 (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press), 115.
96. Utley, ed., Life in Custer's Cavalry, 180.
97. Berthrong, The Southern Cheyennes, 305; Hoig, The Battle of the Washita, 45-50.
98. In Utley, ed., Life in Custer's Cavalry, 183.
99. 30 August 1868, 4.
100. 19 September 1868, 407.
101. 19 September 1868, 601, 606. Included in this issue is a full-page engraving of an Indian attack on a wagon train, showing the Indians attacking the front end of the train in one swarming, compact mass, while 20 plus more wagons wend their way along the plain and out of the picture. Had the Indians actually fought like this, the war would have been over much sooner.
102. Brown, Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee, 166; Grinnell, The Fighting Cheyennes, 282-288.
103. Knight, Following the Indian Wars, 101.
104. De B. Randolph Keim, Sheridan's Troopers on the Border (New York: G. Routledge, 1885; reprint, Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1985), 200.
105. On page 8.
106. Davis, "A Summer on the Plains," 294.
107. 26 November 1868, 430.
108. 6 November 1868, 2.
109. Col. George Ward Nichols, "The Indian: What We Should Do With Him," Harper's Monthly Magazine 40 (April 1870): 157.
110. In John M. Carroll, ed., General Custer and the Battle of the Washita (Bryan, TX: Guidon Press, 1978), 22.
111. Berthrong, The Southern Cheyennes, 323-324; Grinnell, The Fighting Cheyennes, 299; Hoig, The Battle of the Washita, 89-90.

112. 22 November 1868, in Carroll, ed., *General Custer and the Battle of the Washita*, 34.
113. Robert C. Carriker, *Fort Supply: Indian Territory* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma, 1970), 16.
114. Hoig, *The Battle of the Washita*, 82.
115. In Marguerite Merington, ed., *The Custer Story: The Life and Intimate Letters of General George A. Custer and His Wife Elizabeth* (New York: Devin Adair, 1950; reprint, Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 217.
116. Custer, *My Life on the Plains*, 212-215; Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes*, 302; Hoig, *The Battle of the Washita*, 124-125.
117. Duane Gage, "Black Kettle: A Noble Savage?," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* 45 (Autumn 1967): 244.
118. Hoig, *The Battle of the Washita*, 128.
119. In Utley, ed., *Life in Custer's Cavalry*, 225.
120. Kurtz notes that "If the Red warriors had not been so stunned and disorganized, 'Custer's Last Stand' might well have occurred eight years earlier." See Henry I. Kurtz, "Custer and the Indian Massacre," *History Today* 18 (1968).
121. Berthrong, *The Southern Cheyennes*, 326-327; Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes*, 302; Hoig, *The Battle of the Washita*, 137.
122. Keim, *Sheridan's Troopers on the Border*, 111.
123. On page 4.
124. 5 December 1868, 1.
125. *Harper's Weekly*, 19 December 1868, 801; 26 December 1868, 826; 16 January 1869, 41.
126. *New York Herald*, 26 December 1868, 1.
127. In Carroll, ed., *General Custer and the Battle of the Washita*, 66, 59-60; Brown, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*, 169.
128. *New York Tribune*, 17 December 1868, and *The New York Times*, 19 December 1868, among others.
129. In Carroll, ed., *General Custer and the Battle of the Washita*, 253.
130. 2 January 1869, in Carroll, ed., *General Custer and the Battle of the Washita*, xii-xiii.
131. *Harper's Monthly Magazine* 40 (May 1870): 937.
132. 31 December 1868, 544-546.

- 133. Berthrong, *The Southern Cheyennes*, 332; Brown, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*, 170.
- 134. Brown, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*, 170.
- 135. Reprinted in *The New York Times*, 27 August 1867, 2.
- 136. Keim, *Sheridan's Troopers on the Border*, 308.
- 137. In Hyde, ed., *The Life of George Bent*, 252.
- 138. See Reginald Horsman, "Scientific Racism and the American Indian in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," *American Quarterly* 27 (1975).
- 139. In Kurtz, "Custer and the Indian Massacre," 771.
- 140. Keim, *Sheridan's Troopers on the Border*, 189.
- 141. 21 November 1867, 4.
- 142. Theodore A. Ediger and Vinnie Hoffman, "Some Reminiscences of the Battle of the Washita," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 33 (1955): 140 note.

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**THE VALLEY TAN: AN EARLY FREE PRESS
CHALLENGE IN THE TOPS OF THE MOUNTAINS**

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**Prepared for
American Journalism Historians Conference
Philadelphia, PA
October 3-5, 1991**

THE VALLEY TAN: AN EARLY FREE PRESS CHALLENGE IN THE TOPS OF THE MOUNTAINS

In the year in which Americans commemorate the bicentennial of the Bill of Rights, it is appropriate to examine an early frontier newspaper that tested the rights of the press to publish in a hostile environment two-thirds of a century after the famous Constitutional amendments were adopted.

In the year 1858 an intriguing clash of journalistic wills took place in the mountain stronghold of Utah, where the Mormons had sought refuge and established their society relatively unmolested. When a new newspaper was established with opposing views, however, issues of First Amendment freedoms arose that are worth investigation. By the end of that year, editor Kirk Anderson in Utah was shot at, and a resolution was passed by the Utah Territorial Legislature condemning his newspaper -- the *Valley Tan*. These two incidents endured by its editors during the 17 months of existence of the *Valley Tan* exemplify the depths of rancor that existed in the newspaper's struggle to survive in an unfriendly political and geographical climate.

During its year and a half of publishing, five editors guided the newspaper, criticizing the established way of life in the territory and showing a determination to maintain a second voice and free press in the Utah Territory. In light of this year's celebration of the bicentennial of the Bill of Rights, the purpose of this paper is to examine the struggles of this

frontier newspaper to survive in the context of the problems of presenting an unpopular voice in a dominant society. The insights here were gained from a study of 70 copies of the *Tan* -- all but four of the those published during its seventeen months existence--as well as journals and letters and some secondary sources. This study will review specific incidents, events, and the reaction of the different publics to the printed information they were receiving. For the Mormons, engaged in colonizing much of the West, the *Deseret News* represented for some people in far-flung settlements the only printed news they received. For the soldiers stationed in Utah, the *Valley Tan* was their major source of information and contact with the rest of the world. The railroad had not yet arrived, and the Pony Express was in its formative stages.

To understand the tensions that existed, it is important to know the events that led to the establishment of the *Valley Tan*. In 1857--ten years after Brigham Young had led the historic Mormon exodus from Illinois to the mountains of Utah to establish what he sometimes termed "Zion" --the *Deseret News* was the only newspaper published for 500 miles in any direction. The market existed for an opposition newspaper among the Mormons because of federal action taken in 1857 against an assumed rebellion by the Mormons. Responding to charges of treason made by two federal judges sent to Utah, a force of 2,500 federal troops under the command of General Albert Sidney Johnston left Fort Leavenworth in present-day Kansas in the spring to put down the supposed rebellion.

As the United states forces approached, the Mormons feared that the army was but an extension of the mobs that had earlier driven them from their homes in Missouri and Illinois. There seems little doubt that the army officers were eager to close in battle with the Saints,

as the Mormons called themselves. According to the biographer of General William S. Harney, one of the commanders, he:

... had fully determined on arriving at Salt Lake City, to capture Brigham Young and the twelve apostles, and execute them in summary fashion, and winter in the Temple of the Latter-day Saints.¹

Fortunately the war that resulted was more a clash of wills than of cannon. Mormon scouts harassed the advancing troops, burning their supply trains and running off their horses, slowing the march so much that the army was forced to winter on the Wyoming plains. In the spring as the army approached, church leaders determined to move the Saints lock-stock-and barrel 150 miles south of the Salt Lake Valley. Brigham Young, who had served as appointed territorial governor since 1849, informed the advancing troops that the Mormons would not allow their city to be desecrated, that they would rather leave Salt Lake City in ashes. Meeting in council with the advancing forces, Brigham Young welcomed the man sent to replace him as governor, Alfred Cumming, and a settlement was reached regarding the invading forces. They would pass through Salt Lake City without stopping and bivouac no closer than forty miles to the capital. The war was over. Led by General Jonnson^I--later known for gallantry as a confederate general--the troops settled in an isolated valley forty miles southward, establishing Camp Floyd there.

With that arrangement an uneasy peace settled over the Territory. While some resentment of the army was expressed in the *Deseret News*, the Saints gained a certain prosperity from their presence in furnishing them supplies and foodstuffs. As for the soldiers who expected to conquer the Mormons, the settlement was a bitter disappointment. One of the unhappy officers, Captain Jesse Gove, summed up the experience with this appraisal:

"Wounded, none; Killed, none; Fooled, everybody."²

Captain Tracy, an officer in General Johnston's command, described Camp Floyd like this:

Thus, we are to abide in style, defying alike, within our walls and beneath our shingling of mud, the blasts and rains of winter, or the scorching rays of summer's sun. In addition to the heat, there comes upon us an affliction in the form of a dust storm. Without visible cause this dust will go whirling in the air, in pillars a mile high; and these, traversing with their formation, up and down the valley, black as night, and like great giants shut from vision every object beneath them.³

Camp Floyd was not chosen for its living conditions, but for its ideal strategic position.⁴ The valley was located approximately equal distance from the territory's two largest towns, Salt Lake City and Provo.

With the army there, it was inevitable that a newspaper would emerge in opposition to the Mormon theocracy. Kirk Anderson, an attorney-newspaperman from St. Louis, Missouri saw promise in the area and came to Utah. Anderson had gained his newspaper experience with the *Missouri Republican*.⁵ Utah had one newspaper, the *Deseret News*, an organ of the Mormon Church, which contained not only news for church members but also sermons and doctrinal discourses.⁶ Anderson settled in Salt Lake City, but in November of 1858--four months after the army established the fort--he issued the first number of *Kirk Anderson's Valley Tan*--the first of a long series of anti-Mormon newspapers in Utah. The editor's name was soon dropped from the title, and the *Valley Tan* received financial backing from John Hartnett, the Territorial Secretary. The name was common slang for anything manufactured in the Salt Lake Valley, from leather to home-brew whiskey. To get out the first issue, Anderson borrowed type and printers from the *Deseret News*.

The size of audience that Anderson was soliciting for his little four-page weekly newspaper is hard to estimate. There were some "Gentiles"⁷ (as Mormons called those not of their faith) living in the Utah territory, but there are not accurate accounts of how many. It is unlikely that Anderson was interested in seeking subscriptions from the Mormons. From the beginning, church official^s were asked to "act as agents" for the church-owned *Deseret News*.⁸ Their efforts were fairly successful, because the newspaper reached 4,000 subscribers in 1856.⁹ Another possible audience was the Indian population, one officer wrote:

The Indians that I have met since entering the territory, are fine looking fellows, stout and athletic, excellent riders, well armed and well mounted. Many of them speak pretty good english, and they are shrewd in their dealings with the soldiers.¹⁰

For all of the abilities the Indians had, reading was not one of them.¹¹ The largest audience left to solicit subscribers was the soldiers. Several accounts have the size of the force at different numbers ranging from 2400¹² to 5600.¹³ On his visit to Camp Floyd in 1859, Horace Greeley, editor of the *New York Tribune*, recorded:

The army in Utah has numbered three thousand five hundred men. I presume this is still the largest regular force ever concentrated upon the soil of the country in time of peace.¹⁴

To put the size of this force in perspective, an article in the *Valley Tan* showed the total United States military at 12,000 troops.¹⁵ The soldiers would provide the *Valley Tan* a good subscriber base because the soldiers were unlikely to subscribe to the *Deseret News*.¹⁶ The soldiers brought with them money from outside the territory. The subscription cost of the *Valley Tan* was eight dollars, two dollars higher than the *Deseret News*.¹⁷ Although the *Tan* offices were located in Salt Lake City a couple of blocks from the *Deseret News*, Kirk Anderson covered news that would interest the soldiers at Camp Floyd. He devoted the issues

of the *Valley Tan* to events at Camp Floyd and the nearby town of Fairfield, military information from the States, short news stories from a variety of locations, criticism of the Mormons, and advertising that appealed to the soldiers.¹⁸ However, the *Valley Tan* was not the only newspaper to cover Camp Floyd. Among Johnston's troops were correspondents for the *New York Herald*, *New York Tribune*, and the *Philadelphia Daily Bulletin*.¹⁹

The birth of the *Valley Tan* was ignored by the *Deseret News*.²⁰ In fact, during the *Tan's* tenure the *Deseret News* editors chose not to engage in verbal dueling with the interloping newspaper, and in general ignored whatever charges the *Tan* editors made. This was contrary to the typical frontier custom of rival editors regularly exchanging barbs and epithets, but the *News* followed that policy at least for the next quarter century. There were many reasons for the Mormons to dislike Kirk Anderson and the *Valley Tan*. Kirk Anderson came from Missouri, an area where the Mormons had suffered great injustices. The Mormons had seen their men tarred and feathered,²¹ a village massacred,²² their prophet jailed,²³ and-- after they were driven out by mobs²⁴-- the governor of Missouri issued an order for his militia to exterminate any remaining members of the faith.²⁵

Kirk Anderson wasted little time in showing his distaste for his new neighbors. The first issue of the *Valley Tan* devoted the whole front page of the paper to an article criticizing the "Polygamy in Utah".²⁶ Each subsequent issue devoted the second page to criticizing the Mormons. After two weeks of publishing the *Valley Tan*, Anderson became acquainted with the pressures being exerted upon him. Anderson filed a complaint along with John Hartnett, Secretary of the Utah territory and a financial backer of *Valley Tan*, with the mayor of Salt Lake City.

We desire to enter complaint against certain policemen of this city, who, on the night of November 22, 1858, acted as we think, in a manner against law and right, and contrary to our rights and privileges as citizens. On the night alluded to, we were walking along peaceably towards our place of abode, we discovered a body of men, at least eight in number, armed with guns, and who as we approached within a few feet of them, cocked their guns and placed them directly in front of us in a hostile manner, that simultaneously with our approach, one of the number, fired a pistol.²⁷

At that time all policeman were members of the Mormon Church. Anderson left unscathed and followed the next week with an attack on the Mormons by running articles on their disloyalty and treasonous attitude.²⁸

As Anderson regularly filled his columns with such articles as "Complicity of Mormon officials " and "An Incredible Catalogue of Crime," Mormon Apostle John Taylor described the *Valley Tan* as a weak and disreputable paper, an avowed enemy of the majority of the citizens of Utah that would grow sick and die.²⁹ In December of 1858, President Buchanan devoted much of his speech to the earlier "Utah War" and the current condition in Utah. The reprinted message was rushed to Utah in nine days. The new postmaster refused to release the message. Two days later the *Valley Tan* ran the President's message.³⁰ Copies of the paper were placed on desks of the Utah Legislative Assembly. By common consent the papers were removed and returned to the *Valley Tan* office. This may have appeared as a gesture of contempt for past slanders by the newspaper against the territorial legislature. The Legislative Assembly was comprised of those of the Mormon faith with the exception of one member from Evanston, now Wyoming.³¹ This made the legislature a common target for *Tan* attacks. Regardless of the Legislature's response, the *Tan* had scored a scoop. But, the Utah Legislature did not stop with returning the papers. H. B. Clawson, son-in-law of Brigham Young, introduced a resolution asserting:

That it (distribution of the *Valley Tan*) is calculated to create dissensions in the community (and) the *Valley Tan* is a libelous, scandalous, and scurrilous sheet.³²

The resolution passed in the Legislative Assembly. Although the Constitutional issue of the First Amendment was not directly raised, in responding to the resolution Anderson protested then and later when he left the paper that at stake was the right of a free press to publish in the face of official opposition.

On Tuesday last, the Utah, or more properly speaking, the Mormon Legislature was in session in this city; and the history of its day's proceedings exhibits a degree of barefaced effrontery and assumption that has no parallel in the records of any similar body in any state or territory. . . . When a Legislature who are presumed to be wise--however violent that presumption may be in this instance, takes upon itself to legislate upon the merits or demerits of a newspaper, it simply renders itself ridiculous and its action contemptible. . . . As to creating dissensions, if the establishment of a free press that dares to speak is to be "put under," then let them try their hands upon the *Valley Tan*.³³

Saner heads among the Mormons prevailed, however, and the resolution was repealed the following day of the legislative assembly. Although no reason is stated for the repeal, an examination of Mormon history in Illinois provides insight. On July 10, 1844 in Nauvoo, Illinois, Joseph Smith, Mayor of Nauvoo and Prophet of the Mormon Church, ordered the destruction of the *Nauvoo Expositor*.³⁴ The *Expositor* engaged in vicious attacks on the character of Nauvoo council members. The destruction of the press eventually led to the arrest of Joseph Smith, and his death at the hands of a mob while awaiting trial in Carthage, Illinois.³⁵ Seven years prior to the Mormon settlement of Nauvoo, Elijah Lovejoy, a minister-newspaperman was killed by mobs in Alton, Illinois, 120 miles south of Nauvoo. The past experiences of the Mormons probably contributed to the Utah Legislature's repeal of the resolution.

Fear had struck the territory that there were "forces" at work attempting to arrest Brigham Young, and the Legislature did not need to provide reasons for the possibility. This rumor appeared a few times, and alarmed men gathered to prevent this occurrence. Lewis Barney, a citizen of Lehi, the closest community to Camp Floyd recorded:

Went to prevent the arrest of Brigham Young and to muster force to capture Camp Floyd. Waited in canyon with others awaiting arrival of an express, but the Governor intervened.³⁶

Far from being intimidated by the ill-advised attempt of the legislature to criticize the *Valley Tan*, the newspaper carried on business as usual. In the week following the infamous resolution, an anonymous letter appeared on the third page accusing the Mormon Danites or "Destroying Angels" in the death of someone simply known as "Dummy." This prompted Judge Cradlebaugh to institute a grand jury investigation into the matter.³⁷ The Danites were supposedly a secret group of Mormon men organized in response to the Mormons' experience in Missouri, as explained by an early church leader:

In consequence of the threatening which were made by mobs, or those who were being formed into mobs, and the abuses committed by them on the persons and property of citizens, an association was formed, called the Danite Band. In this way they sought to defend each other's lives and property; but they were strictly enjoined not to touch any person, only those who were engaged in acts of violence against the persons or property of one of their own number.³⁸

The grand jury investigation found that a Salt Lake City policeman shot "Dummy" in self-defense.³⁹ With this conclusion, Anderson pushed further with an editorial: "Cruel Murder of deaf and dumb boy; The Danites at Work: Complicity of the Mormon Officials, An Incredible catalog of crime."⁴⁰ Anderson was reaching for ways to link the Mormon Church officials to the crime. When asked about the Danites, Brigham Young responded;

If men come here and do not behave themselves, they will not only find the Danites, whom they talk about so much about biting the horses heels, but the scoundrels will find something biting their heels.⁴¹

Anderson may have had his own fears with the Danites. Early Utah historian J. Cecil

Alter suggests:

It is easy to believe that a Vigilance Committee, alias Danites may have waited on Kirk, and did not wait long. It would have been so in any community in the west in those days. He asked for a freedom of the press sanctuary he could not have asked for in conversation, for personal safety.⁴²

The feeling of Kirk Anderson's plight reached the east coast in an article appearing in the February 24, 1959 edition of the *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*. The Utah correspondent wrote on January 25, 1859:

Even the Secretary of State, Mr. Hartnett, who has heretofore been considered rather lenient to these people, has been threatened, on the streets, with violence, as has also Kirk Anderson, of the *Valley Tan*. Their lives, however, are not in immediate danger yet.⁴³

Alter further suggests that if the Danites had been as efficient and vigilant as editor Anderson claimed them to be, he would not have lasted through the first two issues.

The editor of the *Tan* certainly had contempt for the Mormons, but it stopped there when it came to discussing the military. The *Tan* devoted one page to criticizing the Mormons, and one page to praising the army. Editor Kirk Anderson held the General of the troops, Albert Sidney Johnston, in high esteem. This was evident by the frequent tribute or praise given to Johnston by the paper.⁴⁴ Anderson's praise for Johnston can easily be attributed to their like philosophies concerning the Mormons. Johnston wrote referring to the Mormons:

They have with premeditation placed themselves in rebellion against the Union and entertain an insane design of establishing a new form of government

thoroughly despotic and utterly repugnant to our institutions.⁴⁵

The *Valley Tan* did vacillate on the views of Territorial Governor Cumming, a Non-Mormon appointed official. This depended on the current stance of the Governor on the politics of Utah.⁴⁶ Essentially, whether he sided with the military or the Mormons on an issue, Governor Cumming was in a difficult political situation. The population of the territory was predominantly Mormon, as was the Territorial Legislature. As a people, they would listen to their prophet Brigham Young before responding to the Governor. The Indians listened only to their tribal leaders. This left the soldiers, who were under federal authority and the command of General Johnston. Cumming was a Governor with no people to govern. In March of 1859 editor Anderson editorialized:

It is boldly charged in Washington by gentlemen who profess to know what they are talking about that Governor Cumming has become a Mormon. A more baseless slander was never perpetrated upon a worthy conscientious public officer. His whole career has been that of an honorable man and a gentleman, incapable of the disgrace attributed to him.⁴⁷

One month later Cumming challenged a proposal by Johnston to move troops to Provo, the territory's second largest city. Anderson questioned Cumming's judgment and wrote, "We think that he has overstepped the executive barrier and unjustifiably interfered."

In May of 1858, after five months of publishing, Kirk Anderson resigned editorship of the *Valley Tan*. In a parting valedictory address published in the paper, Anderson praised his role on the frontier in the face of difficult circumstances:

In the exposition of these enormities we have lent the aid of our little journal, and we have the satisfaction of knowing that we have placed a wedge in the rotten cut which some more vigorous arm hereafter may open.⁴⁸

In a parting moment, Anderson reflected on the judgment passed on the *Tan* by the

Territorial Legislature months earlier:

Our offense, however, consisted in the establishment of a free press, and here is the rub; and we can insure that a free press must and will exist here; and so far as we are concerned, the shaft has fallen harmless at our feet, but like the boomerang of India it may recoil with force upon those who hurled it.⁴⁹

There is little said pertaining to Kirk Anderson's departure. One brief mention states he will return to Missouri where his talents may be put to better use. The departure of Anderson came while the *Tan* was increasing in advertising.

On July 25, 1859, a mass convention of "Gentiles" was held in Fairfield, a community adjacent to Camp Floyd. This gathering passed resolutions condemning different acts and lifestyles of the Mormons. The sixth resolution makes mention of Anderson's departure, but gives little insight into his reasons for leaving:

That we deplore the necessity that existed for the severance of Kirk Anderson from the *Valley Tan* newspaper. That we appreciate his efforts on our behalf, and that our regards will ever follow him.⁵⁰

The opening statement of the new editor, John Hartnett, also Secretary of the Territory, stated he did not want the position he found himself in as editor:

This is a position not desirable to the present proprietor, for many reasons, nor is it his intention to continue any longer than he can help.⁵¹

The reluctance of Hartnett and the resolution passed by the "Gentile" convention provides a reason to suggest that there were forces exerted upon Anderson to leave or discontinue publishing. Although Anderson does not acknowledge threats upon his life in the *Valley Tan*, several journal accounts suggest his life was in danger.⁵² As part-owner and editor of the paper it would have been his decision to leave, especially since the other part-owner, John Hartnett, did not desire to have the responsibility of the newspaper.

John Hartnett continued as editor one month and was replaced by Thomas Adams.

Adams' opening salutatory stated his belief about the press:

That a journal ought to be published here independent of the influences, of necessity, existing in a community we recognize one man as exponent of their views (referring to Brigham Young), and whose word is law according to their acts (Mormons), and who have a paper issued here according to their interests (*Deseret News*). In order that both sides of the questions arising (it being a general rule that there are two sides to all questions) should be placed before the public, who take a deep interest in the affairs of the territory, and who ought not be misled by misrepresentations or garbled statements of occurrences by prejudiced correspondents.³³

Unlike Anderson, Adams and Hartnett did not editorialize extensively on the Mormons' practices and issues. Indeed, the successors of Anderson cut back sharply on commenting negatively on issues affecting the Mormons.³⁴ Contrary to Adams' salutatory statement, most of the news appearing in the *Valley Tan* with reference to the Mormons came from the *New York Herald* and *New York Tribune*, which stories originated from correspondents at Camp Floyd.³⁵ There were letters to the editor reprinted criticizing the Mormons. A question is raised as to Adams' ability as a newspaperman from reprinting local news that appeared in New York papers. In addition Horace Greeley commented on this editor's skills on his visit to Utah in July of 1859:

An inaccurate report of some casual remarks made by me at the social gathering, hereinbefore alluded to, having appeared in the *Valley Tan*, and been widely copied, I am impelled here to print these remarks more correctly.³⁶

Adams did cover the mass convention at Fairfield on August 3rd, a convention that was an encompassing condemnation of the Mormons.³⁷ Adams reprinted the events surrounding the convention, but did not interject any opinion. Surprisingly, one week after the convention Adams supported a Mormon Church candidate for political office. A reprinted

speech of Heber C. Kimball, a counselor of Brigham Young, appeared in the *Valley Tan* shortly afterwards.⁵⁸ Without prior announcement in the *Tan*, on September 12, Thomas Adams states, "During my absence, the editorial department of the *Valley Tan* will be under the control of H.N. Maguire". Adams' absence was apparently prolonged, because his name appears no more on the newspaper masthead.

On October 12, 1859, Maguire ran a salutatory: Why we accepted our position: "We know that a free and untrammelled journal will always stand as a sentinel on a watch tower of liberty in Utah-that the dark and bloody influences beyond the vale can never crush it out; that whether our present labors be suspended by the hand of violence or volition, an abler expositor of the insiders and disguised heresies of Mormonism will take the place of the vacated, and send the ball rolling with accelerated power."⁵⁹

This was Maguire's last editorial. The following week, new editor Stephen DeWolfe stated that "circumstances, not choice," evolved into DeWolfe's new assignment as editor of the *Tan*.⁶⁰

In his new position as editor, DeWolfe made no formal salutary, but unlike the three previous predecessors, he renewed the criticism started by Anderson against the Mormons. In a series of articles in December of 1859, DeWolfe questioned whether the Mormons had really been persecuted in the States, criticized their social practices, and lamented the current condition of Utah. Obviously he had returned to the strong vituperation of Kirk Anderson.⁶¹

An editorial appearing in the *Tan* on February 1, 1860, stated that DeWolfe:

Had heard many threats made against me by different persons. The threats made against me for making a statement which I, in common with almost every man in the valley not connected with the Mormon Church, believes is true...of all that I said about the insecurity of life here, to such as fell under the ban of the Church authorities.⁶²

Given the frontier propensity for exaggeration, it is difficult to tell how real or

imagined the threats were. In any event, the threats did not destroy the *Valley Tan*, but lack of paper did. The *Deseret News* lent DeWolfe enough to paper to print the February 29, 1860 issue of the *Tan*.⁶³ This would be the last issue of the *Tan*. The paper existed 17 months under five editors. Despite a murder attempt on Anderson, a legislative resolution, and threats upon the lives of the editors, the paper remained a free press.

The *Deseret News* did not suffer the same fate as the *Tan*. During the time of the paper shortage Mormon Church authorities requested rags from the church membership to make paper so as to continue to publish the *Deseret News*.⁶⁴

Even if it had not lacked paper, the demise of the *Tan* may have been inevitable in the next few months. The day after the last issue of the *Tan*, General Albert Sidney Johnston departed Camp Floyd, relieved of his command.⁶⁵ As clouds gathered for a conflict between the North and the South, the number of troops were greatly reduced from February to May in 1860. In February, the total number of men stationed at Camp Floyd was 2440. By May the number was reduced to 435 men stationed at the camp, obviously decreasing the primary subscribers for the *Tan*.⁶⁶ Even if newsprint had arrived to the *Tan* office, the little journal had lost its audience. The reduction in subscribers would have necessitated a change in the *Tan*, either in the type of customer sought, or editorially. The reputation of the *Tan* as a hard-hitting anti-Mormon paper would have been difficult to reverse to achieve a more mass appeal. In the meantime, the niche of trying to serve Mormons and friends of the church had led to the emergence of another newspaper, the *Mountaineer*. The first issue premiered on August 27, 1859, but it died, months after the *Tan*, for lack of newsprint.

In retrospect, the *Valley Tan* did maintain the salutatory promise held by most of its

editors, to print a free and independent press. S.A. Kenner, a 19th century Utah historian, recounted:

The *Valley Tan*, a rabid anti-Mormon weekly. Its first issue was on November 5, 1858, and being unable to exude its virus as fast as the same was generated, it passed of congestion of the spleen in less than two years, unhonored, unwept and unsung.⁶⁷

Unsung was certainly the response given by the *Deseret News*. The *News* ignored not only the birth, but also the death of the *Valley Tan*.⁶⁸ Four years afterward, the birth of a new anti-Mormon paper, *Union Vedette*, also started to serve the new military establishment at Fort Douglas, this time in 1864, ran an editorial entitled "Sacred to the memory of the *Valley Tan*".⁶⁹

An examination of the *Vedette* shows many similarities to the *Valley Tan*. One account relates "its screech was like the echo of the *Valley Tan*."⁷⁰ In 1870 Gentile mining interests established the *Salt Lake Tribune* that became the chief opposition voice in Utah Territory. It prospered and today serves Salt Lake City residents in the dominant position in a Joint Operating Agreement with the *Deseret News*, which is still owned by the church.

But it was the *Valley Tan*, the little opposition newspaper voice aimed at the Army that had settled in Utah as a result of the Utah expedition, that showed that the First Amendment was in effect in the minds of the citizens even on the early frontier of Utah. Obviously the ill-advised condemnation of the Utah legislature trod on constitutional rights of the newspaper. On the distant frontier in those times, however, such Constitutional matters rarely made it to the courts. Instead, the custom was to settle matters of disagreement in more direct ways. The *Valley Tan*, true to that frontier tradition, carried on in the face of official disapproval by a feisty criticism of the powers that ruled the state, and survived until the

growing clouds of national war took away its audience.

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Endnotes

1. L.U. Reavis, **The Life and Military Service of Gen. William Selby Harney**, St. Louis, Bryan, Brand and Co., 1878, pp. 278-279.
2. Norman F. Furniss, **The Mormon Conflict: 1850-1859**, Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn., 1960, p. 227. For Gove's full account, see Otis G. Hammond, **The Utah Expedition 1857-1858. Letters of Capt. Jesse A. Gove**. New Hampshire Historical Society Collections, 12, Concord, New Hampshire Historical Society, 1928.
3. Journal of Captain Albert Tracy, Brigham Young University Archives, Provo, Utah, pp. 35-36.
4. Furniss, p. 205.
5. Wendell J. Ashton, **Voice in the West**, 1950, Duell, Sloan & Pearce, New York, New York, p. 97.
6. J. Cecil Alter, **Early Utah Journalism**, 1938, Utah Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah, p. 380.
7. A name given to those people by members of the Mormon Church, who were not members of the Mormon Church.
8. Monte McLaws, "The Mormon *Deseret News*: Unique Frontier Newspaper," *Journal of the West*, April, 1980, p. 32.
9. McLaws, p. 32.
10. *Philadelphia Daily Evening Bulletin*, November 11, 1858, p.1.
11. Langely, p. 94.
12. Furniss, p. 205
13. Records of Secretary of War, Floyd records 5606.
14. Horace Greeley, **An Overland Journey**, Ann Arbor University Microfilm Series, 1966, Ann Arbor, Michigan, p. 246.
15. *Valley Tan*.
16. The *Deseret News* frequently reprinted sermons from church general authorities.

17. The Issues of the newspapers appearing the second week of November listed the *Valley Tan* subscription rate at eight dollars per year, and the *Deseret News* subscription rate at six dollars per year.
18. The issues of the *Valley Tan* were primarily centered around the activities of the soldiers, and the events of Camp Floyd and Fairfield.
19. There were periodic reports in other newspapers in the states originating from Camp Floyd. Jesse a. Gove acknowledges in his letters as being a correspondent for the *New York Herald*, and a person simply identified as "Utah" wrote for the *Philadelphia Bulletin*.
20. There is no acknowledgement of the existence of the *Valley Tan* in the 1857 issues of the *Deseret News*.
21. Parley P. Pratt, Pamphlet, Brigham Young University Archives, Provo, Utah. Pratt wrote of the atrocities and persecution suffered by the Saints. The pamphlet was written over an eight month time period during his internment in a Mexico, New York jail.
22. See Diary of Abner Blackburn, 1827-1851, Brigham Young University Archives, Provo, Utah.
23. Joseph Smith Letters, Letter to Emma Smith while jailed in Liberty, Clay County, Missouri, Brigham Young University Archives, Provo, Utah.
24. Reed Peck Manuscript, September 18, 1839, Brigham Young University Archives, Provo, Utah, p. 1.
25. General Order, Office of Governor, State of Missouri, Sent to headquarters of militia, Adjutant General's Office, City of Jefferson, Missouri, June 25, 1839.
26. Commencing with the second issue of the *Valley Tan*, the second page ran stories against the Mormon hierarchy and the way of life for its members. These articles ranged from editorials to poetry. For at least the first year there were no favorable articles on the Mormons. After changing editors a few times, some articles favoring Mormon candidates did appear, but the overall criticism of the Mormon church remained steady.
27. *Valley Tan*, November 26, 1858, p. 2.
28. *Valley Tan*, December 2, 1857, p. 1.
29. John Taylor, Letter to George Q. Cannon, January 12, 1859, John Taylor Collection, LDS Church Historical Department, Salt Lake City, Utah.
30. *Valley Tan*, December 16, 1857, p. 2.

31. Journals of the Legislature of the Utah Territorial, 7th session, 1857-1858. Brigham Young University Archives.
32. *Valley Tan*, January 4, 1859. See also Journals of the Territory of Utah during the 7th annual session, 1857-1858.
33. *Valley Tan*, January 4, 1859, p. 1.
34. Scott H. Faulring, *The Diaries and Journals of Joseph Smith*, Signature Book, Salt Lake City, 1989. p. 489. The journal excerpt reads "Council passed an ordinance concerning libels and other purposes, also issued an order to me to destroy the *Nauvoo Expositor* establishment as a nuisance. I immediately ordered the marshal to destroy it without delay. At the same issued an order to Jonathon Dunham, acting Major General, Nauvoo Legion to assist the Marshall with the Legion if called upon so to do. And about 8:00 the Marshall reported that he had removed the press, type, and printed paper and fixtures into the street and fired them."
35. *History of the Church*, Volume 7, p. 23.
36. Barney Lewis. Journal, Brigham Young University Archives, Provo, Utah. Barney Lewis was a citizen of Lehi, a community 20 miles from Camp Floyd. Many of the citizens of Lehi sold food and provisions to the army, p. 84.
37. *Valley Tan*, January 11, 1859, p. 3.
38. *History of the Church*, Volume 3, p. 453.
39. Furniss, p. 213.
40. *Valley Tan*, January 18, 1858, p. 1.
41. *Deseret News*, 1857.
42. Alter, p. 381.
43. Langely, p. 133
44. There was never an issue that criticized Albert Sidney Johnston.
45. Records of the War Department, Letters sent from Johnston to McDowell, November, 1857.
46. On most issues the *Tan* sided with Governor Cumming. The exception to this is when he questioned General Johnston's authority on moving troops around the territory. See *Valley Tan*, April 5, 1859.
47. *Valley Tan*, Mar 1, 1859, p. 2.

48. *Valley Tan*, May 17, 1859, p. 2.
49. *Valley Tan*, May 17, 1859, p. 2.
50. *Valley Tan*, August 3, 1859, p. 2.
51. *Valley Tan*, May 24, 1859, p. 2.
52. Langely, p. 133.
53. *Valley Tan*, June 22, 1859, p. 2.
54. See issues of the *Valley Tan*, May 24 to September 12, 1859. Previous to these dates an editorial appeared every week criticizing the Mormons, during this time period editorial attention focused on Indian troubles, exploring, mining, building roads and the military.
55. Under Adams the stories about the Mormons in the *Valley Tan* carried bylines reprinted from other newspapers.
56. Greeley, pp. 242, 243.
57. See *Valley Tan*, August 3, 1959, p. 2.
58. *Valley Tan*, August 10, 1859, p. 2.
59. *Valley Tan*, October 12, 1859, p. 2.
60. *Valley Tan*, October 19, 1859, p. 2.
61. See *Valley Tan*, December 7, 14, 21, and 28, for editorials on criticism of the Mormons.
62. *Valley Tan*, February 1, 1860, p. 2.
63. *Valley Tan*, February 29, 1860, p. 2.
64. McLaws p. 82.
65. Captain Albert Tracy, Journal, 1858-1860, p. 80.
66. Records of the War Department, National Archives, Washington D.C.
67. S.A. Kenner, *Utah As It Is*, Deseret News Press, Salt Lake City, 1904, p. 157.
68. There is no mention of the *Valley Tan* in the *Deseret News*, in the months proceeding or following the death of the newspaper.
69. *Daily Union Vedette*, April 4, 1864, p. 2.

70. Wendell Ashton, *A Voice in the West*, Deseret News Press, Salt Lake City, Utah, 1950, p. 157.



**An International View of the Professionalization of Journalists:
The International Congress of the Press, 1894-1914**



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In the fall of 1898, a French and an American journalist took stock of the changing nature of the press of the world. "With the perfection of the printing press," they wrote, "with the telegraph and the telephone, with the transformation of the public spirit, more and more eager to be informed, a metamorphosis is taking place: polemics has been relegated to second place, and news has ascended to first."¹ As a result of this revolution, stressed Albert Bataille and Paul Oker, journalism had become a profession and a career, "the job of thousands of brave people who lay no claim to genius but make a living from work that is honorable, regular, often painful, sometimes dangerous."² It was time, they thought, for journalists to correct the public impression that they were recruited among "the rootless, those who had failed in other professions, the ne'er-do-wells." Bataille and Oker were directing their appeal for increased professionalism to an assembly of 350 journalists from 18 countries, gathered in Lisbon for the fifth meeting of the world's first international organization of journalists, and this paper deals with how that organization, the International Congress of the Press, tried to bring about the professionalization of journalism.³ The Congress has received little attention from historians, possibly because of its lack of concrete achievements and its eventual dissolution; even its own members complained at times that its main activity was "burying" questions in committee for further study.⁴ Given the purpose of this study,

¹*Compte rendu des Travaux du 5me Congrès international de la Presse, Lisbonne, 1898* (Bordeaux: Imprimerie G. Gounouilh, 1899), 126.

²*Compte rendu des Travaux du 5me Congrès*, 126.

³The name of the organization varies with different sources, but, for purposes of consistency, this paper elected to use a direct translation of its French name, *Congrès international de la Presse*, abbreviated ICP; strictly speaking, the name of the organization was the International Union of Press Associations (IUPA) rather than the ICP, but with the exception of its Central Bureau, the IUPA cannot be said to have existed between meetings; for that reason, the name ICP is used here.

⁴"16:e internationella prässkongressen," *Journalisten* July 1914, 4; untitled address to Publicistklubben, in folder about International Congress of the Press, Copenhagen, 1914, Publicistklubben papers, box 4-E 1, Swedish National Archives; for a brief and desultory assessment of the Congress, see Jiri Kubka and Kaarle Nordenstreng, "The shaping of International Cooperation: From the 1880s to the 1940s," in Kubka and

however, assessing the effectiveness of the association is not as important as viewing the organization as a forum for debate, similar to the magazines and journals examined in recent histories of American media criticism.⁵ In many ways, it is superior to those sources because of the direct exchange of views resulting from open debate.

For sources on that debate and on the International Congress of the Press itself, the study used Congress proceedings, newspaper and magazine reports by journalists active in the association, and, to a lesser extent, publications of one of the national associations affiliated with it.⁶ After putting the changes noted by Bataille and Oker in perspective, the paper gives a brief history of the Congress and then goes on to examine specific issues that the organization dealt with. First of all, however, it is necessary to fit this study into the theoretical framework of journalism professionalization.

Professionalization and International Journalism

Criticism of research on the professionalization of journalists has faulted it for being of little use when making comparisons across nations and cultures.⁷ For one thing, much of American research has focused on professionalization as an individual process, adopting a perspective that theorizes that journalists acquire a professional outlook or ideology through a combination of formal education and practical experience.⁸ That

Nilsenstreng, *Useful Recollections, Part I* (Prague: IOJ, 1986), 44-50; the scant attention paid to the Congress has resulted in the earlier literature of the International Organization of Journalists repeatedly giving the wrong year for its first meeting, see Lars Bruun, ed., *Professional Codes in Journalism* (Prague: International Organization of Journalists, 1979), 19; and *Organisations internationales et regionales de Journalistes* (Prague: IOJ, 1980), 22.

⁵See, for instance, Hazel Dicken-Garcia, *Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth-Century America* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989).

⁶Proceedings used in this research are for the meetings of 1894-99 and 1907; in addition, extensive pre-Congress material such as reports were located for 1900, 1902, 1904 and 1914, while briefer official documents such as agendas for 1905, 1908, 1910 and 1911; libraries in the United States, Sweden and France were useful for obtaining the proceedings of individual years; the most complete collection, however, is in the Swedish National Archives in Stockholm; newspaper coverage was found for all congresses between 1894 and 1914, particularly in the newspapers of two Congress executives, Johan Janzon of *Stockholms Dagblad* (Stockholm) and Adrien Hébrard of *Le Temps* (Paris); in the British press, the IPC was covered enthusiastically and comprehensively until 1909 by Grace Benedicta Stuart in *The Athenaeum*; finally, the journal, occasional messages and official correspondence of the Swedish circle of journalists, Publicistklubben, contains material about the IPC and is particularly useful as proof of the organization's struggles following World War I.

⁷See the discussion in Marianne Allison, "A Literature Review of Approaches to the Professionalism of Journalists," *Journal of Mass Media Ethics* 1(2, Spring/Summer 1986):12-13.

⁸Sven Windahl and Karl-Erik Rosengren, "Newsmen's Professionalization: Some Methodological Problems," *Journalism Quarterly* 55(3, 1978):467-73; the focus on the individual is very evident in Michael Schudson, "The Profession of Journalism in the United States," in Nathan O. Hatch, ed., *The Professions in American History* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1988); a detailed literature discussion is in Allison, somewhat less extensive ones in Randal A. Beam, "Journalism Professionalism as an Organization-Level Concept," *Journalism Monographs* 121 (June 1990); and Patricia L. Dooley, "Jurisdictional Claims to Political Communication in Newspaper Prospectus, 1704-1900," Midwest History Conference, AEJMC, 1991, 18.

ideology may include standards such as objectivity, accuracy, and disinterest, which critics see as products of specific cultural and economic conditions. To take such conditions into account, recent studies have proposed an approach based on power relations, stressing that professionalization is a historical process determined by the competition for power between different groups in society and the relationship of the specific profession to labor markets.⁹ With this perspective, professional standards and values are neither objective nor absolute but formulated to serve the profession in its quest for power.¹⁰

Without calling it a power-relations approach, some journalism historians have viewed professionalization in the wider terms that the theory calls for.¹¹ Two examples are Douglas Birkhead, who ties the process to the economic and political climate of the Progressive Era, and Arthur Kaul, who sees it as a result of cycles of the American economy.¹²

What few power-relations studies, current or historical, have done, however, is to use the approach in an international context.¹³ In doing so, this study suggests that while the development of each profession may be historically unique, the process is the same across cultures and nations where economic and political conditions are similar. Consequently, it is not always a matter of one country "exporting" professionalism to others but rather one of a supranational economic or cultural system setting the process in motion.

In its examination of the way that term journalistic professionalism was used by Congress members, the study uses the methodology of what Randal Beam calls the phenomenological approach, a tradition that, seen by Beam as distinct from the theory of power relations, studies how journalists themselves define professionalism.¹⁴ This paper contends that the two approaches are compatible: after studying the discussion of ICP members, a view of professionalism emerges that accords well with the power-relations perspective.¹⁵ Rather than formulating values for the individual journalist, the Congress was concerned with drawing boundaries against other social groups and raising the status

⁹Beam, 4; see also Dooley (18), who calls the approach "historical sociological."

¹⁰Allison, 7.

¹¹For a discussion of the different problems of professionalization and journalism history, see Paul S. Voakes, "From Newsman to Journalist: The Beginnings of Professionalism," paper, Midwest History Conference, AEJMC, Minneapolis, 1991, 8-9.

¹²Douglas Birkhead, "The Power in the Image: Professionalism and the 'Communications Revolution,'" *American Journalism* 1(2, Winter 1984):1-14; Arthur J. Kaul, "The Proletarian Journalist: A Critique of Professionalism," *Journal of Mass Media Ethics* 1(2, Spring/Summer 1986):47-55.

¹³Both Birkhead and Kaul, for instance, restrict their discussion to the American context; an exception is Leonore O'Boyle, "The Image of the Journalist in France, Germany and England," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 10 (1968):290-317.

¹⁴Beam, 3.

¹⁵Beam's subsequent discussion (3, 5) implies such compatibility.

of journalism in the eyes of outsiders. Those concerns, as noted in the introduction, were the result of a changing work environment, to which the paper first turns.

The Commercialization of the Newspaper

The professionalization of journalists has generally been seen as a response to changes in the way newspapers operated, generated revenue and reached readers.¹⁶ Describing the changes in the British press, Harry Christian uses the term commercialization, which includes the shift from individual to corporate ownership, the ascendancy of advertising as the main source of revenue rather than subscriptions and political subsidies, and the division of labor separating journalists from newspaper proprietorship.¹⁷ With these structural changes came changes in newspaper content and function, such as a stress on gathering and publishing news and taking a largely nonpolitical stance.¹⁸

Due to varying levels of industrial development and, to some degree, differing political and cultural traditions, press commercialization occurred at different times in different countries. The United States led the development with the appearance of the New York penny press in the 1830s, followed by Great Britain, where the first "popular papers" appeared in the 1850s, and France, where they were in evidence ten years later. The press of other European nations assumed the characteristics of commercialization in the last two decades of the nineteenth century.¹⁹

Journalists at the time were conscious of the process of commercialization and also acknowledged that its progress varied between countries. America's lead was generally acknowledged although not always hailed as beneficial. Two British journalists speaking at an international press meeting at St. Louis in 1904 considered the visit to the United States a learning experience but took the occasion to criticize the American press' reliance on advertisers and the passing of the editor-proprietor.²⁰ Less judgmental, British New Journalism pioneer W.T. Stead claimed in a 1901-02 book that the world, and journalism with it, was being "Americanized."²¹ Among Americans, E.L.

¹⁶Dicken-Garcia; Birkhead; Kaul; Voakes, 8-9.

¹⁷Harry Christian, "Journalists' Occupational Ideologies and Press Commercialisation," in Christian, ed., *The Sociology of Journalism and the Press, Sociological Review Monograph 20* (University of Keele, 1980), 260-62.

¹⁸Marion Marzolf, "Pioneers of 'New Journalism' in Early 20th Century Scandinavia," *Pressens Årsbog* 1982, 132-33.

¹⁹Marzolf, 132; Anthony Smith sees France as possessing a mass press before any other country in Europe, but it is unclear whether he includes Britain as part of the continent; Smith, *The Newspaper: An International History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979), 114-130; for an acknowledgment of the American influence in Britain, see Joel Wiener, ed., *Papers for the Millions: The New Journalism in Britain, 1850s to 1914* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988), xviii.

²⁰*Proceedings of the World's Press Parliament, Held at the Universal Exposition, St. Louis U.S.A., May 19, 20, 21, 1904* (Columbia, Mo.: E.W. Stephens, 1904), 29-37, 49-55.

²¹Stead, *The Americanization of the World* (New York: Horace Markley, 1901, 1902); see also Emily Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream: American Economic and Cultural Expansion, 1890-1945* (New York:

Godkin was not altogether convinced that the world's journalism was going in the right direction, but he thought that the American press of 1890 was well ahead of the press of France, which in his view did not consist of newspapers at all.²² The trade publication *The Fourth Estate*, on the other hand, had no doubts that the American journalistic lead was anything but beneficial. If foreign journalists were to meet in the United States, the journal claimed in 1896, they would be able to witness "newspaper making in its highest perfection."²³

As there were differences between the United States and European nations, there were also different levels of development within Europe. Discussing the newspapers of Italy in 1868, the American weekly *The Nation* unceremoniously dismissed them as "stupid" and well behind not only American but also British, French and German papers.²⁴ Although the popular press had appeared in many European countries when the First International Congress of the Press met in 1894, the differences between countries would at times surface in the organization's debates.²⁵ Still, delegates like Bataille and Oker more often spoke from a common experience of newspapers that were changing in the same direction, and the association they established was built on that assumption.

The History and Membership of the Organization

The idea of regular international meetings and a permanent international organization of journalists was first brought up at an 1893 meeting of British, French and Belgian journalists, arranged by Britain's Institute of Journalists. After their British hosts indicated an interest in the idea, the guests from across the Channel went ahead with organizing a full-scale international conference at the international exposition at Antwerp the following year.²⁶

At that meeting, calls for a permanent organization were placed on the agenda by the Parisian Journalists Association and the Foreign Press Club of Vienna, and the Antwerp congress subsequently voted to accept the principle of international association and appointed a committee to prepare a constitution for the organization and present it at the next congress meeting, in Bordeaux in 1895.²⁷ Discussed at the second Congress,

Hill and Wang, 1982), 36-37.

²²E.L. Godkin, "Newspapers Here and Abroad," *North American Review* 60 (1890):197-204.

²³*The Fourth Estate*, May 14, 1896, 6.

²⁴"The Daily Press in Italy," *The Nation*, Feb. 13, 1868, 129.

²⁵Smith (143-44) sees the 1880s and the 1890s as the definite breakthrough for the popular press.

²⁶G.B. Stuart, "The Press Congress at Antwerp," *The Athenæum*, July 21, 1894, 96-97; Herbert Cornish, "Something Very Short about the Institute of Journalists," *The Journalist*, April 25, 1903, 14; "Presskongressen i Antwerpen," *Dagens Nyheter*, July 9, 1894, 3.

²⁷*Le Bureau Central des Associations de Presse* (Paris: G. Camproger, 1900), 1-6; "Pressföreningar," *Nordisk Familjebok Konversationslexikon och Realencyklopedi*, Vol. 22 (Stockholm: Nordisk Familjeboks Förlags

the constitution was finally adopted at the third meeting, in Budapest in 1896. The result the establishment of annual international congresses of the press under the auspices of the International Union of Press Associations, which was to have a central bureau in Paris.²⁸

Fifteen more meetings were held by the Congress in the next 22 years, annually throughout the 1890s, less regularly after the turn of the century.²⁹ Not surprisingly, World War I disrupted the activities of the ICP, and the conflict was to cast a long shadow over attempts to revive the organization in the 1920s. As one of the founding nations, France led the efforts to resume the activities of the Congress, but disagreement on the issue of admitting the former Central Powers as members meant that little progress was made, and not until 1927 did the ICP meet again. Four more meetings followed, but the organization never achieved the prominence it had enjoyed before the war, and it held its last congress in 1936.³⁰

Despite some participation by representatives from outside Europe, the Congress was essentially a European organization. Of nations of other continents, Cuba, Mexico, Japan, Egypt, South Africa and New Zealand were each represented at only one Congress between 1894 and 1900, while Turkish delegates attended two meetings and representatives from Brazil and Argentina three.³¹ Journalists from the United States were present every year, but their delegations were small, indicating a limited American interest in the movement. Further evidence of that limited interest was that the American journalist organizations listed as affiliates of the ICP were local clubs and immigrant press associations rather than national bodies such as the National Editorial Association and the American Newspaper Publishers Association.³² U.S. interest flared up when it

Aktiebolag, 1915), 187; *Ier Congrès international de la Presse (1894--Anvers), Renseignements, Procès-verbaux des Séances et Discours communiqués* (Antwerp: J.-E. Buschmann, 1894), 5-7.

²⁸*Compte rendu des Travaux du 3me Congrès international de la Presse, Budapest 1896* (Bordeaux: Imprimerie G. Gounouilh, 1897), 3-4; *Compte rendu des Travaux du 4me Congrès international de la Presse, Stockholm: 1897* (Bordeaux: Imprimerie G. Gounouilh, 1897), 3-4; "An International Press Confederation," *The Fourth Estate*, March 7, 1895, 2; same, in *The Journalist*, March 2, 1895, 5; Spada, "Den internationella presskommittén," *Stockholms Dagblad*, June 9, 1895, 2.

²⁹After Antwerp, Bordeaux and Budapest, the ICP met in Stockholm (1897), Lisbon (1898), Rome (1899), Paris (1900), Berne (1902), Vienna (1904), Liege (1905), Bordeaux (1907), Berlin (1908), London (1909), Trieste (1910), Rome (1911), and Copenhagen (1914); Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Périodiques, *Catalogue collectif des Périodiques du Debut du XVIIe Siecle à 1939*, vol. 2 (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1973), 223; the congresses of 1901 and 1903 were canceled because the Central Bureau thought that the host cities under consideration, Glasgow and St. Louis, respectively, were too remote; other practical problems caused cancellations in 1906, 1912 and 1913; G.B. Stuart, "The International Press Congress Movement Abroad and at Home," *The Athenæum*, March 29, 1902, 400; Stuart, "Abandonment of the Press Congress in St. Louis," *The Athenæum*, May 2, 1903; G.B. Stuart, "International Congress of the Press," *The Athenæum*, April 21, 1906, 481-82; *Meddelanden från Publicistklubben*, (Feb. 23, 1913, 5; Feb. 24, 1914, 7.

³⁰The French struggles to revive the ICP are evident in the communication of the organization with Publicistklubben, see *Meddelanden från Publicistklubben*, Feb. 15, 1922, 11-12; Feb. 15, 1923; Feb. 15, 1924, 25; Feb. 15, 1927, 7; see also Kubka and Nordenstreng, 49; post-war meetings were eventually held in London (1927), Barcelona (1929), Oslo (1932), Antwerp (1934), and Prague (1936); Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Périodiques, *Catalogue collectif des Périodiques*, 223.

³¹Participation is based on delegate lists from in the proceedings of 1894-1900.

seemed possible that the Congress would meet in St. Louis in 1903 but died down when that plan came to nothing.³³

Even within Europe, some nations were only marginal Congress participants. The Balkans were represented only at the 1900 Paris meeting, for instance, and although Russian participation was more regular, delegations from that country were smaller than those from the United States. Great Britain presented a special case. Having conceived the idea of international meetings together with French and Belgian colleagues, British journalists became leery of the permanent union approved by the ICP, and in 1896, the Institute of Journalists withdrew from participation in the movement.³⁴ The formation of a new organization, the British International Association of Journalists, by Institute members ensured a degree of British participation in the ICP after 1896, but BIAJ membership never exceeded a few hundred.³⁵ The organization really representing the journalists of Great Britain was absent from all meetings of the ICP in the years before World War I and did not take part again until 1932.³⁶ To Institute members speaking about the ICP at another international meeting in 1904, the organization was "continental" and foreign.³⁷

³²At Bordeaux in 1895 and at Paris in 1900, the two congresses that saw the largest American delegations, the United States was represented by the National-Verband Deutsch-Amerikanischer Journalisten und Schriftsteller and the press clubs of Boston, Pittsburg, Chicago, Baltimore, and San Francisco; *Compte rendu des Travaux du 2me Congrès international de la Presse, Bordeaux, 1896* (Bordeaux: Imprimerie G. Gounouilh, 1896), 68-72; *VIIe Congrès International des Associations de Presse (Paris 1900), Liste des Membres du Comité de Direction du Bureau central et des Delegues au VII Congrès* (Paris: G. Camproger, 1900), 27; American press coverage of the meetings was also scant: the *New York Times* mentioned only one meeting, that of 1894, while the *New York Tribune* mentioned two, 1894 and 1899; see *New York Times*, July 8, 1894, 10; *New York Tribune*, July 8, 1894, 5; April 21, 1899, 7; the trade press was a little more attentive and even advocated American participation in and leadership of the movement, *The Fourth Estate*, Oct. 4, 1894, 4; July 26, 1894, 7; March 7, 1895, 2; Sept. 12, 1895, 1; May 14, 1896, 6; April 27, 1899, 1-2; June 16, 1900, 7; Sept. 1, 1900, 4. *The Journalist*, June 16, 1894, 4; March 2, 1895, 5; at Bordeaux, greetings with hopes of closer cooperation was sent to the ICP from the International League of Press Clubs, but nothing came of it; *Compte rendu des Travaux du 2me Congrès*, 57-59.

³³*The Journalist*, Dec. 13, 1902, 85-86; Feb. 7, 1903, 207-09; March 7, 1903, 256; March 14, 1903, 268; *The Editor and Publisher*, Jan. 24, 1903, 8.

³⁴G.B. Stuart, "International Congress of the Press," *The Athenæum*, Sept. 28, 1895, 419; G.B. Stuart, "The International Federation of the Press," *The Athenæum*, May 2, 1896, 583-84; "The Congress of the Press," *The Athenæum*, July 11, 1896, 66; *Compte rendu des Travaux du 3me Congrès*, 23, 47-48.

³⁵G.B. Stuart, "Some International Press Courtesies," *The Athenæum*, July 24, 1897, 130; G.B. Stuart, "The International Congress of the Press and the Institute of Journalists," *The Athenæum*, Jan. 17, 1903, 83.

³⁶"GrannlÅnderna," *Pressens Tidning*, No.12, June 15, 1932, 4; in 1903, the Institute of Journalists decided to take part again in 1903, but its attitude was hesitant and nothing concrete resulted; consequently, a Congress meeting held in London in 1909 was arranged by the International Association rather than the Institute; Stuart, "The International Congress of the Press and the Institute of Journalists"; "International Conference of the Press," *Times*, Sept. 24, 1909, 11; G. B. Stuart, "International Conference of the Press," *The Athenæum*, Aug. 7, 1909, 154-55.

³⁷*Proceedings of the World's Press Parliament*, 69, 71.

Professionalism on the Congress Agenda: Definitions

In speeches and at festivities surrounding the meetings of the International Congress of the Press, delegates liked to talk about the Congress as an instrument of international amity and understanding, and one of the items on its 1894 agenda, the reduction of postal and telegram rates, testified to that aspiration. Most of the other points, however, were concerned with the status of journalism as a profession.³⁸ At its first meeting, the ICP was to deal with the establishment of a permanent international organization, legislation affecting journalists, education for journalism, and definitions of a professional journalist.³⁹ Although the items of the original agenda would evolve in different directions over the next twenty years, their basic content would remain the same.⁴⁰

Modern theories about the professionalization of journalists see organization only as one of several criteria, but the journalists meeting at Antwerp regarded the establishment of a permanent association as a major step toward professionalism, and it would dominate the first three meetings of the ICP.⁴¹ A major component of association was setting up boundaries against other occupations and excluding those who were not deemed to be professionals. To that end, the Antwerp Congress devoted a session to trying to determine what a professional journalist was. Those advocating a strict definition wanted to exclude, as a Belgian speaker—who was, tellingly, a reporter—put it, "persons who engage in journalism on occasion, with political or other goals."⁴² Professional journalists were only those who worked full time for a newspaper and depended on that work for a living. Thus, the politician-editor characteristic of an earlier era was a not professional. (Not surprisingly, delegates whose careers had taken that path protested against the full-time definition.⁴³)

Implied by two other Belgian speakers, although not widely approved by the meeting, was that being a professional journalist meant being an employee of publishers and that an international organization should look after their interests vis-a-vis those of

³⁸The agenda is in *Ier Congrès international de la Presse*, 5-7.

³⁹Without reprinting the agenda, the *New York Tribune* characterized the goals of the first ICP as discussing "means whereby the status of the press generally may be raised and that of journalists may be improved"; *New York Tribune*, July 8, 1894, 5; the last item did not directly deal with the journalists themselves but was evidence of change in the press they worked for; it concerned extending copyright protection to news that was a product of newspaper expense and reportorial enterprise.

⁴⁰The weight given to each item shifted, however; over the years, the IPC would pay more attention to rate reductions and protection of news than to the status of journalists.

⁴¹Allison, 6.

⁴²*Ier Congrès international de la Presse*, 51; for a similar view from other speakers, see 53, 55; at Bordeaux, the question surfaced again, see "Le congrès international de la presse," *Le Temps*, Sept. 16, 1895, 3; the strong reporter emphasis of the 1894 Belgian delegation was probably due to Antwerp being the host city; consequently, Belgian reporters covered the meeting and took part in the discussion.

⁴³*Ier Congrès international de la Presse*, 52, 55.

employers.⁴⁴ That assumption would resurface at later congresses; at Stockholm three years later, a French delegate spoke against the establishment of a bureau giving newspapers access to freelance correspondents abroad with the motivation that the proposal benefitted publishers but not journalists.⁴⁵ The following year, another Frenchman advocated strict admission requirements that would keep out publishers who were "vulgar merchants" and not "premier journalists."⁴⁶

In their definition of what constituted a professional journalist, many delegates looked to Great Britain, whose Institute of Journalists, claiming more than 4,000 members in the British Isles and across the Empire, was the largest and nationally most influential organization in Europe. The Institute admitted as members only those who had been full-time journalists for at least three years, and its secretary pointed out that a former cabinet minister who had worked extensively in the press had been denied admittance as a regular member.⁴⁷ Even with this guidance, the Antwerp meeting was unable to produce a clear definition. The Congress would not try to do so again, but the question of who was a journalist would continue to surface in other contexts, such as journalism education, that seemed more amenable to concrete action.⁴⁸ The first of those was the establishment of the Congress itself.

Professionalism in Practice: the Power of Association

As the delegates of the Antwerp Congress looked to the Institute of Journalists for how to define a professional journalist, they also saw the British organization as a model for international journalism association itself, and many of the projects championed by the ICP had direct counterparts within the Institute. For all their subsequent doubts about the ICP, Institute members were enthusiastic about the Antwerp Congress and dominated its speaker list. One of the first reports of the meeting, read by Institute President P.W. Clayden, concerned the structure and goals of the British association, and its prominence on the program indicates that professionalism as it was expressed in Britain's national organization was considered as a possible international standard.⁴⁹ As such, it merits a

⁴⁴*1er Congrès international de la Presse*, 53-54.

⁴⁵*Compte rendu des Travaux du 4me Congrès*, 54-55; the proposal passed all the same.

⁴⁶*Compte rendu des Travaux du 5me Congrès international de la Presse, Lisbonne*, 1898 (Bordeaux: Imprimerie G. Gounouilh, 1899), 80.

⁴⁷*1er Congrès international de la Presse*, 54; the ex-minister was, however, admitted after a special vote, and the Institute spokesman stressed that a definition excluding all who were not journalists only was unjustified.

⁴⁸See, for instance, the debate over membership in 1895: "Le congrès international de la presse," *Le Temps*, Sept. 16, 1895, 3.

⁴⁹*1er Congrès international de la Presse*, 67-73; the organizational experience of the British is stressed in G.B. Stuart, "International Congress of the Press," *The Athenæum*, Sept. 28, 1895, 419; a second address about the Institute was given at Bordeaux, see *Compte rendu des Travaux du 2me Congrès*, 52-56, and "Le congrès international de la presse," *Le Temps*, Sept. 16, 1895, 3.

rather detailed examination.

Christian's study of the historical role of British journalism organizations defines the Institute in its first decades as concerned primarily with seeking to confer professional status on its members, and that goal pervades Clayden's address.⁵⁰ The establishment of the Institute, Clayden stressed, represented "the effort to form journalists into a distinct Profession" like those of the lawyer, the doctor and the civil engineer.⁵¹ Exclusion along the lines advocated in the debate over an international definition was a crucial part of the process; before the founding of the Institute, "any man... might call himself a journalist—a lawyer's clerk who sent reports to a local paper, a grocer's shopman who edited an occasional letter, even a loiterer taken up by the police and not knowing what else to call himself."⁵² Having introduced evidence of three-year full-time work and approval of other Institute members as current requirements for membership and pondering formal examinations as a future one, the Institute had, in Clayden's view, given the term journalist a new and more respected meaning.⁵³

Clayden was vague about what professionalism entailed beyond Institute membership, however. Acknowledging that journalists could build no "legal wall" around their profession like lawyers and doctors, he nevertheless claimed that a member certificate guaranteed to "public bodies, public men and those who want journalistic work to be done" that the bearer was "capable of doing it and worthy to be trusted to do it."⁵⁴ The mere existence of the Institute—chartered by Queen Victoria herself—was thus a sign of professionalism among journalists.

Beyond simply existing, the organization engaged in activities that were designed to show outsiders that members—like other professionals—enjoyed a special status in society at large and that they behaved in a manner similar to other professions. To give members social status, the Institute had fought to guarantee them payment for appearing as witnesses and access to meetings of public agencies.⁵⁵ Evidence of professional behavior on the part of members was their willingness to let the organization act as a court of arbitration in matters of dispute between journalists and publishers, acknowledging that their loyalty to the profession came before the employer-employee relationship characteristic of the new kind of newspaper.⁵⁶ Further proof of

⁵⁰Christian, 271, 274-75.

⁵¹*1er Congrès international de la Presse*, 67, 68.

⁵²*1er Congrès international de la Presse*, 68.

⁵³Speaking before another international gathering of journalists ten years later, another Institute official stressed that the organization had "given to journalism... a defined legal status and position, identical to the position and status of the other learned professions such as law, medicine and art"; *Proceedings of the World's Press Parliament*, 23.

⁵⁴*1er Congrès international de la Presse*, 68-69.

⁵⁵*1er Congrès international de la Presse*, 70.

⁵⁶*1er Congrès international de la Presse*, 70; the British idea of a court of arbitration was called on to

professionalism--and the changing nature of the press--was the agreement among Institute members to let the "comradeship" of journalism take precedence over political and religious affiliation.⁵⁷ In this last respect, Clayden told his listeners, French journalists and other colleagues on the continent had something to learn, since their associations were still formed largely along political and religious lines.⁵⁸ They also needed to realize that local-level organizations were not enough.

For all their preaching about the benefits of a strong and wide-reaching organization to the journalists of other countries, Clayden and his fellow members of the Institute of Journalists seemed taken aback by the fervor which their continental colleagues displayed in establishing an international association. Within less than a year, the committee appointed by the Antwerp Congress to lay the groundwork for the association presented a constitution whose second paragraph essentially made the agenda of the first ICP the goals of the organization.

The Central Bureau, the administrative organ of the association, was to work with the national associations to provide assistance to journalists working abroad, to establish and clarify customs and practices for journalism in international relations, to act as a court of honor in disputes between journalists of different countries, and to work for the professional privileges and interests of journalists while striving to raise the moral and intellectual level of the profession.⁵⁹ Evidently, the committee had taken to heart Clayden's advocacy of a wide-reaching organization having as its goal "the vindication of the rights and privileges of journalists" and aiming "at making journalism an honourable and dignified career."⁶⁰

The Bordeaux Congress devoted most of its time to debating the structure of the proposed association, but the statement about basic goals encountered little resistance; as noted above, British and, to some extent, American objections concerned the principle of permanent international association and not the objectives.⁶¹ Having stated those objectives, however, the Congress showed little inclination to discuss further professionalism even in the general way that Clayden's address had. As in the pre-organization discussion, the mere establishment of an association seemed to be a major step to most delegates; as the Italian representative on the constitutional committee saw

be a model for the ICP, see 54-55; clearly, Clayden thus recognized the division of labor resulting from press commercialization that Christian (267-68) stresses, even if he tried to downplay it.

⁵⁷*Ier Congrès international de la Presse*, 73.

⁵⁸On the relative ineffectiveness of French journalism organizations of the time, see Claude Bellanger *et al. Histoire Générale de la Presse Française*, Vol. 3 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1972), 281.

⁵⁹*Compte rendu des Travaux du 4me Congrès*, 97; the other items on the agenda, protection for news and reduction of telegraph and postal rates, were also included.

⁶⁰*Ier Congrès international de la Presse*, 73.

⁶¹On the debate, see *Compte rendu des Travaux du 2me Congrès*, 28-32, and "Presskongressen i Bordeaux," *Stockholms Dagblad*, Sept. 24, 1895, 6.

it, the creation of international union of journalists was in itself "a great step toward general morality in the press."⁶²

For what the organization could do to professionalize its members once it had come into existence, one has to turn to specific projects, and the following discussion examines, in turn, the areas of journalism education and a court of honor.

Professional Values Discussed: Creating Future Journalists

In the ICP discussion of education, advocates of formal training gave voice to the ideals that should guide the profession and elevate it to a higher status; talking about the requirements for future journalists offered a convenient way of criticizing the contemporary press without specifically referring to one's colleagues. The plans presented at the first congresses were by nature idealistic, because journalism education was a novel and fairly controversial idea in the 1890s. Even in the United States, the acknowledged leader in newspaper innovation, it had not advanced beyond a skeleton curriculum at one university and occasional courses at a few others; separate schools of journalism were still a decade away.⁶³ In Europe, France offered a single course at the University of Lille in 1894 and Germany, Austria and Spain had announced plans to do so.⁶⁴ The Institute of Journalists would still be discussing "a scheme for education" ten years later.⁶⁵

The novelty of the idea did not dissuade the Belgian delegate charged with addressing the agenda item from outlining an ambitious curriculum for those aspiring to be journalists in the future. Of the value of formal training for journalists he had little doubt. Like the singer, the painter, the soldier, the priest and the doctor, the journalist needed not only appropriate knowledge of his work but also specific virtues, and as schools could teach the doctor to be humane and the artist to love beauty, so they could instill in the journalist "a taste for the work, a spirit of immediacy, correct judgment" and other qualities necessary for newspaper work.⁶⁶ The students would become professional by studying "all the questions relating to the profession of journalism," and their moral level would be raised because studies would teach them good habits and because the vast knowledge contained in the curriculum would constitute "an elevating

⁶²"Le congrès de la presse," *Le Temps*, Sept. 19, 1895, 3; cf. the similar view of a French delegate a year later; *Compte rendu des Travaux du 3me Congrès*, 29.

⁶³Edwin Emery and Michael Emery, *The Press and America: An Interpretive History of the Mass Media* (5th ed., Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1984), 699; for a contemporary view of American journalism education, see *Compte rendu des Travaux du 2me Congrès*, 59-61.

⁶⁴*1er Congrès international de la Presse*, 37; three years later, one German university had offered a journalism course, while the Paris newspaper *Le Figaro* announced that it would sponsor several courses; *Compte rendu des Travaux du 5me Congrès*, 127-30; the Figaro project had foundered by 1900, but by then another French journalism curriculum was in the making; *Ville Congrès International des Associations de Presse (Paris 1900)*, *Rapport de M. Jean Bernard sur L'Ecole du Journalisme* (Paris: G. Camproger, 1900).

⁶⁵*Proceedings of the World's Press Parliament*, 24.

⁶⁶*1er Congrès international de la Presse*, 94.

philosophy." Schooling itself would thus confer a higher status on journalists.

The proposed education would be offered at separate journalism universities and take two years, and its curriculum would include history, law, political economy and aesthetics, as well as knowledge of five major languages. Added to this "general" part were courses in the "craft" of journalism, dealing with stenography, press history, reporting, editorial writing, argumentation, book printing and business management.⁶⁷ It was the speaker's hope that the education would be at once "specialized, universal, professional and moral."⁶⁸

Defending his ambitious plan, the speaker admitted that it was not impossible to find work at a newspaper if one possessed an average intelligence, knew how to wield a pen and made judicious use of encyclopedias. But, he asked his listeners, was this enough for writers who "each day have to judge public matters" and "instruct and clarify public opinion" and to whom was given "this strange power of the press, which gives to ideas at their first appearance a force that they do not acquire if presented in any other fashion"?⁶⁹ Being a journalist was not only a matter of knowing the workings of the press, but also realizing "the weighty responsibility and the great obligations" that came with the profession.⁷⁰ By committing themselves to the education of future colleagues, the delegates at Antwerp would take a major step toward elevating their profession, the speaker assured them.

Some of his listeners were doubtful that journalists needed a specific education to be professionals. Resistance to the Belgian plan and to the principle of formal education in 1894 is best illustrated by a British delegate, who considered some form of schooling useful but thought journalists needed above all to learn from life itself, and they had to be naturally gifted with "good sense, an eye for the relative importance of people and things, and the capacity for fast and correct deduction."⁷¹ These were gifts that could not be taught, thought the Englishman. The same argument resurfaced when education came up at subsequent congresses. A year after Antwerp, a French delegate voiced his opposition in the same terms, claiming that education would do nothing for the talented and only create a "class of failures with some professional notions but no

⁶⁷The history courses would cover Europe, the Orient and Africa up to the the 1878 Berlin Congress and a "detailed knowledge" of events since then; the legal part of the curriculum would cover administrative, civil and international law; the required languages were French, English, German, Spanish and Italian; "Från presskongressen i Antwerpen," *Dagens Nyheter*, July 14, 1894, 3; *Ier Congrès international de la Presse*, 90-91.

⁶⁸*Ier Congrès international de la Presse*, 94.

⁶⁹*Ier Congrès international de la Presse*, 93.

⁷⁰*Ier Congrès international de la Presse*, 91, 93.

⁷¹"Från presskongressen i Antwerpen," *Dagens Nyheter*, July 14, 1894, 3; *Ier Congrès international de la Presse*, 37-38; even his rejection produced a characterization of the good journalist, however, who needed to be endowed with "judgment, humour, sympathy... the power of generalization and proportion," should able to write in an "entertaining as well as practical manner," and be concise and accurate; morally, they should be above narrow political and hyperpatriotic views and see the entire world as their homeland.

professional values" among the untalented."⁷²

The repeated decision of the Congress to endorse education in general terms but study the matter further took a great deal of the controversy out of the issue, and it also moved the discussion away from the professional values resulting from education toward detailed accounts of existing or proposed curricula. Compared with the Bataille-Oker piece quoted in the introduction, the education report submitted to the Paris Congress two years later said little about what journalism education should accomplish but gave a comprehensive account of a new French scheme for journalism education.⁷³ As had been the case with the issue of organization, discussion of procedural detail had overtaken debate over professionalism, which resurfaced instead in the discussion of a court of honor.

Showing Professional Behavior: The International Court

As noted above, one of the features of the British Institute of Journalists that the Antwerp delegates found attractive was its function as a court of arbitration in labor disputes, and a declaration to have the ICP function in the same way was part of the statutes accepted in 1896. Two years later, at Lisbon, a preliminary constitution was passed, outlining the purpose and powers of the international court of arbitration, and a report to the 1900 Paris meeting spelled them out in detail, stressing that the establishment of a court was one of the most pressing issues from the standpoint of "professional solidarity," because it would "put an end to misunderstandings, remove mutual grievances, safeguard the morality of the press and maintain the brotherhood between us."⁷⁴

The purposes of the court drew from the national associations of Britain, Scandinavia and France the idea that journalism organizations should act as mediators in

⁷²"Le congrès de la presse," *Le Temps*, Sept. 19, 1895, 3; after Antwerp, education was discussed at Bordeaux, Lisbon, Paris and Berlin; *Compte rendu des Travaux du 2^{me} Congrès*, 34-37; "Presskongressen i Bordeaux," *Stockholms Dagblad*, Sept. 25, 1895, 5; "Le congrès de la presse," *Le Temps*, Sept. 19, 1895, 3; G.B. Stuart, "International Congress of the Press," *The Athenæum*, Sept. 28, 1895, 419; *Compte rendu des Travaux du 5^{me} Congrès*, 126-27; "Journalistisk yrkesutbildning," *Pressen*, 14-15 (Nov. 5, 1898), 3; *Ville Congrès International des Associations de Presse* (Paris 1900), *Rapport de M. Jean Bernard sur L'Ecole du Journalisme*; V. Taunay to Walter Williams, Aug. 29, 1908, folder 38, Walter Williams papers, State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia; *Bulletin Officiel du Bureau Central des Associations de Presse* 34 (July 3, 1908), 21; a German delegate endorsed the 1894 Belgian plan with a motion requiring employers to ensure that the journalists they hired were sufficiently educated, it was withdrawn after protests that it implied that publishers did not already hire the best candidates; *Ier Congrès international de la Presse*, 38; G.B. Stuart, "The Press Congress at Antwerp," 96-97; "Från Antwerpen," *Stockholms Dagblad*, July 15, 3.

⁷³*Ville Congrès International des Associations de Presse* (Paris 1900), *Rapport de M. Jean Bernard sur L'Ecole du Journalisme*; the same was true of a report to two the following congresses, which focused on Switzerland and Germany, respectively; M. Bühler, *Journalistische Berufsbildung, VIII. Internationaler Presskongress*; Richard Wrede, *Journalistischer Fachunterricht, Neunter Internationaler Presskongress, Wien, 11.-17. September 1904*; resolutions passed at Paris and previous congresses had pointed the discussion of journalism education in this "fact-finding" direction, see *VIIth Congress of the Press Associations, Berne, July 1902, Text of the Resolutions passed by the Seven Previous Congresses*, 6-7.

⁷⁴*Rapport de M. Jacquemaire sur la Constitution d'un Tribunal international d'Arbitres* (Paris: G. Camproger, 1900), 3; *Compte rendu des Travaux du 5^{me} Congrès*, 85-88; the proceedings contain a reference to the report presenting the court statutes, but it is not in the appendix.

financial disputes between publishers and employers.⁷⁵ Added to this was a right to issue opinions on "moral matters" of the press as well. The court would consist of three members of the Central Bureau, and they would primarily consider cases where the two parties agreed beforehand to abide by the decision. Where there was "clear disregard for the laws of honor and integrity," however, the court would speak up even if one of the parties did not agree to its involvement.⁷⁶

Objections made by Lisbon delegates that the Congress could invest the court with no real powers of enforcement were met with references to the moral force of the Congress itself and assurances that ICP members would be certain to accept the court's decisions; implied in the last statement was that no less should be expected of professional journalists.⁷⁷ The Paris report trusted the loyalty of Congress members to the extent that it saw the court requiring the parties to pay damages and restitution and publish retractions. It also assumed that national associations would aid the international court in enforcing decisions against their members.⁷⁸

While the status of the Congress thus would make the powers of the court wide, the international structure of the organization limited the jurisdiction of the agency. Not wanting to interfere with the power of national journalism organizations whose cooperation it sought, the international court would deal only with conflicts where employers and journalists were in different countries, which meant that its main concern would be foreign correspondents.⁷⁹

That vision of a narrow jurisdiction changed when the international court attracted the interest of Wilhelm Singer, the Austrian president of the International Press Congress, in 1902. Delivering an address to the Berne Congress on "professional dignity in press debate," Singer's solution was to establish a high court that would ensure "scrupulous integrity and moderation" on the part of debate participants and give slandered journalists an opportunity to bring up their cases for action.⁸⁰

When he presented a proposed constitution at the following Congress, in Vienna in 1904, it was evident that the president envisioned an international court at the top of a hierarchy made up of local and national tribunals as well.⁸¹ Rather than

⁷⁵As mentioned above, the Institute of Journalists was carrying out this function already in 1894; French associations were doing it by 1900, and the journalists of Scandinavia had established a regional court following the Stockholm Congress of 1897; *Rapport de M. Jacquemaire*, 3; for a detailed view of the Scandinavian proposal, see *Förslag till nordiska journalistiska skilje- och hedersdomstolar*, pamphlet, 1902, Library of the Press Archives, Swedish National Archives.

⁷⁶*Compte rendu des Travaux du 5me Congrès*, 85-86; *Rapport de M. Jacquemaire*, 5-6.

⁷⁷*Compte rendu des Travaux du 5me Congrès*, 85-87.

⁷⁸*Rapport de M. Jacquemaire*, 7, 5.

⁷⁹It was also to deal with press matters, such as infringement of copyright involving newspapers of different nations.

⁸⁰"Le congrès international de la presse," *Le Temps*, July 25, 1902, 3; the resolution adopted at Berne still mentioned the labor aspect of the court, but Singer had little interest in that.

supplementing the national associations, the ICP was now the supreme instance and could deal not only with cases involving journalists of different countries but with all "especially important" cases.⁸² As before, it could require published corrections and levy fines, but the international court would also have the power to expel transgressing association members. The basis for the international court and its powers were, in Singer's view, values such as "the lively consciousness of our honour, an ever sensitive conscience, pity for the weak, and good-will toward others."⁸³ As before, by simply establishing the court, ICP members would show themselves to be professionals.

The Vienna meeting appeared to approve of the plan through its directive to the Central Bureau to establish the proposed court system as soon as possible, but little resulted from that decision.⁸⁴ For the next few years, Singer would continue to plead for his plan without seeing any real action taken.⁸⁵ In many ways, the fate of the court proposal was indicative of general problems of the Congress itself.

The Failure of Association

After being surrounded by a great deal of enthusiasm throughout the 1890s, the International Congress of the Press faced growing indifference in the first decade of the twentieth century. Even the coverage in such ardently supportive publications as Britain's *The Athenæum*, Sweden's *Stockholms Dagblad* and France's *Le Temps* increasingly devoted more space to speeches and festivities surrounding the Congress than to the proceedings themselves, admitting that the accomplishments of the meetings were limited.⁸⁶ More critical voices charged that the festivities were crowding out the work sessions and that the Congress had only social and no practical aims.⁸⁷ A certain disenchantment was thus evident several years before World War I ended the 20-year string of regular meetings. The war had a definite impact on the Congress, but its importance should not be overstated; as late as July 1915, British, Russian and German journalists were willing to meet at an American-sponsored international conference

⁸¹IX Congrès International de la Presse (Vienna: Steyermühl, 1904), 37-52.

⁸²IX Congrès International de la Presse, 48.

⁸³IX Congrès International de la Presse, 45.

⁸⁴"Presskongressen i Wien," *Stockholms Dagblad*, Sept. 13, 1904, 7.

⁸⁵At the Liege Congress in 1905, the court idea got entangled in a peripheral proposal to stop duels between journalists, see G.B. Stuart, "Tenth International Congress of the Press," *The Athenæum*, Aug. 5, 1905, 181; for discussion at other meetings, see "Presskongressen i vinlandet," *Stockholms Dagblad*, Sept. 26, 1907; *Bulletin Officiel du Bureau Central des Associations de Presse* 34 (July 3, 1908), 21.

⁸⁶See for instance, the rather lame defense of the ICP in G.B. Stuart, "The Eleventh International Congress of the Press," *The Athenæum*, Oct. 5, 1907, 404; "Presskongressen i Liège," *Stockholms Dagblad*, Aug. 1, 1905, 7; "Preskongressen i vinlandet," *Stockholms Dagblad*, Oct. 1, 1907, 7.

⁸⁷"Internationella presskongressen," *Journalisten*, March 1911, 2, 5; *Proceedings of the World's Press Parliament*, 69, 71.

similar to those arranged by the ICP.⁸⁸

The demise of the International Congress of the Press was, rather, the result of weaknesses within the organization. As this paper shows, the issue of journalistic professionalism was prominent on the agenda of the International Congress of the Press, but it was not the only ones. A great deal of the discussion at virtually every Congress meeting was devoted to two topics mainly of interest to publishers, copyright protection for newspaper articles and the reduction of postal and telegraph rates. Attempting to speak both for the newspapers and for the journalists they employed, the ICP papered over the fact that the interests of the two constituencies were not identical and could conflict.

As the discussion of the Antwerp Congress shows, the status of journalists as employees, a result of the emergence of commercialized newspaper, was brought up from the start, when Belgian delegates wanted to the term "professional journalist" to include only journalists who were not employers, and it surfaced again at Stockholm and Lisbon. In the years before World War I, the issue was practically unavoidable. At Rome in 1911, a French delegate charged that the Congress had never spoken for "the veritable proletarians of the press," and at Copenhagen three years later a Danish journalist wanted to know "where among the guests were our comrades, the working journalists."⁸⁹ In some countries, national newspaper associations were already forming along employer-employee lines in the first decade of the twentieth century, and although the split did not reach the international level until after the war, time was against organizations with the membership premise of the ICP.⁹⁰

Conclusion: The ICP and Journalist Professionalization

As noted in the introduction, studies of the professionalization of today's journalists have drawn criticism for being products of certain national cultures and thus alien to others. No debate along such lines was evident among members of the International Congress of the Press: they used "professionalism" with what appeared to be a common understanding. Beneath that usage, however, lay assumptions about the concept that were different from those of modern studies.

Most important, perhaps, was that the ICP did not have the focus on individual journalists characteristic of much of modern American research. Even

⁸⁸Grant Wallace, "World Press Congress," *Editor and Publisher*, July 10, 1915, 111, 116; *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 6, 1915, 9; July 7, 3; July 11, 38; *San Francisco Examiner*, July 6, 1915, 5; still, some Germans refused to attend a meeting with enemy journalists, see "Warum wir nicht kommen könnten," *Hannoverlicher Kurier*, April 19, 1915, clipping, Sara Lockwood Williams papers, Western Historical Manuscripts Collection, University of Missouri.

⁸⁹"16:e internationella prästkongressen," *Journalisten* July 1914, 4; "Le congrès international de la presse à Rome," *Le Temps*, May 10, 1911, 2.

⁹⁰Kubka and Nordenstreng, 49; in Britain and Sweden, respectively, the employer-employee split had resulted in the formation of the National Union of Journalists in 1906 and Svenska Journalistföreningen (The Swedish Association of Journalists) in 1901; see Christian, 275; Nils Andersson and Harald Hjern, *Svenska Journalistförbundet* (Stockholm: Svenska Journalistförbundet, 1951), 11.

criticism of the individual-level approach tends to take for granted circumstances that give birth to it, such as a reliance among journalists on constitutional guarantees rather than lobbying efforts of organizations.⁹¹ These, however, are characteristics peculiar to American journalism. To members of the International Congress of the Press, one of the primary purposes of international and national organizations was to speak for journalists in legal matters; the last few congresses before World War I, for instance, devoted considerable time to the issue of protection of confidential sources, and the Antwerp agenda stipulated that the meeting would deal with legal issues affecting the press.⁹²

Behind this view of the purposes of the Congress lay a belief in organization closer to the tradition of Great Britain rather than the United States, and it implied an idea of professionalism that saw the establishment of a strong association as a major sign of ascendancy to the status of a profession. The organization could speak and act on behalf of its members vis-a-vis other groups in society, looking after their rights and ensuring that they received special treatment; its existence, coupled with restrictions on membership, was evidence to outsiders of professional status. For journalists, who could lay no claim to a unique body of knowledge similar to that of lawyers and doctors, association was particularly important.

Values required for professional behavior were less important than outward signs. The Congress did eventually adopt a code of ethics, but that was not until 1936, at its very last meeting; by then, national codes, including that of the United States, had been in effect for more than a decade.⁹³ Instead of codified behavior, professionalism as understood by Congress members hinged on honoring the solidarity among journalists and enjoying the esteem of fellow members. When the Congress instituted an identification card in the early 1900s, its "professional and moral benefits" were the "fraternal aid and protection" it would extend to bearers from colleagues around the world.⁹⁴

The characteristics and behavior required for earning the right to carry the card remained unstated in all but the most general terms. ICP delegates would speak about the responsibility that came with the awesome power of the modern press, but they never specified, for instance, what kind of behavior was understood by "the laws of honor and integrity" that the international court of arbitration would be based on. What mattered was that members accepted the court's power to intervene; that acceptance made them professionals. Similarly, the value of journalism education was less that it taught standards and rules than that it proved to outsiders that journalists had gone through a formal education, comparable to university training.

⁹¹Allison, 8.

⁹²"Presskongressen i Rom," *Journalisten*, May 1911, 1; "International Press Congress, Copenhagen, June 11-17," *The Newspaper World*, June 27, 1914, 21; *Bulletin Officiel du Bureau Central des Associations de Presse* 34 (July 3, 1908), 21.

⁹³Bruun, 18-19.

⁹⁴*IX Congrès International de la Presse*, 60-61.

The emphasis on organizational power as a sign of professionalism did not have the same weight in the United States, where journalist associations formed on the premise of the ICP and the Institute of Journalists, that journalists had common professional bonds regardless of their position in the press, were not in existence when the Congress began its meetings in the 1890s.⁹⁵ In a sense, national American journalism organizations can be said to have formed along employer-employee lines without going through the preceding stage of all-inclusive associations discussed above. In that process, the United States at once was ahead of and behind Europe. Its employer organization, the American Association of Newspaper Publishers, was formed as early as 1887, while its employee counterpart, the American Newspaper Guild, has been in existence only since 1933.⁹⁶

Given the fact that professionalism as envisioned by the International Congress of the Press was different from the concept formulated by modern studies, was it more applicable in an international or cross-cultural context? In one sense, the answer is yes. As noted above, ICP discussions appeared to be based on a common understanding of the desirability of making journalism professional; it was not a matter of one nation imposing the idea on others. Representatives of some 18 nations endorsed professionalism, which leaves little doubt that it extended beyond national borders.

Whether it was cross-cultural is less certain. First, some observers claimed that agreement among Congress member nations hinged on making definitions of professionalism vague, so that they could be adapted to the political and cultural circumstances of each country.⁹⁷ Second, ICP membership was, in essence, confined to one continent, Europe. (Even there, Great Britain had difficulties with some of the principles of the organization.) The cultural traditions and economic systems of the member nations shared many characteristics, resulting in press philosophies whose basic goals were more or less the same.⁹⁸

Even more important, perhaps, was the absence of alternatives in the less complex era of the 1890s. The radically different press philosophies of the Soviet Union and the Fascist states were still a couple of decades away, and it was to be more than sixty years before the nations of the Third World emerged, with very different economic and political circumstances that would give rise to yet another kind of press system. With the exception of Latin America, the future developing nations were still colonies of the

⁹⁵See Voakes (11-12) for a criticism of some of the American organization proposed by others as professional associations; other institutions, such as trade journals, may have served as fora for discussions of professionalism but lacked the attributes of an organization.

⁹⁶The American Society of Newspaper Editors, founded in 1922, presents a special case, whose membership, restricted to editors of large newspaper, makes it difficult to classify as an employee association; Emery and Emery, 695-97.

⁹⁷"16:e internationella prässkongressen."

⁹⁸O'Boyle stresses that there were substantial economic and political differences between France, Germany and England, differences that produced quite dissimilar newspapers; her concern, however, is the 1815-48 period, prior to the rise of the popular press discussed in this paper, which argues that with the emergence of modern newspapers, many differences disappeared.

ICP member nations when the congresses began and had no voice in the international arena.

Acknowledging that the similar background of the countries participating in the Congress made agreement easier than it is between nations whose cultural, political and economic differences are greater, a case can still be made that considering the development of professionalism or, for that matter, of journalism as a whole, strictly within national borders is assuming too narrow a perspective. If the commercialization of the newspaper is an international phenomenon, then the changing status of the journalists who produced it is likely to be one as well.

**The Railroad Industry and Its Early Periodicals,
1831 to 1850,
Exploring the History of the Business/Trade Press**

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**A paper presented
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**The Railroad Industry and Its Early Periodicals,
1831 to 1850,
Exploring the History of the Business/Trade Press**

Today, the specialized business/trade press is a thriving, growing branch of American journalism. More than 4,000 publications share the umbrella title of specialized business/trade press, periodicals that cover one specific industry, trade, business or profession.¹ But these publications are a diverse bunch--in format (from tabloid to magazine); in periodicity (from daily to quarterly); in industry covered (from automotive to veterinary medicine); and in circulation (from several hundred to hundreds of thousands).² But they still share certain commonalities. In the corporate sector, this branch of American journalism is seen as a source of knowledgeable, expert reporting.³

These publications also share a common history. Unfortunately, it is not clear where the roots of the specialized business/trade press lay. The field witnessed unparalleled growth after World War II, but the roots were well established before the twentieth century. Some would say the South-Carolina Price Current in 1774 was the seed of the business press in America. Yet, if this was the seed, it mutated greatly in its development to the trade

¹"The Business Side of Business Magazines," pamphlet, Business Press Educational Foundation, New York, 1987.

²Standard Rate and Data Service, Business Publication Rates and Data, March 24, 1991, Vol. 73: No. 3.

³Cathy Quinlan, "Business Reporting Placed Under the Microscope," Editor and Publisher, Oct. 22, 1983.

press of today. The South-Carolina Price Current covered a number of different industries, retail enterprises and shipping trends.

Instead, today's specialized business/trade journalism seems to be a product of a later period--a product of nineteenth-century industrialization. It is not clear what business or industry spawned the first specialized business/trade publication (i.e. periodicals covering one specific industry, trade, business or profession).⁴ However, the railroad industry seemed to have fostered a large number of these early specialized periodicals during the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

This paper explores the roots of the specialized business/trade press as they were forged with railroad iron. It attempts to chronicle how the business/trade press covering the railroad industry matured, increased in number and prospered between 1831 and 1850. Perhaps, most important, this paper outlines some of the editorial policies, reporting principles, and roles within industry developed by these early periodicals that are still practiced by specialized periodicals today.

The specialized business/trade press of the railroad industry was born in 1831 when the railroad industry was still in its infancy.

⁴Frank Luther Mott does not give extensive coverage to these periodicals in the first two volumes of his five volume history of magazines. He notes that railroad publications were among the earliest of the trade publications. Frank Luther Mott, A History of American Magazines, 1850-65 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1938), pp. 80-81. David P. Forsyth is more specific in his listings of the earliest trade publications. An array of Price-Currents were published in the eighteenth century. But the specialized business publications made their arrival in the nineteenth century. Among the earliest were the American Mechanics' Magazine (1825) and Mechanics Magazine and Journal of Publick Internal Improvement (1830). David P. Forsyth, The Business Press in America, 1750-1865 (Philadelphia: Chilton Books, 1964), pp. 341-3.

Less than 100 miles of track were operational in America then. Yet that year the first journal of the railroad industry made its appearance in the unlikely location of Rogersville, Tenn., which at the time was neither a metropolitan center nor a major hub for the railroad industry. Indeed the Rail-Road Advocate was specifically designed to bring railroads into the valley of the Tennessee River. Throughout its life, the Advocate campaigned for railroads for Tennessee, reporting news from various conventions in the area. It never accomplished that goal, however.⁵

In spite of its name, the Rail-Road Advocate was not altogether dedicated solely to railway news and updates. It also offered a full line of agricultural stories. Not surprising, the newspaper had neither the audience nor the advertising base to sustain it. After a year of struggling and after the Virginia legislature refused to charter any extension of its railroads into Tennessee, the Rail-Road Advocate gave up its fight and died.⁶ Its passing might not having been noticed by railroad managers nationally had it not been for the American Railroad Journal which carried the news.

The American Railroad Journal, a weekly, made its debut on the second day of January, 1832. But this publication enjoyed natural advantages over the Rail-Road Advocate, its competitor of sorts. The Rail-Road Journal, as it was first spelled, was based in New York City, which would develop into a major hub of railroad finance and

⁵Forsyth, The Business Press in America, pp. 173-178.

⁶No known copies of these periodical exist. Its existence--and its passing--were noted by the American Railroad Journal, a weekly New York paper founded in 1832. American Railroad Journal, June 30, 1832, p. 421. See also Forsyth, The Business Press in America, p. 176.

construction. D. Kimball Minor, owner and editor of the Journal, was experienced in serving a specialized readership. Minor also edited the New York Farmer and American Gardener Magazine and the Mechanics Magazine.⁷ The Journal also enjoyed a long life--long enough to chart the growth of the railroad industry in the first half of the nineteenth century.⁸

That was a vibrant time for the railroad industry. The American Railroad Journal chronicled the unparalleled growth of the industry (from about 100 miles of track operating in America to more than 9,000 miles by 1850).⁹ It also witnessed an industry of excess. Railroads crisscrossed the East without thought as to system, linkage or future development.¹⁰ Early routes were nightmares of sharp curves, steep grades and winding curves--without thought as to price, economy or cost overruns.¹¹ But Americans didn't seem to mind. As one French traveler observed, "The American has a perfect passion for railroad, he loves them...as a lover loves his mistress."¹²

⁷He also published the Plough Boy and the New York American, a general interest weekly newspaper. See Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., Henry Varnum Poor, Business Editor, Analyst and Reformer (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1956), p. 34.

⁸It also witnessed the growth of the railroad industry in the second half of the nineteenth and the twentieth century. The publication is now called the Railway Locomotives and Cars. See Forsyth, Business Press in America, p. 343.

⁹U.S. Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1957 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1957), p. 427.

¹⁰William Larrabee, The Railroad Question: A Historical and Practical Treatise on Railroads, and Remedies for Their Abuses (Chicago: Schulte Publishing Co., 1893), p. 79.

¹¹Frederick A. Cleveland and Fred W. Powell, Railroad Promotion and Capitalization in the United States (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1909), p. 64. Larrabee, The Railroad Question, p. 79.

¹²Michael Chevalier, Society, Manners and Politics in the United States, Being a Series of Letters in North America (New York: Burt Franklin, 1839), p. 307.

The Railroad Journal had a perfect passion for the railroads in this period as well. In its early days, the Journal was just not up to the challenge of criticism. The railroads were the future of America, the Journal asserted. They were "far superior to any mode of internal communication, and that they must, in a few years, entirely take the place of of [sic] Canals, where new works are to be constructed," Minor observed.¹³

And the Journal seemed destined to grow and prosper with the railroad industry--for its readers were the affluent "Gentlemen engaged in constructing, or superintending Railroads; and others in possession of information upon that subject,"¹⁴ who could afford the steep price tag of the Journal.¹⁵

The early response to the Railroad Journal seemed to bear out Minor's hopes. By September 1832, Minor reported that the Journal already had 500 subscribers with greater circulation predicted. But the circulation did not match Minor's expectations.¹⁶ Minor and the editor who would follow him often bemoaned the lack of revenue from subscriptions and advertising.¹⁷

¹³American Rail-Road Journal, Jan. 2, 1832, p. 1.

¹⁴American Rail-Road Journal, Jan. 2, 1832, p. 1.

¹⁵The price was \$3 in advance. The price would go up to \$5 in 1834 and remained \$5 even after the frequency was cut back to a semi monthly. American Rail-Road Journal, Jan. 2, 1832, p.1. See also American Railroad Journal, Dec. 5, 1835, p. 753 and July 1, 1838, p. 1.

¹⁶In 1843, the circulation finally reached 1,500. The circulation increased appreciably once the periodical was sold to John Alfred Poor. By the mid 1850s, the Journal's circulation reached 4,500. See Chandler, Henry Varnum Poor, pp. 34 and 299.

¹⁷The Journal also had his problems with the currency problems of the day. In 1834, Minor announced he would only accept U.S. Bank notes. American Railroad Journal, March 8, 1834, p. 129. For complaints on circulation and advertising, see American Railroad Journal, July 4, 1835, p. 409; Jan. 2, 1836, p. 817; July 15, 1837, p. 433; and July 16, 1838, p. 41.

The readership, however, illustrated that the Journal had become a force in the railroad industry. Although the publication did not attract a substantial following until the 1850s, it still had a national circulation which had reached 1,000 by the end of the 1830s and 1,500 by the late 1840s. However, raw circulation figures belie the importance of the publication. The subscribers and/or contributors to the Journal read like a who's who in railroading and in railways. They included: Isaac Trimble, engineer of the Baltimore and Susquehanna; Charles Ellet, designer of suspension bridges; Edwin F. Johnson, chief engineer of the Northern Pacific Railroad; Benjamin Latrobe, designer of the Thomas Viaduct in Maryland and engineer of the Baltimore and Ohio line; William C. Redfield, author of meteorological classics and pamphlets on railroad construction; James Renwick, professor of natural philosophy and experimental chemistry at Columbia and recognized authority on every branch of engineering; and John C. Trautwine, eminent surveyor for the railroad industry and later surveyor for the Panama Canal.¹⁸ And the American Railroad Journal was gaining a European following as well.¹⁹

In its earliest days, the Railroad Journal functioned as a clearing house of railroad information. Minor published railroad charters, annual reports of corporations and maps of new railway construction. The Journal complemented its news function with a booster's editorial comment.

¹⁸American Railroad Journal, July 15, 1842, p. 33. Concise Dictionary of American Biography, 2nd edition (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1977), pp. 276, 498, 548, 831, 837 and 1053.

¹⁹Chevalier, Society Manners and Politics in the United States, p. 82.

The charters and annual reports were easy to obtain. After a few published calls, the Journal was regularly receiving and reprinting reports--with much editorial comment added.²⁰ According to the Journal, North, South, East or West, if there was new construction, it was worth applauding. With the South Carolina Railroad and Canal Co. report, Minor saw only potential for the company and the region--"gratifying to witness the success of this Road. It will give an impetus to the prosperity, not only to South Carolina, but of the whole South."²¹ After publishing the incorporation papers of the New York and Erie railroad, Minor saw the massive engineering project ahead but predicted only success. "We hope, and believe, there will be a full meeting, that the first movement in this noble enterprize may show that its friends are determined to carry it through."²²

Those reports and charters were available elsewhere--scattered throughout the United States in newspapers where each railroad was located; but here, for the first time, was a central record of railroad information.

The Railroad Journal offered other special services to its readers. In 1833, no map of railroads of America existed. D.K. Minor took it upon himself to see that one was forthcoming. Using the Journal as an information forum, Minor invited the readers to send maps, charters, and locational information of each of their railroads

²⁰See, for example, American Railroad Journal, May 24, 1834, p. 305; April 20, 1833, p. 243; June 2, 1832, p. 353; May 5, 1832, pp. 289-91 and Feb. 11, 1832, p. 98.

²¹American Railroad Journal, May 24, 1834, p. 305.

²²American Railroad Journal, May 5, 1832, p. 289. See also June 16, 1832, p. 385; June 23, 1832, p. 401 and Aug. 24, 1833, p. 529 for other editorial comment.

to the Journal offices. Minor, then, sent it on to "Friend," who was responsible for completing the map which was offered to Journal readers. The next year, the maps were updated and offered again. By 1835, the new railroad map had become something of a tradition--and an enticement to renew.²³

The maps represented only one of a number of clearing house functions that the Journal served in its early years. In 1834, the publication also offered a list of all railroads in the United States. The project may have been larger than Minor had anticipated. This list, with its descriptive materials, went on for pages--and for issues.²⁴

By the late 1830s, the Journal was evolving--or repositioning as current trade publications would call it--into a more specialized technical publication, a kind of textbook on new engineering methods updated each week. It also provided descriptions and schematic drawings of new products designed to increase the speed, reliability and safety of railroad travel. In all this, important precedents were being set for editorial policies and procedures still in existence today.

George C. Schaeffer, a "practical engineer," was responsible for the changes. He was Minor's new partner.²⁵ Minor had tried to keep up with the latest on technical innovations, but he was no engineer. When Minor offered the news on improved wheels for railroad cars

²³American Railroad Journal, Aug. 17, 1833, p. 53; May 31, 1834, p. 321; and Oct. 31, 1835, p. 353.

²⁴American Railroad Journal, July 19, 1834, pp. 432-3; July 26, 1834, pp. 451-3; Aug. 2, 1834, pp. 465-9; and Aug. 9, 1834, pp. 481-2.

²⁵American Railroad Journal, July 2, 1836, p. 401.

or updates on the Avery Rotary Steam Engine, he frequently relied solely on manufacturers' updates.²⁶

Schaeffer might have relied on the agent for updates but his technical experience probably helped him sift through the nineteenth-century version of the new product releases. Moreover, his technical experience helped to explain his greater coverage of new products and new engineering procedures. In so doing, Schaeffer molded the Journal into a tool for the education and professionalization of engineers, an editorial function not unlike many of the trade publications of today.²⁷

Schaeffer transformed the Journal in a number of ways: by increasing the amount of coverage on new products; by offering a range of solutions to some of the more perplexing problems in railroad engineering; by offering what might be called ancillary products to readers and by ever working for a professional institute or organization for engineers.

Schaeffer offered a running list of the innovations from the new American Locomotive to a new wheel designed to improve ascent on inclined planes to a new method to attach railroad cars.²⁸ The new products seemed to improve the safety, efficiency and speed of railroad travel. But one stumbling block could not be solved with a new product or a new innovation--the gauge problem. The

²⁶For a time the editor of the Journal was the agent for the Avery engine, see American Railroad Journal, March 11, 1837, p. 145. See also American Railroad Journal, March 24, 1832, p. 193; Aug. 25, 1832, p. 545; Aug. 9, 1834, p. 481; Dec. 13, 1834, p. 764 and Dec. 20, 1834, pp. 792-3.

²⁷Marc B. Leavitt, "The Specialized Business Press: A Two-Session Course Module," script, 1991.

²⁸American Railroad Journal, Dec. 17, 1836, p. 785; and Nov. 1, 1838, pp. 265-6.

gauge problem did not suddenly emerge when Schaeffer took over as editor. It had been around for a long time. As early as 1832, Minor warned that the lack of a consistent gauge²⁹ would eventually spell trouble for the railroads. He suggested gauge standardization either by statute or by vote. Railroad companies could determine the most popular width and follow that standard or leave it to the states to dictate the gauge via legislation.³⁰

By the time Schaeffer took over as editor, there were at least three competing gauge widths: the 4-8-1/2-ft. width common in the North and New England; the 6-ft. gauge of the New York and Erie Railroad and the 5-ft dimension of the South. The Journal vented the question, exploring the technical benefits of each of the three.³¹

The Journal's role in educating engineers expanded beyond the editorial content of the periodical itself. Like many of the trade publications of today, Schaeffer offered a line of related ancillary products to his readers. The Journal sold books on engines, railroad curves, tunnels and other technical subjects. In addition, the Journal offered a line of engineering and surveying instruments, account books and stationary.³² Schaeffer also reached out to engineers through nineteenth-century versions of trade shows by distributing extra copies of special issues of the Journal, a custom which remains

²⁹Railroad gauge was the width or distance between the rails. The standard gauge is now 4-8-1/2 ft., the standard of the roads in the North and New England.

³⁰American Railroad Journal, Jan. 21, 1832, p. 51 and Jan. 28, 1832, p. 66.

³¹See, for example, American Railroad Journal, June 1, 1839, p. 353.

³²See, for example, American Railroad Journal, April 9, 1836, p. 193 and March 11, 1837, p. 145.

today. In 1836, for example, Schaeffer announced plans to send copies to exhibitors at the American Institution.³³

Schaeffer and Minor also experimented with innovative policies that never caught on--except at the Journal. Perhaps one of the most innovative ways to bind the engineer to the Journal was the reading room. Located adjacent to the Journal's editorial offices, the reading room was part mail drop, library and meeting ground for engineers from across the country. The editor promised that the room would be stocked with the latest domestic and foreign scientific periodicals, reports and documents sent to Schaeffer as well as back volumes of the Journal. Here engineers could do research, keep up on their field, and have a "frequent and easy intercommunication" with others in their profession.³⁴ This room reflected the Journal's role within the engineering profession itself in the late 1830s--the periodical had become a place where engineers could exchange ideas, study and keep up with their fields.

That kind of forum was needed because engineers had been unable--or unwilling--to set up a national professional organization. Schaeffer was not the first--or the last--editor to see the need for such an association. He was one of the first to publicize the need to this specialized audience. The American Railroad Journal made an engineering association one of its prime goals, a task still unfulfilled by 1850.

Schaeffer saw a national organization as the only means to higher standards for engineers--and the time was right for those

³³American Railroad Journal, July 30, 1836, p. 465 and Dec. 3, 1836, p. 753.

³⁴American Railroad Journal, April 15, 1840, pp. 225-6.

higher standards. Already the profession was witnessing the influx of many poorly trained engineers who owed their jobs to political connections rather than experience. As a result, railroads were inappropriately located and roads badly surveyed. There were too many unsafe conditions and huge cost overruns. Nonetheless, experienced engineers balked at forming such an association. As Schaeffer wrote,

They who have held the rod, have carried the compass and level, have surveyed hundreds of miles of railroads and canals, and superintended the construction of not a few, are not pleased with the idea of being ranked with those who having failed as lawyers, doctors, storekeepers, or office hunters 'turn their attention,' as the phrase it, to Civil Engineering, and who, in only too many instances, have at once received appointments to which they should have looked after five or six years arduous service in the field in the various grades of the profession.³⁵

As the depression deepened in the late 1830s and early 1840s, Schaeffer continued along these lines. Only well trained, experienced engineers should have a hand in the design and survey of the few roads being constructed. Instead, ill-trained by "politically correct" engineers were benefitting from the disorganization in the field. These engineers underestimated costs, proposed inappropriate routes, failed to plan for geography; as a result certain roads, especially those in the West, were in jeopardy.³⁶

³⁵American Railroad Journal, Dec. 15, 1839, p. 353.

³⁶American Railroad Journal, Dec. 15, 1839, pp. 354-5; Oct. 15, 1842, p. 212. See Nov. 15, 18742, p. 292 for a full discussion of engineering problems which spelled disaster for the railroad industry.

The hard times that followed the Panic of 1837 brought a certain maturity to the American Railroad Journal, still the only publication covering this industry. The boosterism of the early period was increasing supplemented by a realistic appraisal of the strengths and weaknesses of the railroad industry. True, it extolled the industry's achievements as any trade publication might be expected to do (even today); but it expanded its vision. It realistically appraised the economic and political situation of the day and urged the industry to adopt policies and follow practices appropriate to the realities of the day. But the Journal grew beyond even this role to industry conscience. Particularly in the 1840s, the Journal was ever reminding railroads that they were public transportation systems--with responsibilities to the public.

As extoller of the industry, Schaeffer and Minor, who would return to the publication in 1843 after a four-year absence, saw railroads as the preferred internal improvement. In the depression days, little money was available. Increasingly, state legislatures were called on to fund more and more internal improvements projects. One of the most controversial of these projects (and the most hare brained, according to the Journal) was a plan to enlarge the Erie Canal. That promised a significant reduction in the amount of financial support from the state to the railroads. "Ontario" could see no sense to the scheme at all. For less than half the amount needed to enlarge the canal, the state could "well complete every important line of railway in the State of New York." Continuing along those lines, "JEB" warned state legislatures like New York could delay support of railroads. "It is high time public attention should be

directed to the cheapness with which railways can carry freight and passengers, also troops for the defence of the sea-board and the lakes."³⁷

But competition for state funding wasn't the only problem facing the railroad industry as the depression deepened. Criticism of the railroads was mounting. Fares were too high; railroads were mismanaged; expenses were exorbitant; certain lines were labeled monopolies; and railroads were finding themselves targets of legislation which was not altogether to their benefit. In each of these issues, a realistic industry leader was needed. And that leader turned out to be the American Railroad Journal.

In 1839 and after, the cry of "excessively high and extravagant" fares rose across the land. And the Journal vented the issue. Schaeffer reprinted a letter signed only "Z" from the U.S. Gazette. "Z" complained about the uneven rates across the nation but especially targeted the Philadelphia-to-New York, Philadelphia-to-Baltimore and the Baltimore-to-Washington lines for their abnormally high rates. The letter, which analyzed how much each company made in tonnage and passengers, argued that travelers were paying an excessive rate. In its response to these charges, the Journal provided another set of facts and figures to point out "Z"'s "evident ignorance on the subject of Railroads."³⁸

By the next year, Schaeffer had rethought his position and urged railroad companies to do likewise. The public was suffering in the depression; business and travel were off. Clearly, something had

³⁷American Railroad Journal, Oct. 15, 1839, p. 226 and Nov. 15, 1839, p. 296.

³⁸American Railroad Journal, March 14, 1839, pp. 188-89.

to be done and a rate reduction might be the solution. "...a reasonable reduction of fare is demanded by the spirit of the times..." wrote Schaeffer. Such a move would also make good business sense. Railroads witnessed increased business when fares were reduced, Schaeffer argued.³⁹

The questions of bad planning and mismanagement were more difficult to address. Well before the hard times, the Journal had touched on the topic. Although the periodical was reluctant to criticize a line once it was chartered, Minor and later Schaeffer saw only trouble in the proliferation of routes. More thought had to be given to location. Writing in 1834, Minor emphasized that "judiciously" selected routes could be expected to prosper. So the decision on location had to be made "with great care, and with an eye to future as well as present, usefulness."⁴⁰

Hard times increased this line of discussion. Too many ill planned lines had succumbed during the Panic of 1837 and after. Too many investors had lost money. But Schaeffer insisted, an investment in a "sound" route would still bring a good return. "...judiciously located Railroads will not only pay a good dividend in his investment in the road, but it will, at the same time, greatly enlarge the value of his real estate if he has any."⁴¹

The railroad failures did not stop with the decade's end. The early 1840s brought more questions about railroads as businesses. Again, Schaeffer had to admit many railroad companies had made

³⁹American Railroad Journal, Oct. 15, 1840, p. 226.

⁴⁰American Railroad Journal, June 14, 1834, p. 353.

⁴¹American Railroad Journal, May 27, 1837, p. 321.

mistakes in the past. Without naming specific lines, Schaeffer admitted railroad management had sometimes committed to projects before consulting with engineers. Some projects had been started out of "sheer speculation" -- and typically ended in losses for investors. Some of the problems emanated from some director or stockholder "who imagined himself quite an engineer--and whose ignorance might generally be measured by his conceit." But, Schaeffer observed, those excesses could never be entirely corrected until "the profession of engineering in the country stands upon the same basis and organization with the other professions."⁴²

The problems of management of the railroads were not always engineering flaws, Schaeffer argued. In the early 1840s, the Journal found a wide range of problems within the railroads--from financial mismanagement to technical ill planning. In 1842, in its series on the railroad system, the Journal looked at the financial policies of the railroads. While not providing many specifics, the Journal outlined a list of financial woes. These ranged from diverting funds to so-called "fancy stocks," where only certain individuals benefited , to using money from unintended purposes to the close connection between banks and the railroads.⁴³ Each part of this series attempted to explain the lackluster profit picture for certain railroad companies. Schaeffer saw a number of problems. Some involved location problems--where commerce and populations would not sustain a profitable business. Others involved "overbuilding"--grading roads for two tracks when only one was needed. Another set involved not

⁴²American Railroad Journal, Oct. 15, 1842, pp. 225-27.

⁴³American Railroad Journal, Dec. 1, 1842, pp. 321-4.

designing the line with climatic conditions in mind--railroad ties along certain unnamed lines rotted because of insufficient drainage.⁴⁴

As time passed, the Journal--again under Minor--sometimes fine tuned its criticism. One particular line, the Camden and Amboy, particularly rankled him. Like many lines, the Camden and Amboy company had exacted a monopoly in its charter. The line, which served a busy quarter of New Jersey, kept fares high--too high, according to contributors to the Journal. In a series of articles and editorials, the Journal chronicled the abuses. In a comparison with 68 railroads, the Camden and Amboy charged highest fares for passengers and freight.⁴⁵ That story just proved assertions that the Journal had made earlier. The management of the Camden and Amboy was hurting all of the railroad industry.

Yet we consider the course pursued by them, in the management of their railroad, as calculated to work more injury to the railroad cause, and to produce more prejudice against the railroad system, than all the mismanagement of all the other railroad companies in the country combined; and for the simple reason that they are strictly a monopoly.⁴⁶

The 1840s also forced the Journal to keep track of government policies that seemed destined to hurt the railroad industry. Minor's philosophy on government was simple--government should keep out of the railroad's business. This principal could be applied to all levels

⁴⁴American Railroad Journal, Nov. 15, 1842, pp. 292-3, and Oct. 14, 1842, pp. 225-7.

⁴⁵American Railroad Journal, July 22, 1848, pp. 467-8.

⁴⁶American Railroad Journal, July 8, 1848, p. 433.

of government. On the national level, the government threatened the industry's growth with a tariff on railroad iron. The publication urged its readers to work against the measure.⁴⁷ State policies could be as irksome. A proposed New York state bill which allowed passengers to demand the return of a prepaid fare within 20 minutes after arriving at the end of the line was "one of the most monstrous absurdities of the day." And the Journal was not alone in its criticism. The bill was opposed by many railroads "from Schenectady to Buffalo."⁴⁸ And city ordinances could be as unreasonable. Baltimore, for example, was trying to keep trains out of the city.

The time will come when legislators, both municipal and State, will learn that the lesser must yield to the greater good--that the business of a commercial city, and of a whole community, must be subject to the fewest possible restraints....

Baltimore would be no exception, Minor argued.⁴⁹

In the late 1840s, the railroads seemed tied to a brand new industry--the telegraph. In these early days, the telegraph lines followed railroad routes. Yet the railroads did not benefit from the relationship. Telegraphy in America remained a monopoly. Railroads had not input into the management or running of the telegraph company. Until they did, Minor felt railroads should disassociate themselves from the telegraph company. According to Minor, the telegraph was a "a monopoly of the closest kind and threatens to be one of a monstrous character." Railroads were

⁴⁷American Railroad Journal, Oct. 15, 1842, pp. 227-30.

⁴⁸American Railroad Journal, April 1843, pp. 99-100.

⁴⁹American Railroad Journal, April 17, 1845, p. 249.

advised to stay away from the telegraph until they had some input into management of the industry.⁵⁰

The Journal grew into its role of realistic industry leader. At the same time, the publication was also growing into its role of industry conscience.

By the end of the 1840s, railroads had become a public transportation system in its truest sense. With more than 9,000 miles of track operational, thousands more under construction and even more planned, the railroad industry had become a major public transportation system in its truest sense.⁵¹ Yearly, tens of thousands of passengers boarded primitive cars. The railroad industry had become a common carrier transporting thousand of tons of freight cheaply. But railroads did not have the finest safety record in all this. As the 1840s passed, the Journal became more mindful of the railroad's role, not as "mere monopolies, enriching themselves at the cost of the community--nor as great philanthropies impoverishing themselves to the benefit of the public--but public accommodation and the profit of the company are alike to be regarded."⁵²

That meant that the railroad companies had to follow policies which would assure public safety. The Journal had long been a proponent of any measure that might lead to a safer industry. In the 1830s, the Journal called for Grand Jury investigations of accidents producing fatalities.⁵³ In the 1840s, Minor struck upon the idea of a

⁵⁰American Railroad Journal, April 10, 1847, p. 234.

⁵¹Census, Historical Statistics, p. 427.

⁵²American Railroad Journal, Feb 1843, p. 40. See also Feb. 15, 1842, p. 97.

⁵³American Railroad Journal, July 2, 1836, p. 401.

uniformed "railroad police" to patrol the lines for safety infractions. This group would also come up with a list of rules that would help assure the safety of passengers on every line.⁵⁴

Much of the editorial and advertising content seemed to be aimed at assuring the safety of the industry. Each issue carried advertising on the latest "safety switch," or "wrought iron wires," or "safety axle."⁵⁵ Stories outlined what went wrong in catastrophic accidents. After the explosion of a Richmond engine, the Journal reported the Franklin Institute's findings on overheated locomotive boilers. The Franklin Institute concluded, "steam safety plugs should at all times be inserted" to avoid such overheating. But, according to the Franklin Institute, the Richmond engine explosion was only symptomatic of broader problems in equipment in the railroad industry. Because of the overwhelming demand for equipment, "imperfect and unsuitable equipment" was being used on the nation's railroads.⁵⁶

Reader/contributor "C.T.J." was not sure if the rash of accidents could be ascribed solely to equipment failure. Human failure was likely to figure into the picture, the writer explained. The almost weekly deadly explosions were caused by "carelessness in some quarter." The Journal agreed. After an engine explosion on the Camden and Amboy line, the Journal urged better training for these engine drivers.

⁵⁴American Railroad Journal, Oct. 1843, pp. 289-91.

⁵⁵American Railroad Journal, Jan. 9, 1845, p. 17 for an example.

⁵⁶American Railroad Journal, March 17, 1849, p. 168.

The locomotive engine is the brain of the whole system.
The engine driver is the master spirit of the whole.
These men should receive the highest pay of any class of
men in the service of the railway, not excepting
superintendents, conductors, or even directors
themselves.

And the railroad companies had to assume the responsibility of
better training these individuals.⁵⁷

The railroad industry also owed its passengers clean and
comfortable accommodations. At the least, railroad companies
should not oversell seats in their cars--"We contend that a company
undertaking to carry passengers, is bound to furnish them with seats,
and comfortable seats too." But seats were the smallest of the
concerns of the Journal. Passengers cars should also be safe. Too
many cars "squeaked and groaned as if complaining...[of] their aged
and jaded limbs."⁵⁸

Thus, by 1849, the Journal had emerged as a mature business
publication and industry leader. It was a good position to be in in
1849. That year would bring major changes to the Journal and the
railroad industry.

In 1849, the Journal was sold. D. Kimball Minor, the off
again/on again editor/publisher, had had enough. For too long, he
had earned less-than-a-satisfactory return for his time, effort and
energy. Even though the publication had reached a circulation of
1,500, the highest in its history, Minor wanted to pursue his fortune
elsewhere--in the gold fields of California.

⁵⁷American Railroad Journal, June 9, 1849, p. 361 and March 9, 1850, p. 153.

⁵⁸American Railroad Journal, Sept. 12, 1846, p. 585 and Sept. 5, 1846, p. 569.

In 1848 on an extended tour of New England to collect debts, drum up advertising and increase circulation, Minor renewed his friendship with John Albert Poor, a railroad tycoon from Maine. By 1849, a deal was struck. Poor paid \$2,500 for the Journal--part in cash and the balance in four six-month installments. Poor brought his brother Henry Varnum Poor in to edit the periodical. Within five years, Poor had transformed the Journal into a financial success. By 1854, the circulation had soared to 4,500.⁵⁹

In 1849, however, Poor had only a few months to make his way as editor of the Journal before he faced major competition for the readership and advertising in the railroad industry.

The competition came from an unexpected quarter. The Poor family's strongest professional connections were in New England. John Albert's lines were primarily in upper New England. Henry Varnum had many contacts within the railroad industry of New England. The Journal had also stepped up its New England coverage once the Poores took over.

Nonetheless, the competition developed not in the Northeast or in the South but in the very center of the Poor strength--New England. The Railway Times, based in Boston, was a weekly that made its debut on Dec. 1, 1849, under John A. Haven as editor.

The Railway Times was a periodical dedicated specifically to New England interests. Initially it employed a kind of controlled circulation.⁶⁰ However, this publication was not designed to be a

⁵⁹Chandler, Henry Varnum Poor, pp. 20 and 42.

⁶⁰Apparently, it was initially sent free to "qualified individuals," railroad directors "and others interested in such matters, whenever we learn their address." Railway Times, Dec. 1, 1849, p.2.

philanthropic endeavor. The subscription price was set at \$3 a year, even to those directors that initially got the publication free of charge.

At first, the weekly had to rely on a general advertising base for revenue. Patent medicines, clothing stores, real estate agents, restaurants and insurance companies all advertised in this new periodical.⁶¹ Eventually, the newspaper developed a more specialized railroad appeal in its advertising. On the editorial side, the early issues emphasized the technical side of the railroad industry.⁶² In 1849, for example, the Railway Times carried news on engine developments in New England thusly,

The pattern in general use here is, with one set of drivers, leading and trail wheels of about 16 tons weight, yet larger ones are used on many lines for the express trains of 25 tons. Those of recent construction for branch lines and small traffic, have the tank attached to the engine, thereby saving the running of tender.⁶³

Inventors were invited to submit information on new products but were warned that such announcements should be clear, concise and to the point.

Nothing like puffing will be allowed in our columns. A fair and candid statement of facts, submitted to the editor of some other competent person upon whom he can rely, is all that will be allowed; no articles or merchandise or machinery will secure

⁶¹See, for example, Railway Times, Dec. 1, 1849, p.1

⁶²A position which might help explain the repositioning of the Journal to a less technical, less engineering-directed publication during the 1850s under Poor.

⁶³Railway Times, Dec. 4, 1849, p. 2.

commendations excepting upon its real merits.⁶⁴

Given that technical orientation from the first issue, it was not surprising that the Times would take up the campaign for higher standards for engineers. By its third issue, the Times was suggesting that states set standards for engineers and "grant them diplomas of competency, without which no one should be allowed to take charge of a steamboat, locomotive or other engine."⁶⁵

Thus, as the railroad industry stood on the threshold of the 1850s, it could boast of two competing trade publications--the American Railroad Journal and the Railway Times. Both would thrive, grow, mature and prosper throughout the coming decades. Moreover, the two would also face an ever expanding array of competition as the years passed.⁶⁶

The purpose of this paper was two-fold: to chronicle the roots of the trade press as they were forged with railroad iron and to outline some of the editorial policies, principles and roles developed by these early periodicals that are still practiced by specialized business publications today.

As the 1840s closed, the history of the trade press in the railroad industry must be told primarily through its premier publication, the American Railroad Journal. Almost 18 years old when the 1840s came to an end, the Journal had suffered through many of the phases commonly associated with human development.

⁶⁴Railway Times, Dec. 11, 1849, p. 2.

⁶⁵Railway Times, Dec. 18, 1849, p. 2.

⁶⁶Mott outlines just a few of the railroad publications. They included: The Railroad Advocate (1854-57); American Railway Review (1859-62); U.S. Railway and Mining Register (1856-1915); Railroad Record (1853-73), Western Railroad Gazette (1857-1903). Mott, A History of American Magazines, p. 81.

In the earliest days, the Journal and the Rail-Road Advocate, its short-lived competitor, were blind enthusiasts. Only the Journal was able to outgrow that exuberance; the Rail-Road Advocate died too young to chart much progress beyond a buoyant youth.

The Journal grew beyond this phrase to mature industry leader. The periodical educated engineers on technical innovations, advised them on the importance of professional standards and organization, informed readers on government policies which threatened to hurt the railroad industry, urged companies to forsake management policies which threatened to cause public ill will or invoke government hostility.

There was another side to the Journal as well--the industry conscience. The Journal ever reminded its readers that railroads had responsibility as a public transportation system. Accordingly, railroads had a responsibility to provide safe, clean and comfortable accommodations.

The American Railroad Journal established high standards for the Railway Times. Blind enthusiasm no longer seemed to be enough for trade publications covering the railroad industry. The Railway Times, when it debuted in 1849, had to provide sound reporting and reasoned editorials from its very beginning. Those would also be the standards for the many railroad publications that would be launched in the 1850s and after.

But the history of this first generation of trade publications covering the railroad industry illustrates that many of the editorial practices and, indeed, the very editorial philosophy of many trade publications today have a long tradition. The Railway Times and,

especially, the American Railroad Journal, were carrying out many of the editorial policies of trade journalism practiced today. The new product updates and technical innovation releases of the Journal and the Times were not all that different from those sections in today's trade books.⁶⁷ Moreover, the ancillary products offered through the Journal were not wholly removed from the lines of specialized equipment offered in many of the more technical trade publications of today.⁶⁸ The realistic industry leadership of the Journal is in keeping with the finest of the specialized business publications today.⁶⁹ The best of the 1990s trade periodicals also aspire to the role of industry conscience--a job which the Journal grew into.⁷⁰

Each of these functions point to the broader editorial philosophy that many of today's trade publications seemed to share with the American Railroad Journal of the pre-1850 period. Many of today's trade publications boast that their function is advanced training in their respective fields. They also boast of independence from special interests. The Journal could also make that boast. In fact, it did. As Minor observed, "The Journal belongs to the CAUSE--

⁶⁷For an example, see "Technology Update," Magazine Design and Production, March 1991, pp. 46-47.

⁶⁸The ancillary products range from the high technology, CD-Rom discs from BPI Communications Inc., Publishing News, April 15, 1991, p. 6, to the paper-based "1991 Occupational Health and Safety Magazine Purchasing Sourcebook."

⁶⁹One way that today's trade publications are trying to achieve industry leadership is by sponsoring trade shows, a kind of ancillary product in and of itself. See, for example, Magazine Design and Production's involvement in the Print Production trade shows, Magazine Design and Production, February 1991, p.4. National Mortgage News was truly an industry leader as it broke the various savings and loan institutions. See CJR, November/December 1990, p. 18.

⁷⁰See, for example, Sid Bernstein, "Time for More Self-Policing," Advertising Age, Jan. 28, 1991, p. 20 and Stephen G. Minter, "Danger, Will Robinson," Occupational Hazards, February 1991, p. 7.

not to any individual or company...."⁷¹ That's a sentiment with which many of today's trade editors could be comfortable.

⁷¹American Railroad Journal, Oct. 23, 1845, p. 679.

THE MORMON PROBLEM:
THE PRESS REACTS TO MORMONS, POLYGAMY
AND REYNOLDS V. UNITED STATES IN 1879

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Presented to the American Journalism Historians Association
for its Annual Conference October 3-5, 1991
Philadelphia, PA

Because we hold it for a "fundamental and undeniable truth," that religion, or the duty which we owe to our creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction and not by force or violence. The religion, then, of every man, must be left to the conviction and conscience of every man; and it is the right of every man to exercise it as these may dictate. This right, is, in its nature, an unalienable right.

James Madison, 1785¹

When James Madison, the Bill of Rights author, applied the above thoughts on religious freedom to parchment, he was merely recording the feelings of most Americans in the formative days of the United States.² This "unalienable right" of worship eventually transformed itself into the first clause of the First Amendment of the Bill of Rights. That clause, taken at face value, appears straight forward and easy to understand. "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof,"³ but interpreting the limits of free exercise and restrictions on establishment has kept the courts busy since the first exercise clause case, Reynolds v. United States,⁴ was decided by the United States Supreme Court in January 1879.

The Reynolds case asked the Court to decide whether the practice of polygamy, as practiced by members of the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-Day Saints, better known as Mormons, was a form of the free exercise of religion protected by the First Amendment. A unanimous Court ruled that plural marriages, even if they were perceived to be part of the exercise of religion, violated a valid congressional law and could not be permitted. A portion of that law, the Morrill Act of 1862, was aimed directly at Mormons and their polygamous practices. There can be no doubt that the Mormons, founded by Joseph Smith in the 1820s, evoked hostility from the communities in which they lived. Mormon religious practices, which included strenuous efforts to

proselytize Gentiles,⁵ varied enough from the accepted tenets of mainline American religions that the Mormons were herded along a bloody trail from New York to Illinois, Missouri and eventually to the "State of Deseret," Utah.

For the Supreme Court, the Mormon question in Reynolds turned on laws, which, it said, "are made for the government of actions, and while they cannot interfere with mere religious belief and opinions, they may with practices."⁶ The Morrill Act limited practice; that decision remains constitutionally valid.⁷ More than one hundred years after the Reynolds decision, the attack on Mormons and polygamy by the branches of government remains a subject of scholarly debate,⁸ and the challenges to the validity of limiting the Mormons' exercise of religion because of their polygamous practices both in the nineteenth century and today have been addressed.⁹ The reaction of the press to the Mormon question that Reynolds v. United States raised, however, has not faced the same close scrutiny. This paper explores "The Mormon Problem," as many papers referred to the Mormons and their peculiar religious practices, to determine how the press treated the group.

Such an investigation is important because the press, more than any number of Supreme Court decisions, reveals the true sentiments of America concerning Mormons. Such a look at the press and its dealings with Mormons also affirms John Lofton's findings that, "except when their own freedom was discernibly at stake, general circulation newspapers have tended to go along with efforts to suppress deviations from the prevailing political and social orthodoxies of their time and place rather than to support the right to dissent."¹⁰ The slant of articles, the number of times Mormon issues appear in the papers, the frequency with which papers publish stories about bigamy trials and the editorial biases speak to American prejudice and press callousness to First

Amendment rights that do not directly affect them. There was little doubt that among nineteenth-century American "Gentiles," as the Mormons called non-Saints, Mormon polygamy was religiously anathema and morally corrupt. This investigation will tell us something about the American opinion of Mormons and something about the press at the same time. The goal is not to determine whether Reynolds was deserving of First Amendment protection but to observe the reaction of America, as witnessed in print, that cast aside the Mormon demand for First Amendment protection without so much as a word of dissent. To observe the press' reaction to Mormons, polygamy and Reynolds v. United States, representative daily papers from the nation will be reviewed. The New York Times represents the Northeast; the Chicago Tribune, the Midwest; the Atlanta Daily Constitution, the South and the San Francisco Chronicle, the West.¹¹ Papers will be searched to see the reaction to Reynolds, handed down on January 6, 1879 and the subsequent treatment of Mormons throughout the year.

The Mormons and Polygamy

Mormonism, as a religion, was the progeny of Joseph Smith.¹² Smith was born and grew to adulthood during the first quarter of the nineteenth century in New York, the site of a tremendous number of religious revivals.¹³ In 1820, Smith claimed a series of heavenly visitations from God and Jesus that told him all existing churches were in error. The truth, Smith was told, would be revealed to him at a later date. That revelation, upon which Smith founded his new religion, came in the form of a set of golden tablets that he unearthed and later translated into English from a hieroglyphic text. The tablets told how some of the Hebrews had traveled to North America after the fall of the Tower of Babel and of how evil subsequently triumphed over good in the New

World. Evil in North America finally succumbed to God's prophet, Mormon, and his son Moroni.

Smith published the tablets' translation as the Book of Mormon in 1830, and he based the Latter-Day Saints on that translation and the Bible. By the 1840s, Smith's religious amalgamation acquired a following, but unrest followed wherever the Mormons went because Mormon beliefs varied from the tenets of America's mainline Protestant and Catholic religions. Persecution forced the Mormons to move from state to state, but they established themselves in Illinois long enough to build the city of Nauvoo into an establishment of 10,000 people. It was in Nauvoo that Smith and his brother, Hyrum, were arrested after ordering the dissident Mormon newspaper, the Nauvoo Expositor, destroyed.¹⁴ The two died after an angry mob broke into the jail in Carthage and gunned the pair down. The majority of the Mormons then moved westward under the guidance of Brigham Young until they arrived in the Mexican territory of Utah in 1847. They named their new home the State of Deseret.

Of all the Mormon practices, the one that most angered their opponents was that of multiple marriages. Smith introduced this concept of plural marriages sometime in 1841 after he had received a "revelation from God." This revelation, which allowed men to have multiple wives but not vice versa, was published by the Mormons in The Doctrine and Covenants. It said, "[I]f he have ten virgins given unto him . . . he cannot commit adultery, for they belong to him, and they are given to him, therefore is he justified."¹⁵ This decree, however, contradicted what the 1830 Book of Mormon said about marriage: "For there shall not any man among you have save it be one wife; and concubines he shall have none. . . ."¹⁶ The Mormons did not make their practice of plural marriages publicly known until 1852, and the practice became a problem for the

United States because the country had acquired Utah from Mexico in 1850.

Americans reacted vehemently to the practice of polygamy. Many saw it as an evil as abhorrent as slavery. In that context, Congress turned its attention from the Civil War just long enough in 1862 to pass the Morrill Act, which included this language concerning polygamy:

[E]very person having a husband or wife living, who shall marry any other person, whether married or single, in a Territory of the United States . . . shall . . . be adjudged guilty of bigamy, and, upon conviction thereof, shall be punished by a fine not exceeding five hundred dollars, and by imprisonment not exceeding five years.¹⁷

America's postwar presidents, Grant and Hayes, condemned polygamy and the practices of the Mormon church. Even though Congress made polygamy illegal in the territories with the Morrill Act and presidents condemned the practice, a civil war and the reconstruction of the South absorbed most of the nation's energy in the years following the outlawing of polygamy. More than a decade passed before any Mormon polygamy case came before the courts. When George Reynolds, a personal secretary to Brigham Young, agreed to carry his plural marriage to court, the Mormons and the nation had a "test case" to determine the validity of the polygamy law versus the religion clauses of the First Amendment.

Reynolds v. United States

In August 1874, the Mormons found the man to "test" the validity of the Morrill Act.¹⁸ George Reynolds had just joined the ranks of Mormons with plural marriages. On August 3, 1874, Reynolds married Amelia Jane Schofield; he had married Mary Ann Tuddenham on July 22, 1865.¹⁹ The government charged Reynolds with violating the Morrill Act in October. In order to gain a conviction, the government subpoenaed Reynolds' second wife. Faced with being the wife of a bigamist or with being considered a woman living in an immoral rela-

tionship as a concubine, Amelia Jane testified to the plural marriage of her husband. The result was Reynolds' conviction for violating the Morrill Act. He appealed to the United States Supreme Court on a writ of error, and the Court accepted the case and heard arguments in November 1878.

In deciding the legal and religious ramifications of the case, the Court focused on the thoughts of Madison and Jefferson concerning religious liberty. The "unalienable right" to exercise religion, as Madison's "Memorial and Remonstrance" of 1785 claimed, and Jefferson's "Wall of Separation,"²⁰ Chief Justice Waite said, provided the "true distinction between what properly belongs to the church and what to the state."²¹ As a result, "Congress was deprived of all legislative power over mere opinion, but was left free to reach actions which were in violation of social duties or subversive of good order."²² The actions of the Mormons, the Court declared, were controllable. Plural marriages could be a religious belief but not an action.

. . . Laws are made for the government of actions, and while they cannot interfere with mere religious belief and opinions, they may with practices. Suppose one believed that human sacrifices were a necessary part of religious worship, would it be seriously contended that the civil government under which he lived could not interfere to prevent a sacrifice? Or if a wife believed it was her duty to burn herself upon the funeral pile (sic) of her dead husband, would it be beyond the power of the civil government to prevent her carrying her belief into practice?²³

Reynolds' lawyers countered by pointing out that polygamy was not prohibited by any moral code like the crimes of murder or theft. The belief in plural marriage and the practice of it were in no way offensive to the citizens of the Utah territory. Those citizens, the lawyers said, felt this was another example of legislative excess as the federal government attempted to control actions protected by the religion clauses of the First Amendment. Reynolds' lawyers interpreted "unalienable right" and "Wall of Separation," as viewed through the free exercise of religion, differently than the Court:

One who commits or abstains from an act under a belief that it is God's will that he should do so, is free from guilt. . . . [H]e cannot be criminally responsible, since guilty intent is not only consciously absent, but there is present a positive belief that the act complained of is lawful, and even acceptable to the Deity. . . .²⁴

The Court, however, said that if Utah belonged to the United States, its citizens would live by United States law. That meant that no plural marriages would be allowed. Waite asked, "Can a man excuse his practices to the contrary because of his religious belief?" The Chief Justice provided his own answer: "To permit this would be to make the professed doctrines of religious belief superior to the law of the land, and in effect to permit every citizen to become a law unto himself. Government could exist only in name under such circumstances."²⁵ The "odious" practice of polygamy was illegal, and no amount of protestation under a First Amendment rationale would change that fact. The testing of the Morrill Act ended, and Reynolds began his two-year prison sentence.

The Press Deals with Mormons, 1830-1878

America's press found plural marriages "odious" and considered polygamy a detested crime. In 1878 and 1879, the New York Times published eighty-seven stories about plural marriage court cases, and the count did not include coverage of Reynolds. But America's press coverage of the Mormons did not begin with Reynolds. Joseph Smith's golden tablets evoked press notice in Palmyra, New York in 1829. The town's paper, the Reflector, made derogatory references about Smith's "Golden Bible."²⁶ With the murder of Smith and his brother Hyrum, the press launched an informational deluge about the Latter-Day Saints. The murders received front-page coverage in hundreds of United States papers.²⁷ The accounts of the accused Mormon murderers, even in religious newspapers, allowed the readers to feel as though they were a part of the

trial scene. "Every body almost attending court comes armed to the teeth, and frequently muskets and rifles will be seen taken out of wagons with as much deliberation as if they were attending a militia muster instead of attending a court of justice." North Carolina's Baptist newspaper explained.²⁸

The national reaction to Mormons, specifically plural marriages, manifest itself in the Republican platform in the 1856 presidential election. As the party constructed the platform for its candidate, John C. Fremont, it called for the eradication of the "twin relics of barbarism," slavery and polygamy, and in effect declared war on both.²⁹ The nation turned its attention to the issue of slavery, spent four years in war and another twelve in Reconstruction, before focusing upon the second of the relics, polygamy. Yet even in the midst of the threats of civil war, the Nashville Daily News could turn away from slavery to slander Mormons.

[T]he Mormons call their wives their cattle; they choose them pretty much as they choose their cattle. . . . Incest is common. Sometimes the same man has a daughter and her mother for wives at once. The ill-assorted children--the offspring of one father and many mothers--run about like so many wild animals . . . and are fit to steal, rob and murder emigrants.³⁰

In the middle of the Civil War, the Morrill Act of 1862 provided the legislation the country needed to see to it that polygamy might perish like slavery. After freeing itself of war and the rebuilding of the South, the country began its move toward polygamy's eradication.

Even though the nation knew of the Mormon practice of polygamy and universally detested it, Mormons were for the most part tucked safely away from view in the Utah Territory. But even before the Civil War, the press warned that "the Mormons are preparing to emigrate."³¹ As the Mormons carried their religion outside the territories, polygamy became more of a problem. The New York Times related Mormon movements on a regular basis, even before the Reynolds

Supreme Court decision, much like troop movements.³² When the Court heard arguments in the case, beginning November 14, 1878, the coverage and printed assault on Mormons commenced in earnest. On the fifteenth the Times reported the case from the Supreme Court, giving the arguments presented by Reynolds' lawyer Ben Sheeks and by Attorney General Charles Devens. Devens' rebuttal was termed "eloquent and impressive," and an editorial of November 16, "Is Polygamy a Crime?," presented the issue at stake in the case. "Has the United States any constitutional right to prohibit polygamy in the Territories?" The Mormons, the editorial maintained, felt that it was no one's business if a man had one or twenty wives so long as his actions were based upon honestly held religious beliefs. The Times, however, felt that such claims for religious protection were outweighed by morals and national conviction:

If polygamy is a crime against moral order and the well-being of society, no amount of alleged religious consecration can, or should, sanctify it. And, if it be once admitted that any form of religious faith may be allowed to shield practices which are not crimes because they are not committed with evil intent against the rights of others, then the door is open to an infinite variety of evilness.³³

The press and Americans saw the question of Mormons and polygamy as an issue beyond First Amendment rights. In fact, no amount of First Amendment dickering could legitimize polygamy in the eyes of "Gentile" America. With the case presented to the Supreme Court, the nation waited for the only possible decision: the affirmation of Reynolds' guilt. That decision came in January 1879.

Cutting Out the Mormon Cancer: 1879

When the Court's decision in Reynolds was announced on January 6, the country already felt it knew the outcome. The Supreme Court decision against polygamy "will surprise no one--not even the Mormon hierarchy," the San Fran-

cisco Chronicle said in its editorial of January 8. Throughout 1879, the newspapers followed Mormons and polygamy. Often times it was to report the further events that unfolded after the Reynolds decision. At other times, the papers printed editorials concerning the continuing saga of controlling polygamy in Utah and removing it from America. Rarely did letters appear, but when they did they were as negative as the editorials. Often, particular events occurred that reflected a personal interest in Mormons and polygamy. In New York, the continued arrival of European immigrants, who were often Mormon converts,³⁴ concerned the New York Times' editorial staff. Twenty-five million Europeans arrived in America from 1815-1890, and most of them came through New York. Immigrants, especially those who advocated a practice as abhorrent and illegal as polygamy, represented a danger to the country, the Times intimated. In San Francisco, the Mormons were a threat to the linkage of East and West because the railroad's connection of the two regions passed through the Utah Territory. In Georgia, the Atlanta Daily Constitution dealt most favorably with the Mormons of all the papers until the murder of the Mormon missionary to the Cherokees, Joseph Standing. With personal concerns and an eye on Mormons everywhere, the papers did not let the Mormon problem die in 1879.

When the New York Times broke the story of Reynolds v. United States on January 7, it did so in its general coverage of the Supreme Court. The case was not even the first listed. The report presented just the facts and drew no inferences. In San Francisco, the Chronicle did the same and ran the full text of the decision as it "relates to the prisoner's plea of religious belief and to the constitutional power" on January 11. The Chicago Tribune's article was written in a similar fashion to both of the above. In the Tribune's words:

This Court, in a long and carefully-prepared opinion, delivered by the Chief Justice, holds that polygamy is not under the protection of the

clause of the Federal Constitution which prohibits interference with religious belief; that a plea of religious conviction is not a valid defense; that Congress did not step outside the limits of its constitutional powers, in passing the law for suppression of polygamy in Utah."³⁵

Even though each paper reported the facts of the trial in an unbiased manner, editorials accompanied the decision or followed it by a day. These editorials revealed the feelings of the press and America towards Mormons. With the decision, the consensus among the press and nation was that Mormonism might survive, but "this degrading practice [of polygamy] cannot be very long-lived."³⁶ The press wasted no time in applauding the unanimous Supreme Court decision as one that would protect the nation. Of all the initial reactions to Reynolds, none was more caustic than that of the San Francisco Chronicle. Its page one opinion on the Mormons following the announcement of Reynolds referred to polygamy as "the Mormon ulcer, fattening itself on the intermural basin." But even a Supreme Court decision, the paper stated, might not be enough to solve the problem. The Chronicle speculated that the only way to solve "the Mormon Problem" might be by the sword "to cut at last the Mormon cancer out of our sunset shoulder."³⁷

Reynolds called into question Congress' right to create a law that might violate the religious clauses of the First Amendment, and the initial editorials addressed the problem. The New York Times, San Francisco Chronicle and Chicago Tribune had no problem with the decision. "It is to the credit of the American people that the highest judicial tribunal of the nation has decided, with the unanimous concurrence of the Judges, that polygamy is unlawful in the Territory of Utah as well as in other portions of this country,"³⁸ the Tribune declared. The Times addressed the issue more directly:

It was alleged that the Constitution of the United States expressly prohibited any interference with polygamy, as a religious rite, in the clause which declares that "Congress shall make no law respecting an

establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." . . . George Reynolds, in his defense, claimed that the United States statute of 1862 was a direct contravention of the above-quoted clause of the Constitution. . . . [It] merely extended over the Territories the common law in relation to bigamy which exists in every state in the Union.³⁹

The San Francisco Chronicle saw the argument as one of fundamental rights in society. Society disdained polygamy; it, therefore, had no First Amendment rights. "[T]he right of Congress to legislate for the protection of the fundamental principles of society," the Chronicle said, "cannot be abridged by the Mormon claim of religious belief, any more than it could by the claim of certain other religious beliefs that human sacrifices are necessary. . . ." ⁴⁰

Editors of these papers harbored no doubts that the Mormon claim of First Amendment protection for plural marriages was unjustifiable. The New York Times went on to drive home the point with another editorial six months later. In its editorial, "Law and Conscience," the paper paralleled the actions of murder and polygamy as evil actions that some were trying to sanction under the guise of religious exercise.

The right of individual and religious opinion is just now very strenuously insisted upon in this country. Anything may be done in the name of religion. In Pocasset, Mass., for example, a child was killed by its father, who insisted that he had received a divine command to offer up his offspring as a sacrifice. In Utah, the Mormons contend that they have divine warrant, if not divine injunction, to marry as many wives as each man may choose to take unto himself. . . .

According to the laws of the land, the Freemans, of Pocasset[t], are guilty of murder. The Utah Mormons, under the law are amenable for the crime of polygamy. . . . The plea of the Mormons is precisely like that of the Pocasset murderers. . . . [P]olygamy is commanded by divine revelation; that the Constitution forbids the enactment of any law prohibiting the free exercise of religion, and that legal interference with polygamy, as practiced by the Mormon Church, is an unconstitutional invasion of the rights of conscience. . . .

This is precisely the argument, with a change of terms, which would be advanced by the Pocasset child slayers. . . . Such delusions as these can only be cured by an application of the severest remedy.⁴¹

As the newspapers in New York, Chicago and San Francisco applauded Reynolds and condemned polygamy, Atlanta readers were treated to a watered-

down version of the above. How could the purveyors of the first removed branch of the "twin relics of barbarism" be totally hostile to the purveyors of the second? Even if Southerners detested polygamy, the temperament of a nation twenty years prior made Southerners and Mormons strange bedfellows.

Republicans and others in 1850s America had cast the basis of southern society, slavery, into the pot with Mormon polygamy. The South detested the way in which the rest of the nation had attempted to dictate its way of life, and consequently, southern congressmen joined together to filibuster against the first attempts to pass the Morrill Act prior to the Civil War. Its passage could have led to limiting slavery, as well as polygamy, in the territories,⁴² so it was not totally out of character for the Atlanta Daily Constitution to offer caution in its initial remarks concerning Reynolds and polygamy.

The Atlanta paper first acknowledged the Reynolds decision on January 10. Its editorial carried a sympathetic plea for the innocent women and children that would be hurt by the enforcement of the Morrill Act.

Were this law fully enforced, a good part of the Mormon population would be sent to prison, their children declared illegal, their wives concubines, and their property seized in judgment of fines against them. . . . The problem involves the stoppage of polygamy without the infliction of unnecessary hardship, and this includes questions very difficult of treatment. For example, shall plural wives of to-day and their offspring be cut off from sharing in the estates of their Mormon husbands? They are the victims of polygamy, and the law as it stands is merciless towards them.⁴³

The Daily Constitution understood the trials that many Mormons were about to face since it represented Southerners who had experienced the hardships of the expurgation of one of the "twin relics." Although the paper had to put its personal empathy aside and admit "polygamy must be discountenanced [and] it[s] growth at least, must be stopped," the Daily Constitution offered a solution to the dilemma that would protect its innocent victims. Let those who are al-

ready a part of a plural marriage continue, and then in the case of further plural marriages, "[l]et the law in such cases be enforced to the letter."⁴⁴

Two weeks later, the paper supported its position in another editorial. "60,000 women are in danger of becoming husbandless in one blow, and several times that number of innocent children legally fatherless."⁴⁵ The editorial did not lay blame for "The Mormon Problem" on Joseph Smith, Brigham Young or any of the Latter-Day Saints. Instead, it blamed the country for its permissive attitude:

The country is brought face to face with a problem of gigantic proportions as a natural and just penalty of its neglect in the past. It has permitted polygamy to go on gathering strength, until it has become uncertain whether the evil has not become permanent and impregnable. . . . The further we go in this matter, the more fully we see what a maze of difficulties our re-missness in the past has gotten us into.⁴⁶

With this editorial, however, the southern newspaper began to divorce itself from "twin relic" status. "We have permitted an institution to grow up in the heart of the country that is an offense to all civilized society; we freely admit the wickedness of polygamy; we heartily desire its extinction. . . ."⁴⁷ The Daily Constitution wanted to bring polygamy to an end, but it wanted to do it at the least expense to those this law would harm.

The Mormon problem for all purposes dropped from the Atlanta Daily Constitution's pages and interests for seven months after its January editorials. It arose again following a July 21 Whitfield County, Georgia, murder of Mormon missionary Joseph Standing. Standing, who worked with the Cherokees, was, according to Mormon testimony, abducted and shot in the head as he attempted to escape.⁴⁸ Outraged at this event, the editorial page of the Constitution declared:

The last exhibition of mob violence in Georgia, the killing of Joseph Standing, the Mormon, was absolutely and utterly without excuse, and should be condemned and punished. The governor has ordered his

proclamation for reward for the capture of these murderers, and chances are that they will be brought before the courts."⁹

Outrage turned into disgust for Standing when a page one story on Sunday, August 24, revealed "the other side of the story" concerning the Mormon missionary. In a "special" to the paper entitled "A Lustful Lout," the Constitution reported the account of a man, supposedly of God, who converted the wife of the man with whom he was boarding and his two daughters to Mormonism, and got one of the daughters pregnant. In addition, the article alleged:

[We are pained to say that his intimacy with women was not by any means confined to this one family. Some three or four, if not more, young ladies living in the vicinity of Varnell's station, whose names we prefer not now to mention, met with their ruin by this man; one of the young ladies is the daughter of one of the murderers. Nor does this tale stop here, as he has caused trouble in several families by being too intimate with their wives, and trying to get them to adhere to the Mormon faith and persuading them to emigrate to the Mormon country.

Although the Constitution's position on Mormons after the death of Standing changed to disgust of the group, the paper originally had proposed temperance for the Latter-Day Saints in the weeks following the Reynolds decision. That call for temperance carried little sway with the other papers. As the major Mormon events of 1879 unfolded, the papers continued their attack aimed at the eradication of polygamy. At times, however, it seemed as though the eradication of Mormonism was the aim. On January 20, Mormons, led by Brigham Young's two daughters, marched on the Capitol to speak to the House Judiciary Committee on behalf of the women and children soon to be without legal husband or father. A Chicago Tribune letter addressed this problem of being "outcasts" and "illegitimate." "To all the world beside they are that now, and no more disgrace, nor as much, would attach to those women when separated from their so-called husbands."¹⁰ The New York Times was even more hostile than the Chicago letter writer: "[T]hese whining hypocrites implore us not to take away

their women, brand them with dishonor, and declare their offspring illegitimate."⁵¹ While the New York Times and Chicago Tribune were reporting on Mormon activity in the East, the San Francisco Chronicle kept tabs on western action. Mormons all over Utah met to denounce the Supreme Court justices as "hell-hounds" and to affirm that polygamy would continue.⁵²

By summer, Mormons gathered 20,000 signatures to send to President Hayes asking for a way around Reynolds. The San Francisco Chronicle was fearful that Hayes and the cabinet might seriously consider the proposal. "No Christian Cabinet in the world would for a moment entertain such a prayer . . . yet . . . Mr. Hayes and his Cabinet really entertain the polygamist petition. . . ." The Chronicle continued, "It is humiliating to be forced to write, but there is the fact; and in these stupid times . . . it will not be surprising should the Cabinet recommend that Reynolds' sentence be considerably weakened . . . if not altogether changed under the President's pardoning power."⁵³ The Chicago Tribune had more confidence in the president. "Executive interference to save this polygamist would undoubtedly be construed as an intimidation that the law will be treated as a dead-letter. . . ."⁵⁴

The worry at the San Francisco Chronicle and Chicago Tribune arose because Reynolds' lawyers had petitioned the Court concerning the sentence, which required service at hard labor. The Morrill Act never mentioned the terms of the prison sentence, and many Americans feared that this oversight might be reason enough to overturn the sentence. Their fears subsided when the New York Times reported on June 19 that Reynolds had reached the federal penitentiary in Omaha.⁵⁵ Reynolds did not stay in the Nebraska prison, however. Without warning, the government sent Reynolds to the federal prison in Utah, and the fears that Democrats or Republicans had struck a deal with the Latter-Day

Saints rose. The New York Times reminded its readers of Mormon claims: "This is an unexpected turn of affairs, in view of the boast of Brigham Young, repeated since by Mormon leaders, that Mormon money could bribe any officer of the federal Government, from a Territorial Judge to the presidential chair."⁵⁴

The politics--and economics--of the Mormons in Utah affected the way that the Chronicle looked at the Mormon problem as much as a dislike for polygamy. The paper made that fact quite obvious from the start. California's rapid growth after the gold rush of 1848-49 led to statehood in 1850. Crossing the broad expanse of land that separated California from the remainder of the country could not be accomplished easily, and a boat trip meant sailing around two continents. President Lincoln took the first steps at eliminating that problem, ironically, in 1862, the same year the Morrill Act was signed into law. The Pacific Railroad Act authorized a rail line to the west coast. It was completed in 1869 when the crews working from both east and west met at Promontory Point, just outside of Ogden in the territory of Utah. The San Francisco Chronicle was very much aware that the days of Reconstruction had given way to a Democratic Congress that might be willing, for the sake of the party, to grant Utah statehood for the promise of a Democratic vote in the next election.⁵⁵ On the day before former President Grant visited San Francisco, the Chronicle ran an editorial on the potential alliance between Democrats and Mormons:

The latest plan of our polygamous neighbors of Utah to get that Territory into the Union as a State, is for an alliance with the Bourbon Democracy . . . by the addition of two Senators to their strength in the Senate and three electoral votes in the next Presidential election. The Democrats on their part are expected to concede the question of polygamy to the new State.⁵⁶

The Chronicle feared the power that states' rights would give the Mormons. The economic repercussions to California could be disastrous if the Mormons ever

decided to shut down the portion of the railroad that passed through Utah in order to gain a bargaining chip for plural marriages. Speaking in allegorical terms, the Chronicle referred to the Pacific Railway as the "shaft" of the arrow and its "chief feather" as Salt Lake City. Mormons controlled Californians' welfare and "the most important mining region on the planet."⁵⁰

Because Utah and the Mormons played such a vital role in the welfare of California, the San Francisco Chronicle was willing to urge war to ensure the rail lines would remain open.⁵⁰ The Chronicle also feared the ever-increasing spread of Mormons into other territories and the possibility of their emigration into California. Consequently, the newspaper printed numerous controversial accounts concerning Mormons. In one of them, Idaho resident James Dwiggins, was run off his property by his Mormon son-in-law and left naked to be butchered by Idaho Indians. Dwiggins chose to face the Indians instead of a Mormon lynch mob. Dwiggins' wife, who moved to San Francisco, forfeited the property to her son rather than become a Mormon.⁵¹ In October, the Chronicle published "Mormon Mysteries Revealed," a "full expose of the 'sealing' process in the Salt Lake City Endowment House." Included in this revelation were the promises made at marriage. "You swear to obey the Mormon laws in preference to the laws of the United States on pain of having your throat cut from ear to ear and your tongue cut out"⁵² headed the list. More than any other newspaper, the San Francisco Chronicle feared the potential for disaster that the Mormons could inflict upon its home state. Polygamy and the Reynolds case provided the perfect tool to attack the group legally.

As the gateway to America for European immigrants, New York City and the Times understood the potential benefits--and harm--that immigrants held for the country. From 1815 to 1860, ten million Europeans entered America; another

fifteen million, again mostly through New York City, followed in the next thirty years. Eighty percent of these immigrants remained in the Northeastern part of the United States, and New York City was forced to find a way to welcome, register and relocate these newcomers.⁶³ By the 1850s, foreigners accounted for half of the city's population, and a growing backlash against them known as nativism began to focus on the religion of the immigrant. Roman Catholics, considered conspirators in plans to rid the world of Protestants "on the ancient and profligate altar of Rome," were described as "inferior in intelligence and virtue to the American people."⁶⁴ Jews were the special target of hatred. Signs like "No Jews or Dogs Admitted Here"⁶⁵ were not exceptions.

Considering these forms of bigotry, the city's negative reaction to the arrival of European Mormons was not surprising. What set Mormons apart from Jews or Catholics was the fact that Mormons wanted to proselytize the nation's citizenry and advocated breaking federal law and social decency with the "disgusting feature of their faith,"⁶⁶ polygamy. The New York Times saw in the microcosm of immigration into New York City the potential danger for the nation and warned, "[T]hose who think that the Mormon leaders are depressed, or relaxing their efforts, to secure a permanent foundation for their little empire, deceive themselves."⁶⁷ The emigration from Europe of Mormons, converted by missionaries, only added more troops for the fight, the Times speculated, so it reported the arrival of these immigrants in methodic fashion.

When ships from Europe arrived, the New York Times ran stories like "The First Batch of Mormons," which reported 138 Mormons on a boat with 315 immigrants.⁶⁸ The fact that the Times ran these reports with the focus on Mormons

is significant. It supports the concept that Mormons were a danger to America more than any other immigrants. In June, the Times proclaimed "Mormon Recruits" in its headline, but Mormons were anything but the majority of those on board. "Eleven hundred and six immigrants were landed at Castle Garden yesterday. . . . One hundred and twenty-eight of the Wyoming's passengers were Mormon converts."⁶⁹ As if the Mormons, who comprised less than twelve percent of the passengers were the only ones on the Wyoming, the account commented only on the Latter-Day Saint immigrants. "Several of the women were good-looking. . . . No man among them had more than one wife. . . . They report three more batches as about to sail."⁷⁰ That last "batch" of Mormons arrived in New York on October 28, and the Times announced it the following day.

As the New York Times kept its head count on Mormon immigrants, it supported President Hayes' plan to request European aid to curtail Mormon emigration. In August, the paper reported a circular from the United States government to European governments asking that they keep Mormons from leaving their respective countries. The Times, however, knew the likely result of the request. "The offensive ulcer which they have so long cultivated must be removed, sooner or later. We have not much faith in the efficacy of diplomatic circulars sent forth to invoke the aid of foreign Governments. . . ."⁷¹ The United States did not carry enough political clout in the world in 1879 to restrict Mormon immigration, and these immigrants, the Times figured, comprised the greater part of the estimated 200,000 Mormons in America.⁷² As the Times reported, "Very few [Mormons], except the children born near Utah, are Americans, most of the adults having immigrated from Great Britain, Sweden, and the North of Europe."⁷³ Consequently for the safety of New York and the nation, the Times kept the country alerted to Mormon arrivals because the Mor-

mons were the enemy. Emigrating to America was one thing for Europeans; it was quite a different thing to bring and promote an outlawed practice like polygamy. That was a hostile act, not unlike a military invasion. The New York Times approached the Mormons in just that fashion.

Conclusion

James Madison may have seen the exercise of religion as an unalienable right in 1785, but America's newspapers in 1879 viewed the polygamy practiced by Mormons as an "ulcer" or "cancer" that justifiably must be removed. The fact that the Supreme Court agreed in Reynolds v. United States only supported the newspapers' outburst of disgust concerning polygamy and Mormons throughout the year. In 1879 the prevailing opinion was that Congress had the right to provide legislation for the best interests of society. That meant snuffing out the "odious" practice of polygamy, even if that abridged the religious belief in plural marriages that Mormons held as protected by the First Amendment. In addition, regional fears--both economic and political-- added to the dislike of Mormons. The fear that Mormons in Utah might cut off California from the rest of the nation spurred the San Francisco Chronicle to call for war, if necessary, to bring the Mormons into line. The Chronicle preferred the eradication of the Mormons to ensure railroad stability for itself and the Union Pacific. By 1879's end, "the peculiar institution of Mormonism," according to the paper, was worthy of sending the nation into war just as the "peculiar institution of slavery" had been twenty years earlier. The New York Times, because of the tremendous influx of immigrants and the potential threat Mormon immigrants provided, promoted stiff controls on the Mormons as well, but the Times proposed a strong treatment of cauterization rather than an all-out war. Quoting Dr. O. W. Holmes, the paper advocated a method of medicine

recalled from earlier days--the application of the cauterizing iron. A mysterious disease at a girls' school quickly disappeared when the wise, old doctor produced the glowing iron rod. The Times felt Reynolds was the first application of the iron to the Mormons but proposed "a few more such wholesome applications . . . will bring the law-breakers to their senses."⁷⁴

Even though America opposed polygamy, it could not eliminate it even with the federal legislation.⁷⁵ Utah eventually outlawed the practice, and the territory became the forty-fifth state in 1896. One hundred years after Reynolds, however, the best estimates counted 35,000 polygamists living in the western United States,⁷⁶ and as recently as April 1991, a practicing polygamist of twenty-one years with nine wives appeared on national television to say, "I know of no law that I'm violating."⁷⁷ The American press of 1879 wanted polygamy excised from the fabric of the nation. Mormon claims of First Amendment protection were irrelevant, and, consequently, the press tossed such claims aside as soon as the Reynolds was handed down. As the San Francisco Chronicle said:

All their high talk about such a law interfering with the right of conscience and religion is chaff and nonsense, and the hypocritical cant of a pack of infamous scoundrels, who, for more than a quarter of a century, have been using the name of religion to face this and darker crimes.⁷⁸

Polygamy survives without First Amendment protection. Reynolds remains on the books as a valid interpretation of the Constitution, and the press continues to see no reason to defend First Amendment religious freedoms apparently seeing no correlation between that battle and its own fight for First Amendment privileges.

END NOTES

1. James Madison, "A Memorial and Remonstrance on the Religious Rights of Man," in The Papers of James Madison, ed. Robert A. Rutland and William M. E. Rachal (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973), 8:298.

2. As Madison and the other Constitutional Convention delegates carried the document back to their respective states for ratification in 1787, the call for a Bill of Rights arose immediately. In fact, had not the promise of one been given, the two largest states--Virginia and New York--would have balked at ratification. Virginia had passed "An Act for Establishing Religious Freedom," as written by Thomas Jefferson, in 1786, and religious freedom was utmost in many Americans' minds. Only a century had elapsed since the Act of Toleration's passage in England gave dissenters the right to openly practice their religion. Americans feared the possibility of a state church for the new country. Congregationalism, the principle church of New England, and Anglicanism, the dominant church of the South in the colonial period, were likely choices. Madison corresponded with a number of religious leaders. One of them, John Leland, reminded Madison that as the Constitution presently stood, "Religious Liberty, is not sufficiently secured. . . . [I]t is Very Dangerous leaving Religious Liberty at their [the branches of government] Mercy." From "John Leland's Objections to the Constitution without a Bill of Rights" (1788), reproduced in William R. Estep, Revolution within the Revolution (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1990), 201. Jefferson also reminded Madison "[A] bill of rights is what the people are entitled to against every government on earth."

3. Constitution, amend. I.

4. 98 U. S. 145 (1879).

5. Mormonism, born in a period of religious fervor and revival, had enough of its roots buried in Christian traditions that it appealed to some people who were disillusioned with mainline denominations. The move to Mormonism was not initially a radical step since many Americans were looking forward to a return and rule of Jesus on earth. The total devotion that Mormonism required appeared to be the proper avenue to ready oneself for that event. Since Mormons lived in relatively closed communities, they provided for all the needs of those in the group, much as the communal societies of the period like those at Oneida, New York. Unlike some other groups that were frowned upon by mainline Protestants, proselytizing was an integral part of Mormonism. Much of this missionary zeal came from Mormonism's concept of celestial heaven. Works played an essential part in reaching this highest of three heavens, so becoming a missionary took on nearly mandatory characteristics.

6. Reynolds, supra note 3, 166.

7. After the Morrill Act, other legislative acts were passed to continue the effort to abolish polygamy. The Edmunds Act of 1882 made cohabitation a crime. The Edmunds-Tucker Act of 1887 dissolved the incorporation of the Mormon Church. The Idaho Test Oath Act of 1887 made voters swear they were not polygamists. For exposition of these acts see Ray Jay Davis, "The Polygamous Prelude," American Journal of Legal History 6 (1962): 1-12. The Reynolds decision has been used against Mormons who continue to practice polygamy. See Potter v. Murray City, 760 F.2d 1065 (10th Cir.), cert. denied, 106 S.Ct. 145 (1985).

8. Ray Jay Davis, "The Polygamous Prelude," American Journal of Legal History 6 (1962): 1-27; Kenneth David Driggs, "The Mormon Church-State Confrontation in Nineteenth-Century America," Journal of Church and State 30 (1988): 273-289; Edwin B. Firmage, "The Judicial Campaign against Polygamy and the Enduring Legal Questions," Brigham Young University Studies 27 (1987): 91-117; Orma Linford, "The Mormons and the Law: The Polygamy Cases," Utah Law Review 9 (1964): 308-370.

9. Ray Jay Davis, "Plural Marriage and Religious Freedom: The Impact of Reynolds v. United States," Arizona Law Review 15 (1973): 287-306; Kenneth David Driggs, "After the Manifesto: Modern Polygamy and Fundamentalist Mormons," Journal of Church and State 32 (Spring 1990): 367-389; G. Keith Neidrow, "Polygamy and the Right to Marry: New Life for an Old Lifestyle," Memphis State University Law Review 11 (1981): 303-349; Penelope W. Saltzman, "Potter v. Murray City: Another Interpretation of Polygamy and the First Amendment," Utah Law Review 1986 (Spring 1986): 345-371.

10. John Lofton, The Press as Guardian of the First Amendment (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1980), 279.

11. Newspaper selection was made for the following reasons. The New York Times is indexed through the period. The indexing, along with its complete national coverage made it a logical choice. The selection of the Chicago Tribune and Atlanta Daily Constitution was made simply because they represented two regions of America. The San Francisco Chronicle was the western choice because of its availability and because the San Francisco area was the most important region of the state. By selecting these four papers, a cross section of the nation could be achieved. The newspapers from Salt Lake City would certainly say more about Mormons and polygamy than any other papers in America; however, they would not give a true representation of the nation. The Mormon paper, the Deseret News, tended to ignore any negative press Mormons received in the "Gentile" press. Also, the Salt Lake Tribune, a non-Mormon publication, gives the non-Mormon sentiment of Utah residents instead of the nation at large.

12. Sources on Smith and the Latter-Day Saints are numerous. Among them are Donna Hill, Joseph Smith, the First Mormon (Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1977); Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, The Mormon Experience. A History of the Latter-Day Saints (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977); Jan Shipps, Mormonism. The Story of a New Religious Tradition (Urbana and Chicago: The University of Illinois Press, 1985). For the collected writings of Smith, see Robert L. Millet, ed., Joseph Smith. Selected Sermons and Writings (New York: Paulist Press, 1989).

13. The Second Great Awakening, a religious renewal of greater magnitude than the Great Awakening of the 1740s, ushered in the nineteenth century. New York, especially in the 1820s, was the scene of repeated revivals led by any number of evangelists but most prominently by Charles G. Finney. Finney began his crusade for God in 1821, and the region of western New York became known as the "burned-over district," a name given because of the continuous revivals and the fires that dotted the countryside providing light and marking their occurrences.

14. Loy Otis Banks, "The Role of Mormon Journalism in the Death of Joseph Smith," Journalism Quarterly 27 (1950): 268-281 argues that Smith was gunned down in Nauvoo, Illinois, because he ordered "an apostate journal published by dissenting Mormons," shut down and its press and type destroyed. The Expositor printed one edition on June 7, 1844 in which it challenged many of Smith's doctrines for the Mormons. Smith was arrested, along with his brother Hyrum, on June 24. Three days later, between 150-250 men broke into the jail where the two were incarcerated and filled the jail cell and the two Mormons with bullets.

15. The Doctrine and Covenants, of the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-Day Saints Given to Joseph Smith, Jun., the Prophet, for the Building Up of the Kingdom of God in the Last Days (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Company, 1880; reprint, Westport: Greenwood Press, Publishers, 1971), 473.

16. Jacob 2:27, The Book of Mormon (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, 1986), 121.

17. Act of 1 July 1862, sec. 1, 12 Stat. 501. The Morrill Act was a significant piece of legislation. It set apart lands for the sites of colleges and provided funds for their establishment.

18. New York Times, 19 June 1879, 5. The Times said Reynolds was the ideal selection to test the validity of the law because there could be no question of a statute of limitations since both of his marriages were after the Morrill Act was passed.

19. Linford, 332.

20. "[R]eligion is a matter which lies solely between man & his god, that he owes account to no one other for his faith or his worship. . . . [The] legislature should make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, thus building a wall of separation between church and state." "Thomas Jefferson to the Danbury Baptist Association," (July 1, 1802), in William R. Estep, Revolution within the Revolution (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1990), 172-173.

21. Reynolds, supra note 3, 163.

22. Ibid., 164.

23. Ibid., 166.

24. Brief for Plaintiff in Error, *Reynolds v. United States* 98 U.S. (8 Otto) 145 (1879), at 54-57.

25. Reynolds, supra note 3, at 166-167.

26. Edwin Brown Firmage and Richard Collin Mangrum, Zion in the Courts (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 50. Mormons found themselves involved in litigation wherever they went, and the newspapers, through their coverage in the years prior to the Carthage murders, gave Smith some national standing and helped create a negative image of Mormons (Firmage, 52-58).

27. Banks, 280.

28. Biblical Recorder (Raleigh), 5 July 1845.

29. Linford, 312; Firmage and Mangrum, 129.

30. Nashville Daily News, 25 March 1860, in Firmage and Mangrum, 133.

31. Biblical Recorder (Raleigh), 21 January 1858.

32. See, for example, "Mormons in New York," 26 November 1875; and "Mormons Arrive in New York City," 6 June 1876.

33. New York Times, 16 November 1878, 4.

34. The Mormons, in their proselytizing efforts, sent missionaries to western Europe. Mormon converts were promised land in Utah if they emigrated to the United States.

35. Chicago Tribune, 7 January 1879, 2.

36. New York Times, 8 January 1879, 4.

37. San Francisco Chronicle, 7 January 1879, 1.

38. Chicago Tribune, 8 January 1879, 4.

39. New York Times, 8 January 1879, 4.

40. San Francisco Chronicle, 8 January 1879, 2.

41. New York Times, 4 June 1879, 4.

42. Firmage and Mangrum, 131-132.

43. Atlanta Daily Constitution, 10 January 1879, 2.

44. Ibid.

45. Ibid., 26 January 1879, 2.

46. Ibid. At this time, Congress was debating two bills, one proposed what the Atlanta Daily Constitution did--legitimization of children and wives currently part of polygamous marriages. The other, which eventually became law as the Edmunds Act of 1882, disqualified polygamists from jury duty and made cohabitation a crime.

47. Ibid.

48. Ibid., 7 August 1879, 1.

49. Ibid., 5 August 1879, 2.

50. Chicago Tribune, 21 January 1879, 12.

51. New York Times, 22 January 1879, 4.

52. San Francisco Chronicle, 28 January 1879, 3.

53. Ibid., 15 June 1879, 4.

54. Chicago Tribune, 17 June 1879, 4.

55. The Court heard the arguments concerning the sentence in the middle of June and ruled that the sentence of the district court be set aside and "a new one entered on the verdict in all respects like that before imposed, except so far as it requires the imprisonment to be at hard labor" (Reynolds, supra note 3, at 169).

56. New York Times, 15 September 1879, 1.

57. The 1876 presidential election put Rutherford B. Hayes in the White House by one electoral vote despite the fact that his Democratic opponent, Samuel J. Tilden, won the popular election by 250,000 votes. Had Utah been granted statehood, its electoral votes for the Democrats would have swung the election. The upcoming 1880 election would be just a tightly contested. Republican James A. Garfield did defeat Democrat Winfield S. Hancock by four-tenths of a percentage point of the popular vote. Figures from Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957 (1961) and the U. S. Department of Justice printed in John M. Blum, The National Experience: A History of the United States since 1865 (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Publishers, 1985), 939.

58. San Francisco Chronicle, 20 September 1879, 2.

59. Ibid., 7 January 1879, 1.

60. Ibid.

61. Ibid., 16 January 1879, 4.

62. Ibid., 3 October, 1879, 2.

63. Sean Dennis Cashman, America in the Gilded Age, 2nd ed. (New York and London: New York University Press, 1988), 95, 101-102.

64. William G. Brownlow, Americanism Contrasted with Foreignism, Romanism and Bogus Democracy (1856), in Blum, 313.

65. Cashman, 112.

66. New York Times, 14 August 1879, 4.

67. Ibid., 16 April 1879, 4.

68. Ibid., 2 May 1879, 8.

69. Ibid., 5 June 1879, 3.

70. Ibid.

71. Ibid., 14 August 1879, 4.

72. Even though Mormonism was an American faith, its appeal in the United States was limited to those dissatisfied with Christianity as practiced by mainline denominations. Economic, social and political factors in Europe--combined with the Mormons promise for free land and the chance for a new beginning in America--made the Mormons' work of proselytizing more successful in Europe. Between 1840 and 1900, church historian Sydney Ahlstrom estimates that 90,000 Europeans converted to Mormonism and entered the United States. See Sydney E. Ahlstrom, A Religious History of the American People (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1972), 507 note 4.

73. New York Times, 10 December 1879, 4.

74. Ibid., 4 June 1879, 4.

75. In addition to the Edmunds Act of 1882 and other legislative enactments, the Supreme Court ruled again on polygamy in Davis v. Beason, 133 U. S. 333 (1890). The Court affirmed Reynolds. "However free the exercise of religion may be, it must be subordinate to the criminal laws of the country." . . (342-343).

76. Time, 19 May 1975, 74.

77. "Interview of a Polygamist Family from Utah," interview by Paula Zahn, CBS This Morning (15 April 1991).

78. San Francisco Chronicle, 8 January 1879, 2.

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How Advertisers Defined the Role of Women
During World War II:
An Analysis of Advertisements Appearing in
Ladies Home Journal, 1940-1945

Margaret Mary Gike

Presented at the American Journalism Historians Association
1991 Annual Meeting

**How Advertisers Defined the Role of Women
During World War II:
An Analysis of Advertisements Appearing in
Ladies Home Journal, 1940-1945**

This article reports a content analysis of advertisements appearing in Ladies Home Journal during the World War II years from 1940 through 1945. The research examines advertising appeals directed toward women at a time when record numbers of housewives were joining the paid workforce outside the home. By focusing on advertisements for household commodities, the study considers how advertisers portrayed the role of women and defined a view of women's work.

The research findings indicate that advertisers created and maintained a market for household goods by promoting service to family and emphasizing the value of housework -- not a liberation from work at home -- to redirect women's attention away from activities outside the home. The most common themes during the period were service to family and increased convenience of household products, while the least common advertising appeal was increased leisure time.

I. INTRODUCTION

Introduction

The year was 1942. The United States was at war. and the headlines in popular magazines declared that "The Margin Now is Woman Power!" (1)

While American men were far from home, defending the foundations of freedom against foreign aggression, American women were flooding the workforce in record numbers to support the war effort. Whether it was patriotism, family need or the chance for personal satisfaction that spurred women to take jobs outside the home, between 1940 and 1945 more than six million women who could not fight facism at the front took up the cause in the factories. (2) Almost overnight, women who had never worked for wages met the demand for an increased workforce and moved into new jobs, putting in long hours and six-day weeks as part of a wartime contribution.

And while magazine editors were touting "Woman Power" and praising the contributions of the happy-homemakers-cum-

working woman on the job, magazine advertisers were responding to changes taking place on the homefront too. As wartime economic concerns, coupled with a growing sense of patriotic duty, were transforming women's notions of both paid labor and domestic labor, household goods traditionally targeted toward women (e.g., appliances, household cleaning products) were also changing -- becoming increasingly more mechanized, scientific, "high tech" and labor-saving. (3)

The question, then, for advertisers became: What appeals will sell products now? How do we respond to women's new roles as career women/breadwinners while continuing to market household products to them? How do we create and maintain a market for appliances and other means of domestic labor amidst these social and economic changes?

Statement of Purpose

This article examines the way that advertisers appealed to women during the World War II years between 1940 and 1945. By focusing on advertisements in Ladies Home Journal, the study considers how advertising portrayed the role of women and defined a view of women's work and how it should be done.

What themes did Madison Avenue employ to sell household products during the period from 1940 through 1945? How did messages in advertisements condition women's perceptions of their roles at home and at work? How do we understand the ideological campaign that characterized advertising during the World War II years, when household products became increasingly more sophisticated and women's labor was transformed?

This study represents a partial replication of research conducted by Bonnie J. Fox at the University of Toronto. In her article, "Selling the Mechanized Household: 70 Years of Ads in Ladies Home Journal," Fox considers trends in advertising directed toward women between 1909-10 and 1980. However, while her study examines advertising messages appearing the Journal during the periods 1939-1940 and 1949-1950, it does not include an analysis of advertising appearing during the war years. This study, then, focuses specifically on the period from 1940 through 1945 to test Fox's general conclusions and to highlight advertising themes unique to the World War II era.

Review of Selected Literature

The body of literature related to this narrow subject (advertising directed toward women from 1940-1945) is thin at best. In the 1970s, researchers found that magazine advertisements reinforced the ideology that women's place is in the home (4) and that such stereotyping had changed very little from the 1950s to the 1970s. (5) However, as Fox points out, while researchers have about gender stereotyping in magazine advertising in recent decades, few have examined the themes that characterized the images of earlier decades. One notable exception is Marchand, who develops notions of consumption culture, the democratization of consumption and women's unique role in that development in his book, Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940. (6) Schudson, too, studies consumption culture and advertisers' role in it. (7)

To supplement existing studies and to construct an accurate view of the social and economic forces at work during the World War II period, one can turn from advertising analyses to the social sciences -- census data, employment records, poll results and so forth. Here,

academics have written volumes about labor statistics and public attitudes.

Related Studies

Women have always worked. However, only since 1940 has continuous, concrete data been available detailing the percentage of women in the American labor pool. (8) While the number of women working outside the home has been increasing since the pre-Civil War era, until 1940 that increase had been slow and the number of working women relatively small. (9)

However, when the Depression of the 1930s gave way to war in the 1940s, rigid lines that had previously defined gender-specific jobs came under attack. The enormous need for labor encouraged employers to look everywhere for help. Eager to take advantage of the opportunities provided by a war in Europe and desperate after Pearl Harbor to replace the men who had been drafted, employers turned to women. Likewise, a great many wives and mothers who would not have thought of working in 'normal times' took on a wide variety

of jobs to aid the Allied cause and replace income lost as husbands, fathers and brothers went to war.

Among women 20-24 years old, the percentage of labor force members rose from 45.6 in April 1940 to 54.4 in April 1945. A rise to only 47.6 would have been expected on the basis of previous trends.

Women aged 35-54 also made especially large contributions to the wartime labor force. The proportion of women in this age range employed at gainful occupations began to increase sharply in 1942 and continued to rise in 1943 and 1944 at a rate far greater than would have been expected on the basis of pre-war trends. In April 1945, 38.4 percent of women 35-44 were classified as members of the labor force. The 1940 figure for this group was 27.3 percent and the figure which would have resulted from a continuation of the 1920-1940 trend was 30.4 percent. For women 45-54 years old, the 1945 percentage was 33.3, while the 1940 figure was 22.4 and the projected 1945 figure was only 24.4.

There was also a substantial, though less spectacular, increase in employment of women 55-64 years old, and even some in the 65+ age group.

Across the board, there were also considerable increases in employment of single, widowed and divorced women. (10)

As these changes in employment were taking place, the realities of war and the new labor force were affecting attitudes of employers nationwide. Faced with severe shortages of male workers, many employers quickly revised their notions of what jobs women could and should hold. (11) Between 1942 and 1944, for example, women were not only "allowed to do men's jobs," but they were also offered nurseries for their children, shopping facilities, hot lunches, convenient banking arrangements and sometimes even laundry services. Hours shrank, shifts were rearranged and new machinery was developed to take the weight off "heavy" jobs. To encourage women to work, factories set up special training programs and in many factories the pressure for labor even broke through long-established color barriers. (12)

However, the picture of women at work during World War II was not as clear as employment statistics alone would make it seem. The war did not completely alter fundamental social attitudes. Public opinion polls during the war showed that many men and women still felt that women belonged at home.

A 1942 NORC poll asked men and women, "As things are now, do you think married women should work in war industry?" Results show 60 percent of respondents approving of women working, with 13 percent disapproving (27 percent gave conditional answers). However, when the issue was brought closer to home, public opinion wavered. A 1943 AIPO survey of married men posed the question, "Would you be willing to have your wife take a full-time job running a machine in a war plant?" Here, only 32 percent expressed approval, while 55 percent expressed disapproval (13 percent gave qualified responses). (13)

However, despite pressures to remain at home, women were told that it was their patriotic duty to take a job. (14) Outside their homes, all women faced a barrage of slogans like:

It may be only
A Broken Wire to you
But think of the plane
That may not come through.

During the war, women worked in shipyards, steel mills and ammunition factories. They welded, dug ditches and

operated forklifts. (15) And then they went home to other full-time responsibilities.

Large numbers of women coped, for the first time, with what would soon be known as the "double burden." A New York Times reporter asked one woman whether she was not thrilled at being part of an army of war workers. "It isn't thrilling when you're caught in a traffic jam and your children are waiting at home," she replied. (16)

II. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

To address these issues and collect the data necessary to answer the research questions posed earlier, a content analysis of advertisements for household products appearing in Ladies Home Journal was conducted for the years 1940 through 1945.

Benefits of the Method Selected

The rationale behind the choice of method was simple:

- * A content analysis provides the best means for answering the research question because it goes to the heart

of the study by considering advertisements that appeared in print during the World War II period.

* The method also provides an effective means for systematic, quantitative consideration of the findings. Advertisements were counted and tabulated objectively according to a pre-established coding system.

* Ladies Home Journal was selected for the analysis because it has been one of the most widely read women's magazines throughout much of this century. (17) In fact, compared to similar American women's magazines, the Journal had the largest audited circulation between 1931 (the earliest date for which statistics exist) and 1961 (18)

Research Instrument

The data for this study was collected and tabulated based on 456 messages in advertisements appearing in 24 issues of Ladies Home Journal from 1940 through 1945. Issues were selected at three-month intervals for each year. Only advertisements for household products (e.g., soaps, appliances, linens) were included in the study.

Advertisements for food and cosmetics were omitted from the analysis.

Probability sampling using this procedure provided a simple way to collect dependable statistical data.

The issues of Ladies Home Journal that were analyzed for each year were as follows:

<u>Month</u>	<u>Year</u>
January, April, July, October	1940
February, May, August, November	1941
March, June, September, December	1942
January, April, July, October	1943
February, May, August, November	1944
March, June, September, December	1945

III. DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

System Used

Messages in the advertisements considered were sorted using a pre-established coding system. Replicating Fox's design, the advertising messages were coded for various types of appeals to women. However, while Fox used 15 codes to

classify appeals employed by advertisers, this researcher collapsed or combined coding categories for ease of analysis and to better reflect the research findings. Further, a new coding category was added to document advertisements that were not product-specific, but which were sponsored by household product manufacturers to address war-related issues.

The nine codes used are as follows:

1. Code: Increased convenience, reduced drudgery

Image: Declining hard housework

Examples: A November 1942 advertisement claimed:

"Up goes a Scot Towel, down comes kitchen work." A March 1942 advertisement read: "Scot Towels save drudgery -- not only in the kitchen, but in the basement too!" And another advertisement appearing in the February 1944 issue of the Journal proclaimed: "I'm on the swing shift...and the kitchen shift! No wonder dishwashing got me down...until Ivory Snow can into my life!"

2. Code: Service to family, approval of family

Image: Super Mother or Total Woman in service to
children, husband and (implied) country

Example: An April 1943 advertisement for Lysol cleaner illustrates this wartime appeal with a photograph of a baby and the copy: "Crawling into an ambush? In wartime, health authorities warn, infectious disease is especially quick to spread. So look out, Mother, for hidden enemies in your home. Everywhere your baby's fingers travel, germs can travel too!..."

3. Code: Help doing a good job

Image: Woman needing to achieve, fear of failing

Examples: Such a message appears in a September 1942 advertisement for Fels-Naptha soap which reads: "You have less time for housekeeping...And you just can't let things slide." A December 1945 advertisement for Crosley Refrigerators illustrates this appeal too: "Fred was bringing his mother to dinner and I was anxious to prove to her that a career gal can be a good housewife too." "By thy floors ye shall judge them," admonished yet another advertisement. "It is written floors are like unto a mirror, reflecting the character of the housewife."

4. Code: Money savings

Image: The thrifty housewife

Examples: An August 1941 advertisement boasts: "Now you can have the thrill of owning one -- the Hoover -- only \$48.50." A series of Windex advertisements in 1942 carried the slogan: "Windex -- Now never over 15 cents" and a December 1943 advertisement for SOS carries the message: "Aluminum is scarce. Make your pots and pans last longer."

5. Code: Competition with the neighbors

Image: Keeping up with the Joneses

Examples: A June 1942 advertisement pictures a horrified housewife whose neighbors have noticed her dull-looking wash. "I'm going back to Fels-Naptha...Banishes Tattle-Tale Gray..." An advertisement for Ivory Snow that appeared in the December 1942 issue of the Journal featured a similar illustration of critical neighbors, along with the copy: "Wasn't it Silly of Sally? She had no right to be so wrong about dishwashing."

6. Code: Qualities of the product itself

Images: Wondrous, scientific, high-tech products

Example: An August 1941 advertisement for SOS put it simply: "You'll call it Magic!"

7. Code: Increased leisure time

Image: Woman leaving home

Example: Such a message appeared in a July 1941 advertisement which shows a woman dressed to leave the house for an afternoon out with a friend. She declares: "I'm a free woman since I got a Hotpoint range!"

8. Code: Efficiency and productivity

Image: Home as a rationalized workplace

Examples: The caption in a November 1941 advertisement read: "How to make your home run smoother..." A series of advertisements appearing in 1944 also stressed efficiency, announcing: "Duz does everything -- all 3 kinds of wartime wash."

9. Code: Aid to the war effort

Image: Patriotic women

Examples: First appearing in 1943, these appeals were exemplified in advertisements encouraging conservation

and highlighting products being used by the Armed Forces. Sponsored by a wide variety of companies, such advertisements also encouraged women to join the war effort by taking on jobs outside the home in addition to their household duties.

A September 1942 advertisement for U.S. Steel typifies an appeal to conservation with the caption: "What your junk will make..." while another advertisement for Alcoa Aluminum tells women: "It all started in your kitchen..."

Other advertisements appealed to women's sense of patriotism by reminding them that the household products they were using were also being used by U.S. fighting forces. A November 1943 advertisement read: "We're in the Army now...Mirrow, the finest aluminum."

Still other public service advertisements encouraged women to take on extra duties by joining the war effort in factories. Pitches included: "The more women at war, the sooner we'll win," "Soldiers in housedresses, you deserve a nation's praise" and "These engaged girls are all workers! Any job that frees a man is a war job...Find yours today!"

Coding Responses

Since only one coder worked on the tabulation of data, an intricate coding scheme to ensure intercoder reliability was not necessary. Instead, a simple reliability test was conducted by first selecting one of the 24 issues of the Journal being considered and coding messages in ads appearing in it. Several days later, the same set of messages was reviewed and coded again. By measuring agreement between the first and second coding, the researcher was thereby able to assess the reliability of the coding scheme.

Research Findings

Table I illustrates the distribution of themes in Ladies Home Journal advertisements for household commodities for the period 1940 through 1945.

These data support Fox's findings that "despite the labor-saving character of the new household technology, the housewife's liberation from work was not what the advertisers chiefly promoted...Most of these 'liberation' ads promised

either a reduction in drudgery or an increase in convenience; the vision of an escape from housework itself was rare." (19)

It was images of women in service to their families that accounted for the highest percentage of coded advertisements -- 21 percent for the period studied.

Other common appeals were those that touted the wonders of miracle products -- fast-acting, easy-to-use, scientific products that made housework easier and more pleasant. These advertisements implied that by using such products, a housewife would have more time to devote to other chores -- not more time to devote to leisure activities. An emphasis on increased convenience or the high-tech characteristics of products accounted for 19 percent and 16 percent of the advertisements respectively.

But what the advertisements considered did not include may be as significant as what they specifically portrayed. Very few advertisements (only 2 percent) employed an appeal based on increased leisure time. In fact, despite the fact that women were leaving their homes in record numbers to take on paid jobs, the image of a woman leaving home for any reason was the least popular theme in the coded advertisements.

Table I.

Distribution of Themes
in Ladies Home Journal Advertisements
For Household Commodities, 1940 through 1945

Theme	Number of Advertisements	Percent of Total
Increased convenience Reduced drudgery	88	19%
Service to family	94	21
Help in doing	38	8
Money savings	61	13
Competition with neighbors	22	5
Product itself	71	16
Increased leisure time	7	2
Efficiency and productivity	25	5
Aid to the War Effort	50	11

N = 456

IV. DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

Interpretation and Conclusions

Just as the traditional scope of women's work was expanding to include paid labor as well as housework, and just as women were making their mark in the workplace -- reshaping the economic landscape and redefining their place in it -- Madison Avenue was waging its own war to deflect attention away from those changes.

Research findings indicate that during the World War II years from 1940 through 1945, it was no longer enough to praise a product; advertisers during this period created a new market for their goods by shifting the focus away from the wonders of their products to the importance of the work itself. The strategy: an elevation of the status of housework would boost housewives' motivation to do their work (no matter how much other work they had to do) and would, in turn, cause them to buy more household goods. (20)

If advertisers were to sell household products, they first had to remind potential customers -- who now coped with many more responsibilities and demands on their time --

of the importance of the work being done at home. As Fox points out, to promote products as a means of escape from housework "would have undermined the campaign to elevate housework's status and define it as serious work; it would have raised the possibility that women's interests lie outside the confines of domesticity." (21) Put simply, to buy and use household products, a woman had to stay at home, so advertisers emphasized the importance of work at home.

Similarly, savvy advertisers rode the wave of patriotism that swept the nation during the war years. They took full advantage of public sentiment in support of the war and waved the banner of service, service, service. After all, wasn't service to one's family (via housework) an extension of service to one's country? This advertising theme was built on wartime concerns over the security and well-being of the family and was reinforced by the government propaganda stressing the need for women's devotion to their families that was common throughout World War II. (22)

Finally, in addition to appealing to women's sense of patriotism, advertisers also addressed women's concerns and confusion over their changing roles and responsibilities. And while advertisement may not have provided readers with an

accurate "slice of life" semblance of America, they did relate products to social needs and graphically reflect central social and cultural dilemmas -- work vs. home, career vs. children, leisure vs. service. (23)

Advertisements not only prescribed certain roles, but reflected the way women saw themselves. With public opinion mixed over women's entree into the workaday world, some housewives were no doubt experiencing pangs of conscience over leaving their home (if only to take on additional work in service to their country). Images of happy, clean, safe children tugged at their heartstrings. And advertisements featuring products that would allow them to juggle jobs inside and outside the home provided a ray of hope to those who felt they were neglecting their duty to their families.

And if a woman were working outside the home and actually enjoying it, she could assuage her guilt by buying products that allowed her to be both Career Gal and Super Mom. Madison Avenue created a "commercial realism" and concentrated on what women ought to want. (24) In this way, as women were grappling with their new roles in society,

advertisers were influencing the way they adapted to their position in a changing world.

Research Limitations

Although the design for this study was carefully constructed to replicate Fox's initial work and to yield relevant data to answer the research questions, several limitations to the study exist.

While Ladies Home Journal is a good starting point for a study of this sort, a more inclusive study might be done to include other publications. Journalism historians might consider other magazines targeted to women (e.g., Woman's Home Companion, Good Housekeeping, Redbook, McCalls or Cosmopolitan) as well as non-gender specific publications (e.g., Saturday Evening Post, Colliers, Saturday Review of Literature or Atlantic Monthly).

A researcher might also consider themes that characterize other advertising during the same period. Did advertising for cosmetics employ similar appeals? What images were used in advertisements for food? Expanding the scope of this study may provide additional insights into

understanding consumption theories as well as the ideological campaigns that were the hallmark of advertising from 1940 through 1945.

Finally, replication (both literal and extended) can be used to test and verify findings reported here.

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Grim "Slices of Life"--
Disaster Reporting in the Gilded Age

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Presented at the Annual Meeting of the
American Journalism Historians Association
Philadelphia, October 3-5, 1991

Grim 'Slices of Life' --

Disaster Reporting in the Gilded Age

Disasters have always commanded editorial attention. However, as the nineteenth century progressed, technological sophistication in the form of inventions such as railroads, steamboats, and elevators increased both the number of calamities and the speed at which such misadventures could be related. At first glance, railroads and elevators do not seem related. However, both enabled humans to control space. The iron horse not only penetrated the wilderness but also conquered the clock by inspiring the time zones, which routinized scheduling.¹ The electric ladder (elevator) made vertical as well as horizontal expansion possible.²

In fact, during the Gilded Age (1870-1910) urbanization, immigration, and progress compounded the dangers inherent in living. Crowded cities promised opportunity to pilgrims, but often delivered trauma in the form of epidemics, crime, accidents, and fires. On the other hand, farms frequently were no safer than towns or cities because the very inventions that increased crop yields also exposed reapers to injury and death. Ironically, even the rise of recreation, which led to the establishment of parks and summer vacations, exposed fun-seekers to hazards because many signed up for railroad package trips to scenic places.

Reporters wrote graphic descriptions of train wrecks and other disasters during the Gilded Age. While those depictions of mutilation and carnage belong under the heading of sensationalism, such grim "slices of life" also reflect the impact of science and Realism upon journalism. In the Social Construction of American

Realism, Amy Kaplan points out that magazine as well as newspaper editors, advertisers, and book publishers created a national market to serve the mass audience that was united by shared information and common aspirations.³ She suggests that the Realists had to compete with the popular forms of entertainment -- newspapers, magazines, and thrillers -- to reconstruct the old, safe spaces, which progress and class conflicts had shattered. Between the Civil War and World War I, the proliferation of media replaced traditional authorities with a new cohesion based on story making as a commodity rather than a fool's pastime or an artistic calling.

"In asserting their own authority to represent reality, novelists wrote out of this newly developing mass culture against which they attempted to define their work."⁴ Tebbel, Shove, and Johannsen document the rise of cheap book publishing, and Frank Luther Mott notes that between 1885 and 1905, magazines emerged as powerful interpreters of popular culture for millions.⁵ In fact, newspapers developed Sunday sections patterned after quality magazines to provide their readers with short stories and entertaining features. To some Realists, journalism was a meal ticket that sustained them until Harper's, Scribners, or Cosmopolitan discovered them.

While some magazines focused on literature and intellect, others offered formula literature and breezy entertainment. Newspapers created comic strips and human interest stories. Michael Schudson points out that many newspapers did not see a contradiction in presenting the facts and telling an engaging story.⁶ Just as the Realists reinvented a genre suitable to their moral purpose, the journalists experimented with fact and fiction in their copy. During the same decades that the department store, the apartment, baseball, vaudeville, and spiritualism all focused attention on consolidation, joint effort, and family as opposed to strangers, dailies vied for a curbside seat at the parade of modernity.⁷ Reporters found scoops galore in the modern commercial, social, and religious institutions. The emphasis upon

efficiency inspired journalists to strive to get the story before competitors. Kaplan suggests that equating information with perishable goods reduces news to a commodity similar to pork and beans.

A century ago, news not only had to be fresh but also needed to provide narrative closure because many readers considered papers a form of storytelling in which the forces of good battled with evil. Nevertheless, the timely tales many newspapers told usually but not always were based on real incidents. However, frequently, specific names were not as significant as the lesson learned from the incident. The professionalism of the field, which resulted in the effort to replace storytelling with objectivity, began in the Gilded Age but was not accomplished until the Progressive Era. Indeed, Schudson points out that some editors, including those at the New York World during the 1890s, saw "no contradiction between 'the facts' and 'color' -- the good reporter should be alert to both."⁸ Moreover, between 1870 and 1910, the acceptance of who, when, where, what, why, and how as a model did not divorce news from plot. The hidden agenda remained focused on narrative closure rather than factualism.

Official banishment of fiction and feelings from the newsroom would come several decades later. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, reporters and editors sought a means of balancing the mandate for facts, which acknowledged the superiority of science over superstition, with the human need for stories, which grounded experience in the bedrock of heritage. Some believed that accuracy and storytelling could be combined. For example, in 1894, Edwin L. Shuman, author of Steps into Journalism, told aspiring journalists "... that a reporter would be forgiven inaccuracy, just as a reliable reporter would be forgiven 'a moderate degree of dullness' in style, but that the combination of 'reliability and sparkle' was the recipe for success..."⁹ The purpose of news was not just to inform but to instruct, to uplift,

to amuse. Disasters allowed reporters to tie event and melodrama together. Reality suddenly turned theatrical, and the spectacle of suffering and heroism that accompany catastrophes eclipsed the mundane!

Instead of dismissing gruesome accounts as a lamentable by-product of the tawdry hawking of newspapers, one could argue that before technology enabled newspapers to expediently reproduce photographs, writers felt compelled to give readers all of the facts by recreating for them the horror of the tragedy. This essay will focus on the selection of disgusting details in news stories as a manifestation of the public fascination with facts and Realism.

Review of the Literature:

This review will establish the historical and social context of the term, Realism. Unfortunately, it is easier to name the Realists than to define the term, Realism. While Everett Carter offers a detailed, traditional explanation of the literary movement in Howells and the Age of Realism, Donald Pizer rejects the standard critical devaluation of realism. Instead, he argues in Realism and Naturalism: In Nineteenth Century American Literature (1966) that the power of subjectivity and ethical idealism (instances of exemplary rather than typical action within specific settings) distinguish novels written during the Gilded Age.¹⁰ Like Edwin Cady, author of The Light of Common Day: Realism in American Fiction (1972), he emphasizes the salience of artistic vision. However, Cady combines literary theory with the "amateur theory of perception" to examine the impact of print upon the comprehension of experiences that exist independently of attempts to record them.¹¹

Understanding Realism demands considering it historically. Robert Falk suggests in The Victorian Mode in American Fiction: 1865-1885 (1965) that

juxtaposing historical facts with literary tendencies reveals the symbiosis that existed between writers and culture.¹² The country's popular tastes, arts, and fashions as well as its social and political history shaped such Realistic novelists as Henry James, William Dean Howells, John W. De Forest, and Mark Twain. In Literature in America (1989), Peter Conn examines Realism in greater depth than Robert E. Spiller does in The Cycle of American Literature (1955). Of course, intellectual historians such as Henry Steele Commager, F. O. Matthiessen, and Vernon Parrington also offer insights into Realism's branch on the literary family tree.¹³

Although historians have placed Realism in perspective with other movements, the term eludes facile definition because scholars in many fields have applied it in a myriad of ways. C. Hugh Holman and William Harmon conclude that realism broadly refers to verisimilitude and, in many literary studies, to "the immediate, the here and now, the specific action, and verifiable consequences."¹⁴ Cady restricts verisimilitude to instances of Realism within works that as a whole belong to other literary categories. Regardless of the definition, the purpose of Realism remains fixed on moral explication. The Realists did not limit themselves to picturing the world as it was for the sake of providing mirror images. Their goal was to illustrate models of ethical behavior, according to Pizer.

The moral imperative permeated society during the Gilded Age. The rise of Progressivism and Muckraking reflected the interest in reform and the desire to defend ethics. Accounts of disasters embodied moral alerts. For example, in 1872 the Rev. E. J. Goodspeed declared in his history of the Chicago Fire that the hand of Providence had swatted Chicago on that fateful October eve. "Was it not a magnificent panorama in miniature of the end of the world?" the Rev. Father R. T. Burke asked describing the Hinckley, Minnesota, Forest Fire twenty years later. The New York Times story about that catastrophe alluded to Judgment Day, "... one

insensibly reflects that money or no money, it makes no sort of difference now to those scorched and naked cadavers piled in that gruesome heap in every conceivable position, like so many dried sticks." ¹⁵ Perhaps, like Realists dedicated to mimicking life by reproducing scenarios via description, reporters tried to replicate calamities by minutely depicting victims and the reactions of survivors. Graphic details often powerfully illustrated the wages of sin, the futility of avarice, and the consequences of unethical behavior.

"Structures of Feeling"

Reporters, ministers, and authors knew that people relied upon their imagination as well as intellect to comprehend events. Raymond Williams refers to the public imagination in Culture and Society: 1780-1950. ¹⁶ Describing Romanticism as a force that changed England and eventually the world, Williams coined the phrase, "structure of feeling." According to Williams, the Romantics' political and social concerns kindled their creative fires. The turmoil of their times stirred up their passions and inspired their poetry. To Romantics, art and experience commingled. "Structures of feeling" fluctuate as social conditions change. Each generation questions the status quo and reinvents the universe to fit present contingencies. By 1870 many writers had rejected Romanticism and embraced Realism, which in celebration of science and facts, separated the heart and head (feelings and actions): ¹⁷

What were seen at the end of the nineteenth century as disparate interests, between which a man must choose and in the act of choice declare himself poet or sociologist, were, normally at the beginning of the century, seen as interlocking interests: a conclusion about personal feeling became a conclusion about society, and an observation of

natural beauty carried a necessary moral reference to the whole and unified life of man.

Despite the effort of the Realists to sever fact from fancy, the line between the imaginary and the real remained fuzzy despite the displacement of the "structure of feeling," Romanticism, by Realism.

William's recognition of the nexus of morality, action, and ideals as a "structure of feeling" that binds people at a particular moment in history corresponds to Alfred North Whitehead's conclusion that "... the mentality of an age derives from the world view, which is dominant in the educated sections of society, and this world view influences the thought patterns in such areas as ethics, religion, and science."¹⁸ Both Whitehead and Williams recognize the salience of intellectual currents. Although few would confuse nineteenth century reporters with philosophers, ideas seeped into news columns, and editorialists addressed major issues throughout the Gilded Age.

Moreover, nineteenth century news items -- like fun house mirrors -- refracted society. The prominent, the bizarre, as well as the dire commanded attention. Melvin De Feur and Sandra Ball-Rokeach point out that critics denounced the mercurial, trivial nature of the press. For example, Henry David Thoreau complained in 1849, "to a philosopher, all news, as it is called, is gossip, and they who read it and edit it are old women over their tea."¹⁹ About thirty years later, Mark Twain said: "The awful power, the public opinion of this nation, is formed and molded by a horde of ignorant, self-complacent simpletons who failed at ditching and shoemaking and fetched in journalism on their way to the poorhouse."²⁰

These condemnations of the press suggest a cracked mirror; nevertheless, newspapers refract the community's mind-set. Walter Lippmann explained in Public Opinion (1922) that humans negotiate reality by generating a private set of labels to

classify their experiences. Since thought and language coincide, individuals live in pseudoenvironments (false images based on the pictures inside their heads, which seldom replicate the real world.) ²¹ Of course, reporters also personally define the universe. Perhaps, that is why Stephen Crane called a newspaper " . . . a collection of half injustices." ²² Since "structures of feeling" or shared perceptions of reality permeated each generation, the revolting descriptions of tragedies might reflect the Darwinian, Realistic, and millennial tides that swept through the Gilded Age.

Is "New" Journalism New?

Journalism historians have acknowledged the impact of science and religion upon the press. They disagree over which trends in newspapers during the late nineteenth century deserve top billing. Some refer to the "New Journalism" of Joseph Pulitzer, publisher of the New York World, and William Randolph Hearst, publisher of the New York Journal, as the defining force of the time. This "New Journalism" covered scandal, crime, and disaster at the expense of political or social events that shaped people's lives, but, alas, bored them. Edwin and Michael Emery point out that the "New Journalism" was really very old. ²³ Sensationalism had offered a counterpoint to dull current events from the earliest ventures in newspaper publishing.

Jean Folkerts and Dwight Teeter suggest that "New Journalism" ignores the efforts of many newspapers, such as the New York Times, the Chicago Tribune, and the Kansas City Star, to focus on "fact" and "reality." ²⁴ Schudson notes that the respect for science as a panacea permeated American social consciousness. He explains that the New York Times and its competitors, the World and the Journal,

appealed to different audiences. While the Times addressed the educated, at least middle-class readers whose financial security prompted them to seek social recognition, the World and Journal spoke to the aspiring horde who hoped to seize success just around the next corner but, presently, felt the pinch of poverty, which limited their civic options.²⁵

Just as the rich and poor coexisted, so did the "New" Journalism of Pulitzer and the fledgling attempts at respectability practiced by the New York Times and other dailies that applied science to news gathering. When disaster struck, reporters used language in the same way photojournalists in the twentieth century have used cameras. Metaphors and testimonials recreated the scene. During the Civil War, artists with Harper's Weekly based their sketches at the Front upon photographs. By the 1880s, artists often illustrated news stories and features. Folkerts and Teeter suggest that prior to the late 1880s, technology and decorum prevented editors from featuring photos in routine news coverage. Some thought photos wasted space.

Nevertheless, by 1896, news and photos were frequently inseparable, and editors had to decide what justified such graphic coverage. Before the advent of photos, reporters had decided how much description crises warranted. Afterwards, editors assigned many photos in advance. The entrenchment of photos coincided with the shift away from short stories, poetry, essays, and fiction to facts, which pushed the old imperatives for narrative closure into new molds. The standard recipe for objectivity, the five W's and H, did not banish the story from the newsroom. It merely provided an expedient formula -- similar in some ways to the narrative skeletons that appealed to the mass public -- for decoding experience into meaningful episodes. Perhaps, readers sought the same satisfaction in the repeated news items and formula fiction. After all, both promised the consistency that reality denied. Instead of invoking the magic of the "luck and pluck" myth, readers called

upon science to inspire them to do their best as well as to solve their problems.²⁶

Fact or Fiction? News or Fairy Tale?

Science gave nineteenth century readers a tidy system of pigeon holes for categorizing their experiences. Suddenly, the irrational forces of nature conformed to a logical scheme. Even lightning and cyclones fit into precise explanations of natural phenomena. However, despite the accuracy of the meteorological machines or the brilliance of scientists, no one could explain why lightning struck certain individuals but skipped over others or why tornadoes decimated one town while leaving neighboring hamlets untouched. Therefore, the mystery of why some suffered while others escaped remained inscrutable. This tension between systematic facts and chaotic reality made people thirst for affective explanations that filled in the chinks left by the compendia of facts called science.

Narrative formulas invoked the power of ancient amulets. Like emotional rabbit's feet or the four-leaf clovers of the heart, the repetition of proven solutions in plots gave readers the courage to face destruction and the hope to rebuild their tattered lives. The precedents they sought recalled how the heroes of cherished cultural myths had vanquished despair despite the cruel twists of fate. Icarus rode once more through the clouds via elevators, and Ajax found the golden fleece where it belonged -- in the slaughter yards of Chicago or on Wall Street in New York. During the Gilded Age, the success archetype permeated both newspapers and popular plots. Perhaps, the syncopated news accounts of heroes who foiled crime, lived through disasters, and suffered so others might be spared filled the same narrative niche reserved for traditional lore, which echoes the tribe's values.

Indeed, the typing bards supplied magic explanations for phenomena, which

scientists dismissed as chance. Droughts and atmospheric conditions may have turned large expanses of the Midwest into a tinderbox. However, the factual details of the Chicago and Peshtigo Fires did not satisfy the human need to place the event in the parade of experience, which remained extant because it connected the present with the past. The popular writers recast the facts into the myths that had sustained the community for generations. For example, E. P. Roe retold the legend of Noah's Flood to explain the Chicago Fire. Others beside Roe saw Biblical implications in the catastrophe. Goodspeed vowed in his History of the Great Fires: Chicago and the West, a book "sold only by subscription," that it was God's will that "Chicago must be greater than ever:"²⁷

[The] Mercy of the fire, [which] spared men of might in trade, art, and journalism . . . Many such true hearts were strengthened in their attachment to God . . . there was no such thing as despondency or gloom, for [their] treasures were laid up above the reach of the flames, [their] hope did not consist in earthly prosperity but in the mercy of Jesus Christ.

Perhaps, the conflagration reminded them of the adage about camels and needles. Certainly, this quote illustrates the power of the cardinal oxymoron of the Gilded Age -- passing through the eye of the needle and yet enjoying material success.

To the idealists such as Goodspeed and Roe, the fire proved that God loved all equally since both the rich and the poor lost everything. Moreover, the ordeal forced the survivors to rebuild their lives and, thus, make the "Young Giant," as Goodspeed called Chicago, "more splendid than before." He and Roe believed that "faith supplemented nature."²⁸ To many the Chicago and Peshtigo Fires fulfilled "The Book of Revelations." The devout knew the signs of Judgment Day:²⁹

Others, believing that the day of judgment was surely come, fell upon the ground and abandoned themselves to its terrors. Indeed, this apprehension that the last day was

at hand pervaded even the strongest and most mature minds. All the conditions of the prophecies seemed to be fulfilled. The hot atmosphere filled with smoke supplied the "signs in the sun, and in the moon and in the stars." The sound of the whirlwind was as "the sea and the waves roaring," and everywhere there were "men's hearts failing them for fear and for looking after those things, which were coming on the earth: for the powers of heaven shall be shaken."

Hell on Earth?

The Chicago Fire blazed in the public's imagination while the far more devastating conflagrations that decimated Peshtigo, Wisconsin, and Northern Michigan received cursory attention. Three-hundred may have perished in the Windy City. At least twelve-hundred died during the same night in the Northern wilds. However, the city fire fulfilled the public's expectations more completely than the forest fire because many equated "urban" with "perdition." A gaudy, art-infested metropolis deserved to burn up. An ocean of timber bejeweled with farms ought to embody rural purity. Nevertheless, for citizens of both Chicago and Peshtigo, Judgment Day came on October 8, 1871, in the form of snow storms of embers.

Chicago, the Pearl of the Midwest, had awed newspaper readers across the country with tales of self-made go-getters and self-crowned royalty. Theaters, museums, ballrooms, and billiard halls as well as factories, stockyards, and financial offices had sprung up in the railroad hub. Most aspired to visit Chicago. Few outside of Wisconsin or Michigan had heard of Peshtigo before the disaster had branded that lumber town into history. Mostly ashes remained on the morning of October 9th in Peshtigo and in a third of the City of Chicago. However, although the two crimson and gold nightmares occurred almost simultaneously, the traumas differed in logistics and story potential.

Perhaps, the availability of an Irish scapegoat in Chicago fueled the popular

mistrust of cities, luring ministers and journalists to speculate on the cosmic meaning of the conflagration despite the forest fire's edge in death and destruction. The Chicago Fire had a culprit -- Mrs. O'Leary whose cow kicked over a kerosene lamp -- which assigned agency to the horror. Probably, the Irish name kindled public prejudices since the bias against the Irish continued to flicker in popular literature throughout the late nineteenth century. In Roe's account of the disaster, the hero got his first job when the drunken, Irish, snow shoveler collapsed despite his wife's tears and the priest's threats. Later, as the whirlwind of flames engulfed saloons, the debauchers -- still clutching their bottles -- burned up in the gutters where they had passed out, which to Roe epitomized divine judgment.³⁰

Although many pleaded with Providence for mercy, no one took the blame for starting the blaze in Peshtigo. The flaming tornado was driven by wind, not triggered by bovine peevishness. Atmospheric conditions and the drought, rather than the carelessness of a foreign group, had caused the Peshtigo Fire. However, the survivors told reporters tales starring ethnic stereotypes. For example, "Praying Peter" Bernson, who lived outside of Sturgeon Bay, constructed a "pipeline to heaven." Each day he prayed, and God told him exactly what to do to save his house, clothes, and cows. "Peter and all that was his were saved to the utmost."³¹

The Limited's Last Run

Train accidents as well as forest fires gave journalists stories about selfless heroes who perished so that others might live. For example, in 1899, The Century Magazine praised "Heroes of the Railway Service," explaining why working on the railroad proved to be fatal for thousands: "The washouts of spring, the blinding dust of summer, the treacherous fogs of autumn, and the icy car-tops of winter, all

teach [the engineer] to be careful of his hold in this world, lest he slip suddenly in to the next." ³² Indeed, like James M. Root, many engineers jostled with death. On September 1, 1894, a conflagration killed 418 people, left 2,000 homeless, devastated eight villages in a 350-square-mile swath in Northern Minnesota and Wisconsin, and destroyed property valued at over one million dollars. ³³

Even after fire had erupted in his cab, Root stayed at his post because he knew his passengers would die unless he delivered them to Skunk Lake, a mud-hole six miles from the Hinckley, Minnesota, station. The fire had engulfed the tracks ahead of the train. "On through this weird scene the *Limited* sped, the situation growing more alarming at every mile . . . On rushed the train through the fiery, hot breath of the pursuing flames, for a stop would have been fatal to all on board . . .," according to the New York Times. ³⁴ The reporter quoted witnesses of "one of the most thrilling events," and his version sounded like a passage from a dime novel: "

The baggage car was soon a mass of flames, which streamed back over the tender and engine, setting fire to the engineer's clothes and scorching his face and hands . . . but never for an instant did Engineer Root flinch. To remain was apparently certain death for him, but . . . to have deserted his post would have been certain death for all on board. Back of him stood his trusty fireman . . .

Like a modern Sancho or Man Friday, Root's loyal fireman dumped water from the holding tank onto his clothing as Root backed the speeding train through the fiery corridor of trees toward the mud flats. The windows cracked. The woodwork peeled. The seats hissed and crackled. "The smoke from the forest fires was so dense that lamps were lighted in the cars." ³⁵ Although guards at the doors prevented passengers from jumping off the train, some leaped out the windows.

Just two minutes ahead of the conflagration, Engineer Root reached Skunk Lake. The passengers stumbled to the water pulling their unconscious traveling

mates to safety, according to Hine. Some of the travelers later remembered that terror rather than exhaustion had prevailed. For example, C. A. Vandever, of Davenport, Iowa, told The New York Times: "Men and women were driven perfectly frantic by the heat, together with the fear of an impending horrible death." ³⁷

Mrs. Lawrence agreed: "People screamed, and men jumped through the car windows. There was no humanity in it. Every fear-crazed person was for himself, and they did not care how they got of the swirling, rushing avalanche of flame." ³⁸ Nevertheless, both Hine and Vandever said that two men carried the courageous engineer, whose burns and cuts made his recovery seem unlikely, to the mud flats. Together the wounded railroad crew and two-hundred passengers either huddled submerged in the mud or stayed in the lake and ducked their heads repeatedly to prevent their hair from bursting into flames. ³⁹ The ground smoldered for four hours.

When the survivors left the lake, Engineer Root "as if guided by instinct" staggered to his cab and passed out on the charred driver's seat, according to Hine, who praised the crew for remaining calm. ⁴⁰ However, Vandever recalled that the conductor "lost his head entirely, and seemed to be raging in a perfect fever of insanity," and The New York Times claimed that he "had gone crazy from the intense heat, and it was doubtful whether he [would] ever recover." ⁴¹

The name of the train ironically echoed the spiritual reality that concerned popular audiences -- humans remained "limited" even when their technology permitted them to challenge nature. The Rev. Knudsen and his wife refused to board the *Limited*. They stayed behind to lead their neighbors to the gravel pit. When a cloud of flames descended from the sky, the Knudsens saved themselves by crawling under a wagon, in which a family had futilely attempted to flee. The Rev. Wilkinson collected anecdotes from the survivors of the "*Limited* ." ⁴² Just as predestination decrees that the chosen live while the damned perish, the people in

the wagon died while those under it lived. The brave engineer of the *Limited* could not rescue everyone. A passenger suffocated upon stepping into Skunk Lake. Moreover, although Root stopped the train once, he had to retreat before everyone could climb on to the cars because the train itself had caught on fire, and he could hear the boom of destruction thundering toward the *Limited* at an estimated clip of eighty miles an hour.

Only disregard for his own pain and quick thinking had saved the passengers of that St. Paul and Duluth Railroad carrier. Hine's anecdote ends by noting that: "It was a long time before Engineer Root recovered from his wounds and burns." ⁴³ The narrative need for closure demanded such a reminder of the hero's sacrifice. Similarly, Root's obituary in The New York Times in 1911 assured readers that the engineer had retired from the railroad with a pension just three years before his demise. True to the luck-and-pluck code, the hero had remained a hard worker and, ultimately, earned the official recognition of his self-worth.

The New York Times obituary called him the "Saver of Many Lives," declaring that "Root [who] was in charge . . . of the best train on the road [which was] crowded with passengers . . . showed great heroism in one of the most disastrous forest fires in the Northwest." ⁴⁴ Cowboy stars always rode the noblest mount; therefore, despite the tacky confines of reality such as budgets, the reporter gave the hero the conveyance his bravery merited -- the best train on the road. Reality and fiction merged much the way train tracks used to before highways made them obsolete.

Gruesome "Slices of Life"

When her older siblings left her at home, Mabel Osgood Wright howled as Aunt Kinnie Haven's Sunday coach careened down Broadway to get "[as near as

possible to the blaze],” which consumed Barnum’s American Museum in 1865. Indeed, as Schudson pointed out, “the interest in fire was not just child’s play.”⁴⁵ Vendors in New York sold alarm manuals to adults as well as children who considered fires spectacles. Mabel carried her tattered, pink-jacketed “Bell Guide” in her pocket: “For some years after the fire engines were drawn by horses, instead of as in the early 1860s by the volunteers running a foot, this bell was sounded from the watch tower, and it was by counting strokes we might locate it.”⁴⁶ Once she ate five raw oysters and hid the sixth down the front of her dress to retain her reputation as a tomboy when a push cart operator took her to the harbor to watch a ship sink in swirl of embers that ignited the buildings on the wharves.

She recalled the fire at Barnum’s museum: “The other great fire I went to, to use an Irish bull, was one, which I didn’t see until after it was out, and then I smelt it.”⁴⁷ Mabel had cried disconsolately as her siblings had raved about the glorious blaze to the servants. Mary Daly, the family’s cook, took the disappointed little girl to see the ruins on the next morning. Mabel remembered this outing in her autobiography, My New York (1926): “There was enough confusion and smoke left to satisfy any one, and my curiosity was soon gratified for I not only saw what was not there, but the smell of the smolder is yet a vivid memory.”⁴⁸ Even reduced to a gutted hulk, Barnum’s Home of Humbugs stirred the child’s imagination. The Prince of Humbugs understood the danger of fire better than some of his contemporaries because, besides losing his museum three times, two of his palatial homes, and the winter quarters for “The Greatest Show On Earth” also burned up.

Fire smoldered in the public imagination because it destroyed farms, prairies, forests, and cities. Unlike most modern fires, which consume one or two buildings, a century ago faulty construction and inadequate fire-fighting equipment resulted in

devastation. Sometimes only a few died. For example, everyone escaped the St. Louis blaze of 1849 that consumed fifteen blocks and twenty-five steamboats. The chart below compares the number of buildings destroyed in fires between 1667 and 1910 with the total lost between 1911 and 1976:

<u>Years</u>	<u>Number of Buildings:</u>					<u>City-town</u>	<u>Total</u>
	<u>50-100</u>	<u>101-500</u>	<u>501-1000</u>	<u>Over 1,000</u>			
1667-1910	4	8	3	4		14	36
1911-1976	2	1	1	0		2	6

(Figures calculated from The Encyclopedia of Great Disasters)

The figures in the chart indicate the worst disasters. The tally of all the fires in the nation probably would add up to much larger sums. The statistics never "include the very large number of fires that go unreported and of which no note is made, according to The Forum (1886)."⁴⁹ The chart suggests that the nature of loss changed as progress provided more insight into prevention and fire fighting. These conflagrations may have kindled respect for religion and interest in the millennium. Perhaps, the fact that many read about fires in newspaper accounts, which fascinated them as long as the danger did not creep too close to home, inspired the hellfire sermons and the blazing plot twists in popular literature.

Some fires that did not make the roster of The Darkest Hours: A Narrative Encyclopedia of Worldwide Disasters from Ancient Times to the Present still brought sorrow to families. For example, on March 23, 1883, the Alexandria Town Talk told its readers about a woman whose piety lead to her demise:⁵⁰

One Friday last at Bridgeport, Connecticut, while Mrs. Ann Roland was kneeling in front of a stove, saying her prayers, a live coal fell on her clothing, setting her on fire. She was shockingly burned, and died from her injuries. Her three daughters were badly burned in trying to extinguish the flames.

Such notices reminded readers of their vulnerability as well as of their mortality. Lightning, which had long been associated with divine wrath, also struck without mercy or reason. Two months later, the Town Talk reported the tragic ending of a charming child's game: "This afternoon the three little daughters of Jacob Morrowitz were playing in the street, under an umbrella, when they were struck by lightning. The two older girls, aged 9 and 11, were instantly killed, and the third, aged 6 years, was, paralyzed on the right side, but will recover." The front-page also reported the sad fate of the mighty steamer, *Graphles*, which burst into flames near Victoria, B.C., on May 6, 1883, cremating 750 passengers.⁵¹

Of course, the iron horse also contributed to the grim history of fiery demises. The New York Daily Tribune reported in gruesome detail the Alton, Ill., train wreck, in which many passengers died. Perhaps, reporters described the injuries minutely to present "slices of life" exactly as they had witnessed them. For example, they included physical evidence of what had happened to the victims:⁵²

The oil, wherever it had touched the skin, had burned deep into the flesh, while such portions of the flesh as escaped entire destruction were blistered, and in many cases were blackened, by the intense heat. The lips were terribly swollen and discolored, and the eyes of all five were burned out entirely. Every vestige of hair was burned off the face and head, and in many places the skull and cheek bones were exposed.

Although critics consider gory descriptions obsessions with morbidity, perhaps

such "facts" embodied attempts to be scientific. Commenting on the success of Science, a new weekly magazine, and the increased attention to the scientific aspects of news by reporters, the editor of The Muncie Daily News predicted in 1885 that metropolitan readers would soon demand a daily devoted entirely to science.⁵³ Possibly, a century ago, the selection of horrible details in disaster accounts corresponded to printing verbatim reports of meetings and acts of Congress. Grotesque items accomplished what the television camera achieves today. If a picture says a thousand words, in the era when news photos had not become economically feasible, reporters tried to convey the terror such random calamities as train wrecks through verbal images that depicted the suffering precisely as cruelly as it had happened. These slices of life embodied slabs of hell.

Nightmares took the form of fire, flood, explosion, or bizarre accident. During the summer of 1883 in the New York City tenements, a cool snap in the heat wave came too late for 196 families who mourned for children dead from heat prostration.⁵⁴ Of course, calamities also befell adults. For instance, an old woman who had just bought cuts of meat at the butcher shop was sliced to pieces by a trolley car in Newark, New Jersey, on February 9, 1893.⁵⁵ Two weeks later, a forty-eight-year-old man died from lockjaw after having a tooth pulled.⁵⁶ In Pittsburgh on January 8, 1893, three tenants of a brick house, which was not connected to gas lines, died in an explosion caused by fumes leaking from the city mains into their basement.⁵⁷ On March 31, 1893, two men vanished in an avalanche in Colorado while shoveling snow off the tracks.⁵⁸

The rousters had heard stories about what happened to fools who broke the frosty silence of the mountains where the slopes, like sleek cats, shed their coats according to an inner clock. Any loud noise, even a robust *gesundheit*, triggered avalanches. The railroad crews knew that the sharp rasp of metal against the

ground could set off fatal vibrations. Others had been buried alive. Yet, the men dug their way to death through the drifts in the narrow canon. They disappeared in a moment of white fury and crystalline complacency.

Danger -- Present But Unseen

Perhaps, the omnipresence of the snow made the men forget about avalanches. After all, everyday everywhere they looked they saw snow in the winter in Colorado. Similarly, like a precursor of twentieth century smog, smoke hung over Peshtigo for several weeks before the conflagration. The associate editors of the Chicago Daily Tribune, James W. Sheahan and George P. Upton, explained, "The fires were about them in every direction, but they had fought them off with the appliances so familiar to frontier men, and dreamed of no danger."⁵⁹ People got use to the grit. Despite the drought, farmers set their pasture-making fires as usual. Lumberjacks ignored the sparks sent by lightning. Small fires cleared out the underbrush. Railroad builders let the piles of tailings and trash smolder. The peat bog glowed where spontaneous combustion, swamp gas, or an unknown agent had ignited it. Every fall the night sky lit up occasionally with flares from distant fires, and ashes blew in from the North. "The threat of fire, the main topic of conversation, in the region that fall, seemed like someone else's problem to the families who lived in the Sugar Bushes."⁶⁰

In Chicago, too, the threat seemed impersonal. Despite the rash of calls the night before, the fire department expected the problem to ease up, not worsen. Although the drought had precipitated the crisis in both Chicago and Peshtigo, the carelessness of the victims and their inability to sense the danger until it was too late sealed their doom. Too many citizens enjoyed watching fires to take them seriously until the whirlwind of flames had blown away their world. Perhaps, they

secretly imagined themselves to be the protagonists in the romance called life. Certainly, the divine author would reward pluck with luck.

Chasing fire engines afforded vicarious thrills much the same as watching sports events or going to the theater. Reality intensified the drama, but life had a nasty way of imposing unhappy endings onto delightful displays of courage and pyrotechnics. Thrill seekers still dog fire engines. However, most depend upon TV docudramas -- "Unsolved Mysteries," "Rescue 911," and "Forty-Eight Hours" -- for armchair adventure. TV news broadcasts, including CNN, provide disaster junkies with a constant video hype.

"The greater proportion of the conflagrations . . . of any of our large cities . . . are the direct result of carelessness and malice . . .,"⁸¹ according to a Progressive journalist. This waste occurred because: "Americans are a notoriously reckless people, and a spirit of speculation prevails among them. Fortunes are quickly made as quickly spent, and it is indubitably this spirit of speculation that makes them careless to an extraordinary degree."⁸² The number of fires reported steadily rose between 1876 and 1885 from 9,301 to 14,114.

The eerie common denominator of large and small fires often was carelessness. Just two months after the Hinckley, Minnesota, Conflagration in 1894, John Gifford warned that while lightning caused some blazes, three human agents -- incendiaries, careless individuals, and locomotives -- started most forest fires. He explained that gunners, tramps, and boys left embers from campfires or flicked their lit cigarettes, cigars, or matches into the brush.⁸³ Carelessness took its toll at home as well as in the woods. Defective flues kindled most household fires. The failure to line wall partitions or the spaces between ceilings and floors with nonflammable substances caused commercial blazes. Indeed, in construction as well as in everyday life "the perils of fire [seemed] to be ignored entirely."⁸⁴

Perhaps, newspapers carried disaster stories because misfortune struck frequently. G. W. De Succa, editor of the Austin, Nevada, Reese River Reveille, observed on June 29, 1875: "But as disasters never come single, we have, in to-days dispatches, accounts of an immense conflagration in Spain and destructive tornadoes in Wyoming and Michigan, involving loss of life as well as of property." ⁶⁵ Fires and mayhem happened as regularly on the Far Western Frontier as along the Eastern Coast. No matter where one lived, either going to work or staying at home frequently amounted to playing Russian roulette.

Through the Glass Dimly -- News

For now we see in a mirror dimly, but then face to face.
Now I know in part; then I shall understand fully, even as I
have been fully understood. (Corinthians I)

What greater oxymoron could one ask for than the Chicago Fire, which was called a cruel kindness by entrepreneurs Elias Colbert and Everett Chamberlin? They agreed with the author of Barriers Burned Away that The Great Conflagration would bring "good out of evil" by ["scorching out the Aristocracy."] ⁶⁶ Interpreting fires and disasters amounted to looking through a glass dimly hoping to see clearly. Reporters peered into that dark mirror while covering many events, especially those involving the smote rich. Unfortunately, the rampant belief in material success as a reward for gumption often distorted their perceptions.

Curti concludes that "in the post Civil War decades the idea of success through self-effort as a possibility for everyone became vastly more popular and widespread than ever before." ⁶⁷ Reporters responded to the public hunger for Horatio Alger stories by describing the parties, weddings, and other special events

involving the old-line monarchs of Fifth Avenue and the newly rich. The American Aristocracy experienced uncomfortable expansion as the nouveau riches demanded their place at the banquet table. Newspapers followed the escapades of both groups and converted squabbles between them into circulation boosts.

In addition to advice columns listing those who had risen to the top, dailies also published items about the richest available women.⁶⁸ Even the Town Talk in Alexandria, Louisiana, included items about wealthy women in nearly every issue. On July 1, 1883, the editor noted that the queens of society at Grand Prix "pleased the eye immensely" in their changeable, silk dresses adorned with fruit and flowers. One English lady's blue satin stole the show. "On the front of the dress is embroidered in rainbow jets an enormous cat, and a cat in smaller proportions adorns the parasol."⁶⁹ Readers wanted to hear the comfortable formula repeated even if they had little chance of implementing it. The social myth helped even the poorest individual cope with adversity. The power of Alger's 135 plots lies in their promise of opportunity. It was a Gilded Age fairy tale.

Just as nursery tales help infants cope with the frustrations of being small and weak, the Horatio Alger fairy tale empowered those slogging away their lives in sweatshops, in factories, or on hard scrabble farms. The story bestowed upon believers the most potent weapon against hard times imaginable -- magic. This sword worked only in spiritual territory. But, that was enough. In fact, today formulas persist because they provide reassurance in a risky world. Juergens and other scholars miss the point when they complain that Alger wrote the same plot repeatedly.

Alger believed in the fable and realized that the formula had to be repeated exactly. Otherwise the tale lost its potency. Cawelti suggests that readers enjoyed making predictions.⁷⁰ The formula stories provided more than escape and

relaxation. Writers of success plots celebrated a myth that embodied the eye of the hurricane of change that shook the Gilded Age. Joseph Campbell explains why myths are crucial to all generations including our own: ⁷¹

People say that we're all seeking meaning for life, I don't think that's what we're really seeking. I think that what we're seeking is an experience of being alive, so that our life experiences on the purely physical plane will have resonances within our own innermost being and reality, so that we actually feel the rapture of being alive. That's what it's all finally about, and that's what these clues help us to find within ourselves.

Reporters as well as fiction writers searched for clues to solve life's mystery. The serials and poems published by many newspapers often retold the prized success story. For example, on April 2, 1875, the Reese River Reveille in Austin, Nevada, saluted the Hoffman Brothers, proprietors of a dry goods store who had "started on a small scale," charged fair prices that netted modest profits, and, thereby, attained middle-class respectability: ⁷²

... They are not hoggish and don't care to get rich suddenly. They prefer to expand their business gradually, so as to rest on a sure foundation; but they will not object to owning a three-story brick house chock full of goods in a year or two.

Fiction was expected to lionize this myth, which might be entitled "The Hare and Tortoise Do Wall Street." Particularly early in the Gilded Age, editors devoted many columns to real incidents that demonstrated the power of the rags-to-riches formula. By the end of the era, journalists strove to report the facts while telling a compelling story. Gruesome details in disaster accounts reminded the plucky just how lucky they were that, at least for them, science had not become just another card house, which collapsed when Mother Nature slammed the door.

¹ James W. Carey, "Technology and Ideology: The Case of the Telegraph, reprint from Prospects: An Annual of American Cultural Studies, ed. by Jack Salzman, (Cambridge University Press, 1983.)

² For comments on the impact of elevators on perception of living space, see: O. W. Larkin, Art and Life in America (New York, 1949), pp. 288-290; Jacob Riis, How the Other Half Lives (New York, 1957), pp. 228-229; and John A. Garraty, The New Commonwealth (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1968), pp. 181, 187.

³ Amy Kaplan, Social Construction of American Realism (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988).

⁴ Ibid., p. 13.

⁵ For consideration of the rise of cheap book publishing, see: Raymond H. Shove, Cheap Book Production in The United States, 1870-1891 (Urbana: University of Illinois Library, 1937); Albert Johannsen, The House of Beadle and Adams and Its Dime and Nickel Novels: The Story of a Vanished Literature (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1950-1962, 3 vols.); John Tebbel, A History of Book Publishing in the United States, Vols. I and II (New York: R. R. Bowker Company, 1975-1977); and Madeleine B. Stein, Publishers for Mass Entertainment in Nineteenth Century America (Boston: G. K. Hall and Co., 1980). For magazine history, see: Frank Luther Mott, A History of American Magazines, 1885-1905 (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1957) and Theodore Peterson, Magazines in the Twentieth Century (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1964).

⁶ Michael Schudson, Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers (New York: Basic Books, Inc., Pub., 1978). See: Chapter 2, "Telling Stories: Journalism As A Vocation After 1880," pp. 61-87.

⁷ Barth, Gunther, City People: The Rise of Modern City Culture in Nineteenth Century America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980) and Alan Trachtenberg, The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age, consulting ed., Eric Foner, (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982).

⁸ Schudson, Discovering the News, p. 78-9.

⁹ Ibid. See: Edwin L. Shuman, Steps into Journalism, (Evanston, IL: Correspondence School of Journalism, 1894), p. 66.

¹⁰ Everett Carter, Howells and the Age of Realism (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1954); Donald Pizer, Realism and Naturalism: In Nineteenth Century American Literature (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1966); and Pizer, "Late Nineteenth-Century Realism: An Essay In Definition," Nineteenth Century Fiction, 16:3 (Dec. 1961), pp. 263-269.

¹¹ Edwin Cady, The Light of Common Day: Realism in American Fiction (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1972.)

¹² Robert Falk, The Victorian Mode in American Fiction: 1865-1885 (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1965.)

¹³ Henry Steele Commager, The American Mind: An Interpretation of American Thought and Character Since the 1880's (New Haven: Yale University press, 1950); F. O. Matthiessen, American Renaissance: Art and Expression in the Age of Emerson and Whitman (New York: Oxford University Press, 1941); and Vernon Parrington, Main Currents in American Thought, 3 vols. (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Co., 1927, 1930.) For a cogent assessment of these and other major historians, see: Michael Kraus and Davis D. Joyce, The Writing of American History, rev. ed. (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1985).

¹⁴ C. Hugh Holman and William Harmon, A Handbook to Literature, 5th ed. (New York: Macmillan Pub., Co., 1986), p. 413.

¹⁵ "The Dead Lie In Heaps at Hinckley. Communication Has At Last Been Established with the Burned Minnesota Town. People Driven Into the Swamps to Perish. Survivors Not Able to Identify Many of the Corpses Recovered -- Mourners Visit the Cemetery in Quest of Their Dead -- Every House in the Village Destroyed -- The People Eating Eagerly Loaves of Bread Sent to Them from Outside -- Fires Raging in the Michigan Peninsula, in the Pennsylvania Oil Fields, and in New-York State." The New York Times, Sept. 4, 1894, p. 2, c. 1.

The Rev. R. T. Burke wrote a letter to the Rev. William Wilkinson when Rev. Wilkinson began collecting information for his eye-witness history of the Hinckley Fire. See: Memorials of the Minnesota Fires in the Year of 1894 with A Chapter on the Forest Fires in Wisconsin in the same year by Rev. William Wilkinson, Rector of St. Andrews Church, Minneapolis, and Former Chaplain of the House of Representatives of Minnesota (Minneapolis: Norman E. Wilkinson, 1325 Girard Ave., No., Minneapolis, 1895, Crown-Litho Pub., Co.), p. 128.

¹⁶ Raymond Williams, Culture and Society: 1780-1950 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983).

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 30.

¹⁸ Alfred North Whitehead, Science and the Modern World, (New York: New American Library, 1948) in "The Social Responsibility Theory" by Theodore Peterson, Four Theories of the Press: The Authoritarian, Libertarian, Social Responsibility and Soviet Communist Concepts of What the Press Should Be and Do, (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1963), p.81.

¹⁹ Melvin De Feur and Sandra Ball-Rokeach, Theories of mass Communication, 3rd ed. (New York: McKay Co., 1975), p. 165.)

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Walter Lippmann, Public Opinion (New York: Free Press Paperback, 1965, originally published in 1922.)

²² De Feur and Ball-Rokeach, Theories of mass Communication, p. 165.

²³ Edwin and Michael Emery, "The New Journalism," The Press and America: An Interpretive History of the Media, 5th ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1984), pp. 253-274.

²⁴ Jean Folkerts and Dwight Teeter, "The Press and Modernization," Voices of a Nation: A History of the Media in the United States (New York: Macmillan Pub., Co., 1989), p. 262.

²⁵ Schudson, Discovering the News, pp. 117-119.

²⁶ Scholars assign a myriad of meanings to the word, myth, ranging from falsehood to stories people believe into actuality. I am using it in the way Joseph Campbell suggests in The Power of Myth with Bill Moyers, Sue Flowers, ed. (New York: Doubleday, 1988), p. 6: "Read myths. They teach you that you can turn inward, and you begin to get the message of symbols . . . Myth helps you to put your mind in touch with this experience of being alive. It tells you what the experience is."

²⁷ E. J. Goodspeed, History of the Great Fires: Chicago and the West. A Proud Career Arrested By Sudden and Awful Calamity: Towns and Counties Laid Waste By the Devastating Element. Scenes and Incidents. Losses and Sufferings. Benevolence of the Nations. Etc.. Etc.. with a History of the Rise and Fall of Chicago, the "Young Giant." To Which is Appended a History of the Great Fires in the Past. Illustrated and sold only by subscription (New York: H.S. Goodspeed & Co., 1871), p. 218.

²⁸ Ibid., table of contents, p. viii.

²⁹ Robert W. Wells, Fire & Ice: Two Deadly Disasters. Fire at Peshtigo (Ashland, WI: Northword, Inc., 1983, p. 86.

³⁰ The Chicago Fire inspired two immediate studies. Besides E. J. Goodspeed, the editors of the Chicago Daily Tribune also wrote a chronicle by December 1, 1871: James W. Sheahan and George P. Upton, History of the Great Conflagration. Chicago: Its Past, Present and Future. Embracing a Detailed narrative of the Great Conflagration in the North, South, and West Divisions. Origin, Progress and Results of the Fire. Prominent Buildings Burned, Character of Buildings, Losses and Insurance, Graphic Description of the Flames, Scenes, and Incidents, Loss of Life, The Flight of the People. Also, A Condensed History of Chicago, Its Population, Growth, and Great Public Works. And A Statement of All the Great Fires of the World. (Chicago: Union Publishing Co., December 1871). Also, see: Elias Colbert and Everett Chamberlin, Chicago and The Great Conflagration. with Numerous Illustrations by Chapin and Gulick from Photographic Views Taken on the Spot (Cincinnati: C. F. Vent, 1871); Paul C. Ditzel, Chapter 16: "Chicago Is In Flames . . . Send Help!" in Fire Engines, Firefighters: The Men, Equipment, and Machines, from Colonial Days to the Present (New York: Crown Publishers, 1976), pp. 140-151, and John V. Morris, "The Big Burn," Fires and Firefighters (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1953), pp. 197-142.

³¹ Ibid., p. 56.

³² Charles De Lano Hine, "Heroes of the Railway Service: Notes from Experience," The Century Magazine, 35:5 (March, 1899), p. 653.

³³ William Watts Folwell, Minnesota: The North Star State (New York: Houghton Mifflin, Co., 1908), pp. 349-350. The WPA Guide to Minnesota: Compiled and Written by the Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1985), p. 295, claimed: "The hero of the disaster was Northern Pacific's engineer, Jim Root, who backed his train through a wall of flames and over the burning Grindstone Creek bridge all the way to Duluth. He saved 350 lives, but his hands were burned fast to the throttle."

³⁴ "Hundreds Perish In Forest Fires. Western Towns Destroyed and Citizens Burned to Death in Their Crumbling Houses. Terrible Scenes of Suffering at Hinckley. The Minnesota Town completely Wiped Out by the Flames, and Many of Its Inhabitants Perish -- One Hundred-Forty-Three Bodies Already Recovered, and More in the Ruins -- Other Towns Swept Up by the Fire -- The List of Dead Will Probably Reach Four Hundred," The New York Times, Sept. 3, 1894, p. 1, c. 1-6. The incident was described in detail in a story that began on page 1, c. 6, "Race for Life With Flames. How Engineer Root Brought The Limited To a Place of Safety."

³⁵ The New York Times, Sept. 3, 1894, "Race for Life With Flames. How Engineer Root Brought The Limited To a Place of Safety," p. 2, c. 2.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Estimates of the number of passengers on the train varied from Hine's figure, 200, to passenger's guesses of about one hundred. The exact figure cannot be calculated.

⁴⁰ Hine, "Heroes of the Railway Service," p. 653. The curator of the Hinckley Museum said that Root had stayed on the floor of the engine all night and lived because it was the only car that was not consumed in the flames. She suggested that Root had embellished the story through the years with every retelling of his harrowing encounter with hell in Hinckley. Nevertheless, since most of the train had burned to the ground, and he had sustained severe injuries, Root became the hero of the legend, which might be called "The *Limited's* Last Run." He certainly led an eventful life. According to the Rev. Father R. T. Burke, his friend, Jim Root, "drove the engine which took Gen. Sherman on his famous ride to the sea." (See: Wilkinson, Memorials of the Minnesota Fires in the Year of 1894, p. 70.)

⁴¹ The New York Times, Sept. 3, 1894, "Race for Life With Flames. How Engineer Root Brought The Limited To a Place of Safety," p. 2, c. 2.

⁴² Wilkinson, Memorials of the Minnesota Fires in the Year of 1894. He describes the Knudsens' heroism on pages 57 and 58, pointing out that even the Catholic priest, Father Lawler, praised the couple for risking their lives first by helping women with small children board the *Limited* and then by leading their neighbors to safety.

⁴³ Hine, "Heroes of the Railway Service," p. 654.

⁴⁴ "Saver of Many Lives Dead. Engineer J. M. Root Displayed Great Heroism in Minnesota Forest Fire.," The New York Times, December 15, 1911, p. 13, c. 5.

⁴⁵ In Discovering the News (page 207,) Schudson notes: "[Mabel Osgood Wright's] passion for fires dates to the early 1870s when she was in her early teens. . . [Her] account suggests that her mother would have taken her to fires had she not had callers or sewing to do when the fire bell rang."

⁴⁶ Mabel Osgood Wright, My New York (New York: Macmillan, 1926), p. 37.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 40.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Clifford Thomson, "The Waste By Fire," The Forum 27 (September 1886), p. 27.

⁵⁰ Jay Robert Nash, Darkest Hours: A Narrative Encyclopedia of Worldwide Disasters from Ancient Time to the Present (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1976).
Alexandria, Louisiana, Town Talk, March 23, 1883, p. 2, c. 2.

⁵¹ Alexandria, Louisiana, Town Talk, May 8, 1883, p. 1, (The *Graphles* story is in c. 3 and the lightning strike in c. 4.)

⁵² "A Growing List of Dead. Eleven More Victims of the Wreck at Alton, ILL. Fourteen of the Injured Whose Cases are Hopeless -- Searching For Bodies Near the Scene of the Accident," The New York Daily Tribune, January 23, 1893, p. 1, c. 1.

⁵³ The Muncie Daily News, December, 10, 1885, p. 4, c.5 .

⁵⁴ "Lines of Little Hearses. Burying the Baby Victims of the Heated Tenements. A Cool Wave Strikes the City and Brings Relief to All but the Sorrowing Families," The New York World, July 9, 1883, in Emery and Emery, The Press and America, p. 258.
On July 8th 214 people had died; 196 were under the age of six.

⁵⁵ "Cut To Pieces By a Trolley Car. Horrible Death of An Old Woman in Newark," The New York Daily Tribune, February 9, 1893, p. 1, c. 2.

⁵⁶ "Died From Having A Tooth Pulled," The New York Daily Tribune, February 23, 1893, p. 12, c. 3.

⁵⁷ "Killed By A Gas Explosion. Three Lives Lost and Four Persons Injured in Pittsburgh," The New York Daily Tribune, January 8, 1893, p. 1, c. 5.

⁵⁸ "Two Men Buried By A Snowslide," The New York Daily Tribune, April 1, 1893, p. 1, c. 3.

⁵⁹ Sheahan and Upton, History of the Great Conflagration, p. 371.

⁶⁰ Wells, Fire at Peshtigo, p. 74.

⁶¹ Clifford Thomson, The Forum, 27 (Sept. 1886), p. 30.

⁶² Ibid., p. 28.

⁶⁹ John Gifford, "The Causes and Effects of Great Forest Fires," The Engineering Magazine, 8:2 (November 1894), p. 190.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ G.W. De Succa, Austin, Nevada, Reese River Reveille, June 29, 1875, p.2, c. 1.

⁷² Colbert and Everett, Chicago and The Great Conflagration. with Numerous Illustrations by Chapin and Gulick from Photographic Views Taken on the Spot (Cincinnati: C. F. Vent, 1871).

⁷³ Merle Curti, The Growth of American Thought, 3rd ed. (New York: Harper and Row, 1964), p. 621.

⁷⁴ George Juergens, "A Newspaper for Women," Joseph Pulitzer and The New York World (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1966), pp. 132-174.

⁷⁵ Town Talk, Alexandria, Louisiana, July 1, 1883, p. 2, c.1.

⁷⁶ John G. Cawelti, "The Concept of Formula in the Study of Popular Literature," Journal of Popular Culture, 3:3 (Winter 1969), pp. 383-390, and Cawelti, Adventure, Mystery, and Romance: Formula Stories as Art and Popular Culture (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1976). Also see: Quentin Reynolds, The Fiction Factory: The Story of 100 Years of Publishing at Street and Smith From Pulp Row to Quality Street (New York: Random House, 1955) and Mary Noel, Villains Galore: The Heyday of the Popular Story Weekly (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1954). For the general history of popular books, see: Frank Luther Mott, Golden Multitudes: The Story of Best Sellers in the United States (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1947) and James D. Hart, The Popular Book: A History of America's Literary Taste (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1950).

⁷⁷ Joseph Campbell with Bill Moyers, Power of Myth (New York: Doubleday, 1988), p. 5.

⁷⁸ "The Little Store," the Austin, Nevada, Reese River Reveille, April 2, 1875, p. 3, c. 3.

The Newspaper Industry's Campaign
Against SpaceGrabbers,
1917-1921

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Presented at the Annual Meeting of the
American Journalism Historians Association
Philadelphia, October 3-5, 1991

ABSTRACT

This study examined 520 issues of **Editor & Publisher** and **The Fourth Estate** to assess Edward L. Bernays' claim that there was a sustained campaign against "the new profession of public relations" in newspaper trade journals after World War I. Indeed there was. The main argument of the study is that newsprint scarcity and post-War advertising volume caused a major revaluation of newspaper space. Newspapers tried to restrict access by clearly demarcating the boundaries between news and advertising, and they reaffirmed their right to determine what was news and to channel outside access to their pages through the business office.

THE NEWSPAPER INDUSTRY'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST SPACEGRABBERS, 1917-1921

This study examines Edward L. Bernays' claim that the newspaper industry conducted a campaign against the new profession of public relations after World War I.¹ The campaign was formulated by the American Newspaper Publishers Association (ANPA) through its special committee to stamp out free publicity. Popularization of the idea that printing free publicity should be stopped was carried out in The Fourth Estate, Editor & Publisher and Printer's Ink. These were the major vehicles for educating publishers, editors, reporters and advertisers about how free publicity threatened the economic vitality of their newspapers through loss of advertising revenue.

The main argument of this study is that newsprint scarcity and post-War advertising volume caused a major revaluation of newspaper space. This revaluation was the fundamental reason for the intensification of the campaign against "space grabbers," who came to be identified as press agents who demanded "free publicity." Although many advertisers demanded free space as a courtesy for purchasing ads, this was considered less reprehensible than the complete circumvention of the business office that publicists were accused of. During the course of trying to sort out the exact nature of the threat posed by free publicity, the newspaper industry reacted by restricting access to its columns and was forced to reconsider what it deemed news and what it deemed advertising.

This study can help to explain how the antagonism that continues today between the professions of journalism and public relations had its roots in the battle that occurred between publishers and publicists at the end of World War I. Although Ryan and Martinson note that a "substantial body of research centers on the antagonism that many journalists express toward public relations," the history of that antagonism is less often a research focus.²

METHOD

The Fourth Estate, "A Newspaper for the Makers of Newspapers and Investors in Advertising," and Editor and Publisher, "A Publication for Newspaper Makers, Advertisers and Advertising Agents," were examined to determine the newspaper industry's perception of what kinds of problems free publicity posed. Was the debate framed primarily as an economic problem or as a professional problem or both?

This study did not include an examination of Printer's Ink, which was devoted only to the subject of advertising. The other two trade journals were aimed at both advertisers and publishers and thus were thought to be reflective of the intersecting interests of the two. Additionally, E&P was chosen because it was thought to be reflective of the interests of rank-and-file journalists after 1907, when E&P absorbed The Journalist on Jan. 19 of that year.

This study was limited to the 520 issues published between 1917 and 1921 because in 1917 the anti-publicity drive became much more intense as the result of newsprint shortages after WWI.³ In 1917, the ANPA vowed at its annual meeting to try and eradicate free publicity "in consideration of advertising" because it was "illegal, unethical, and seriously interferes with the promotion of newspaper advertising."⁴ The study ends in 1921 because there was a very large decline in the number of trade journal stories devoted to the subject of free publicity, compared to 1917, 1918, 1919 and 1920, the peak year for attacks on "space grabbers." These years also were a nascent period in the professionalization of what would come to be called public relations. The terms of the debate about this new profession were initially defined during this period.

BACKGROUND

Edwin Emery's history of the ANPA notes that the organization was founded in 1887 to improve advertising solicitation techniques, to establish good relationships with advertisers and to promote the daily newspaper as an advertising medium.⁵ Hence, it comes as no surprise that the ANPA would eventually have to confront the problem of free publicity in a direct and decisive fashion. This was difficult because advertisers, advertising agents and agencies routinely demanded free space in consideration of advertising, known in world of the newspaper as the "business office must."⁶ The problem of confronting advertisers over the free space issue was at cross-purposes with the ANPA's mission of strengthening its relationship with advertisers and promoting the daily as the greatest advertising vehicle ever. The increasing dependence on this source of revenue made the relationship even more important because advertising accounted for 71 percent of newspaper revenue in 1921 compared to 1879, when dailies earned half their revenue from

subscription and half from advertising. The advertiser could not remain the only enemy in the free space controversy; another culprit had to be found.

Both Ivy Lee and Edward L. Bernays claimed that the enemy was them. Lee noted that animosity had been building for the 20 years he had practiced as a publicist.⁷ Bernays said that while there was a "conspiracy of silence" in major mass media about public relations, the trade journals were anything but silent.⁸ Emery stated that the ANPA campaign against free publicity, begun officially in 1908, was an undifferentiated attack on all forms of publicity, including advertisers who demanded a free write-up.⁹ But analysis of the two trade journals shows that they focused their attack on free publicity and eventually focused on the press agent as the representative evil.

This refinement was made possible by the realization that while the terms advertising and publicity had been used interchangeably in the journals, the terms no longer meant the same thing. The journals began to make a distinction between advertising and publicity, and between publicity and free publicity by 1918. Lee also distinguished between advertising and publicity as does Frank Presbrey in his History and Development of Advertising.¹⁰ These distinctions, coupled with the desire of the newspaper industry not to cut off its economic lifeblood, turned the attention of the journals to an enemy that advertisers and publisher both had reason to fear, the press agent who got newspaper attention by circumventing the business office all together. Press agents were labeled space grabbers who cheated the publishers out of revenue. Later they were attacked as despoilers of news.

The ability to distinguish advertisers from publicists also enabled the journals to get past the economic peril of free publicity and to discuss its philosophical and ethical dimensions. E&P's most vituperative attack on space grabbers occurred in 1920 when it published the series, "Living Journalism And The Poison That Kills," which in many respects can be seen as a defense of journalism's professional prerogatives in defining news and in protecting the integrity of its news columns. E&P again attempted to protect its professional perogatives concerning news during a campaign against the radio industry in the 1930s.¹¹

RESULTS

Several themes dominated both trade journals in 1917. First, there was the spiralling cost of newspaper production. A review of newspaper activity in 1916 indicated that "every item used in newspaper making went up."¹² Second, there was continuing newsprint scarcity. Third there was pressure from the government to publicize the Liberty Loan campaign without paid advertising. While this was a tremendous opportunity to demonstrate the power of advertising in the daily newspaper, it also was counter to the ANPA directive to stamp out free publicity. Out of patriotism and the sense that a successful Liberty Loan drive would convince government to use paid advertising eventually, as the governments of Great Britain and Canada already had done, newspapers gave their space for the Liberty Loan for free. But, even as they did so, the trade journals and the advertising organizations pressured the government to create a Cabinet-level Department of Advertising.

The Fourth Estate argued against government control of the paper supply as a way to solve the newsprint problem.¹³ Instead, it urged publishers to adopt paper conservation measures, such as eliminating rebates on guaranteed circulation¹⁴ and elimination of early and late evening editions.¹⁵ It also publicized the ANPA's efforts to reduce paper waste.¹⁶

E&P, too, was filled in 1917 with articles on newsprint scarcity, but it was considerably more optimistic than The Fourth Estate that there would be greater supplies in the next year and that costs would come down. However, greater supplies did not occur until the latter part of 1920. Also in contrast to The Fourth Estate, E&P seemed to favor the ANPA's position that government should control newsprint prices.¹⁷

Like The Fourth Estate, E&P encouraged paper conservation measures,¹⁸ including a newspaper without headlines¹⁹ and elimination of free copies.²⁰ The Fourth Estate argued as well that a big savings could be effected if newspapers would discourage the "prostitution of their columns by the professional publicity sharks." It called theaters, baseball and motor cars "the worst offenders,"²¹ although railroads, too, were dependent on free publicity,²² it said.

E&P also argued against free publicity but did not in 1917 discuss it as a space-saving tactic. Instead. L.B. Palmer, general manager of the ANPA and lead man in the fight against free publicity,²³

exposed the tactics of free space seekers²⁴ and told advertisers not to request free space.²⁵ To curb the practice of advertising agents requesting free space, E&P only published the names of agents recognized by the ANPA.²⁶

An E&P editorial emphasized the value of white space in the newspaper and discouraged the free reading notice. It also encouraged publishers to think differently about their handling of baseball information and to be more selective about what really was news and what was essentially free baseball publicity.²⁷ E&P sought to teach publishers about how many times they unwittingly gave free publicity to those who should have paid for advertising.²⁸ It ran a story on a publisher's personal account of how he fought free publicity.²⁹

But, in discussing the free publicity problem, both trade journals had to battle the federal government, too. The Fourth Estate railed against the Department of Treasury for expecting a \$2 billion donation to finance the sale of war bonds.³⁰ As early as April 1917, The Fourth Estate wrote:

Publishers of newspapers, even when gasping for breath under the most unbearable burden of a doubled cost of white paper, will willingly give, and are giving, the government a great amount of goods for nothing....

One of the most regrettable failings of publications in the past has been to give away free publicity -- and many another's business they have built up through their generosity. Lately the wiser newspaper owners have been trying to undo the damage free publicity has done.

The Army and Navy will be paid. Shipbuilders will be paid for building battleships. Munitions makers will draw down fat profits. The Railroads will not be asked to furnish free transportation.³¹

E&P also encouraged the government to pay for advertising³² and urged the creation of a Department of Advertising.³³ When legislation was introduced to create a Bureau of Publicity within the Department of Commerce, E&P immediately responded that the better name would be a Bureau of Advertising.³⁴

The Liberty Loan promoters themselves wanted the government to pay for advertising.³⁵ U.S. Treasury Secretary McAdoo said that the federal government could not advertise because it would have to buy space in every newspaper.³⁶ Even The New York Times was against paid advertising for the Liberty

Loans, saying it would be "both expensive and superfluous."³⁷ The U.S. Senate and the House voted against an amendment that would have allowed the government to pay for advertising.³⁸

The Fourth Estate used the terms publicity and advertising synonymously³⁹ and argued that advertisers didn't want free publicity.⁴⁰ It condemned free publicity because it detracted from advertising value⁴¹ and distinguished between publicity, which provided information, and advertising, which spurred the consumer to action.⁴² Instead, The Fourth Estate targeted the press agent and said press agency was nearing the "saturation point."⁴³ It also said that publishers' resentment of press agents was "cleansing" the ranks of political writers and national news correspondents.⁴⁴

E&P's commentary on press agents focused on exposing how the theater press agent worked by giving out a sensational interview by an actor or actress. It also focused on social service organizations who wanted their ideas publicized for free and it attacked the auto industry for submitting as news that which E&P said should have been paid advertising.⁴⁵

Louis Wiley, business manager of The New York Times, directed his commentary to publishers, advertisers and their agents to stop the practice of printing free advertising:

The misguided publisher who prostitutes his news columns to obtain advertising constantly finds himself in hot water. Expediency becomes his code of ethics. The moment one advertiser obtains free puffery, the clamor of his competitors reaches the publisher's ear. But who shall see to it that each advertiser gets his share of free space? Who is to draw the line on the volume of free matter to be published? The easiest way for the newspaper publisher to avoid these pitfalls is to be straightforward -- to be fair with the reading public and with the advertiser at the same time, and print no free advertising.⁴⁶

E&P had publishers from around the country save and mail to its editorial offices all of the free publicity they received. E&P complained that too little of it contained "genuine news" and that much of it was "fine food for the big waste basket." E&P noted that "the demand for space was never greater, and as a result editors are more alert than ever to combat questionable onslaughts for space."⁴⁷

Though The Fourth Estate saw most press agents as an evil, it did reprint a speech by Edward A. Morse, manager of the Press Service Co. of New York, who distinguished between legitimate and illegitimate press agents. He said that "free stuff was out of date."

The social service press agent [is one] who thinks that his function is to burglarize space from unwilling newspapers, who believes that he must devise fantastic stunts to disguise his purpose....⁴⁸

Morse encouraged the use of paid advertising to get important information that was not news before the public. Morse distinguished between press agents who were after "free stuff" and legitimate press agents who were really specialized reporters digging up news of the organization he serves.

The office of the press agent today would be better described by the term Adviser in Public Relations. It should be his function to advise against much of the publicity that is now submerging the desks of the overworked editor.⁴⁹

By 1918 the newsprint situation was worse. Prices had increased; supplies were more scarce. The Smith Resolution was introduced in the U.S. House of Representative to put news print under federal control.⁵⁰ The Fourth Estate called the Smith bill "socialistic legislation,"⁵¹ but the ANPA favored the bill.⁵² Forced by rising material and labor costs, publishers had raised subscription prices to two cents in 1917 and to three cents by 1918.⁵³

There was some discussion about the economics of paying for white space with advertising,⁵⁴ and an article about how publishers were on the wrong course when they depend on their by-product -- advertising -- to survive. It argued that the subscription should be high enough to sell the main product at a profit.⁵⁵ This point was better developed in an article published in the July 31, 1920, edition of The Fourth Estate. T.F. McPherson, general manager of the Tulsa (Okla.) Tribune, said that publishers had "ignored the fundamentals of business and established a selling price for advertising space upon circulation rather than upon cost of production."⁵⁶

Ways to cut waste⁵⁷ and suggestions for saving paper⁵⁸ continued in both The Fourth Estate and E&P. Newspapers were urged to comply with government regulations that abolished all returns and overs. The War Industries Board also had put restrictions on reading matter and made paper mills an essential

industry. It decreed that no new newspapers could be established.⁵⁹ Restrictions on the amount of "reading matter," which meant all space not devoted to paid advertising, squeezed news columns that already were being overloaded with publicity for the war effort.⁶⁰

The Fourth Estate also editorialized against the War Industries Board's ruling on reading matter⁶¹ and called for an end to "reams of government publicity material":

Newspapers have been very liberal with their space. This is their commodity in trade. Space in a newspaper is what the newspaper has to sell, just as clothing in a store is what the merchant has to sell, or groceries are what the grocer has to sell.⁶²

These restrictions, which required that publishers reduce consumption of newsprint 15 percent in daily editions and 20 percent for Sunday papers, were repealed effective Dec. 15, 1918.⁶³ This meant that they could resume the use of premiums and contests, for example, to boost circulations. But, before the war ended, E&P, like The Fourth Estate, railed against the government's publicity machine, saying that press releases were "a waste of good white paper."⁶⁴ and that government press agents were not wanted.⁶⁵ Instead of publicity, E&P urged the creation of a post-war government news bureau to coordinate publicity, meaning government publicity that was truly news.⁶⁶

E&P was consumed during 1918 with promoting a department of advertising and a paid advertising policy, but there were a few articles that were devoted to the subject of abolishing the free reading notice. For example, on Jan. 5, 1919, E&P chided the Red Cross for "exact(ing) a bonus with every purchase of (newspaper) space."⁶⁷ In March, E&P reported that Washington state newspaper publishers had reached an agreement on banning free publicity because "the free reading notice is an evil."⁶⁸

A number of articles in 1918 in both trade journals focused on George Creel's Committee on Public Information.⁶⁹ Some focused on Creel's troubles with Congress and with the ANPA,⁷⁰ and some were critical of Creel.⁷¹ E&P's implicit complaints about Creel's Committee centered on E&P's desire to have a cabinet-level Department of Advertising and to have the federal government pay to advertise the Liberty Loans. Both of these subjects had been discussed in 1917, but in 1918 E&P pressed these subjects more vigorously.

E&P saw some success for its efforts when President Woodrow Wilson authorized a division of advertising under the auspices of Creel's Committee on Public Information.⁷² But, E&P still pressured Wilson to create a separate department of advertising.⁷³ It also urged members of the Creel Committee's newly created division of advertising to advise the U.S. government to pay for advertising and "to stop asking newspapers for space."⁷⁴

Despite a series of articles urging a paid advertising policy for the Liberty Loan drives throughout 1918, however, the U.S. government never adopted a paid policy for several reasons. First, the Treasury Department feared that if it paid for newspaper ads, it would have to begin paying for billboard space, moving-picture slides and streetcar cards.⁷⁵ Treasury also said that a paid advertising policy would create friction between publishers and editors around the country as they competed for the government's advertising dollar.⁷⁶

Additionally, the fact of the matter was that the government knew that free publicity, not paid advertising, was getting the job done. The Liberty Loan drives throughout the war were successful in raising the necessary funds. While the government attributed the success to non-paid publicity, the newspaper trade journals preferred to attribute success to the power of advertising.

The Fourth Estate talked about how the war had increased the value of advertising.⁷⁷ A 50 percent increase in advertising was predicted and there was talk as well that an "age of advertising" had begun.⁷⁸ Even the federal government urged manufacturers and dealers to advertise and to get the public to buy again and stimulate trade after the economic doldrums of the war years.⁷⁹

THE GOLDEN AGE

The ANPA renewed its campaign to "advertise advertising" and to promote newspapers as the primary advertising medium in 1919.⁸⁰ E&P wrote that the world had been shown the "power of publicity" and that there was now a proper value placed on public opinion which "forced the recognition of publicity as the greatest power in the world." Publicity here meant, of course, advertising.⁸¹

Advertising was touted as an investment, not an expense, and advertising historian Frank Presbrey noted that business invested its excess profits in 1919,⁸² which sent advertising volume up 46 percent over

1918.⁸³ Newspapers were the big beneficiaries.⁸⁴ Newspapers also were successful in convincing the railroads to use paid advertising on a regular basis⁸⁵ and pressured the Anti-tobacco and Anti-cigarette League to pay for space.⁸⁶ The Fourth Estate realized that while in the past advertising was used only to sell merchandise it could be used to mold opinion "to put over big ideas."⁸⁷

Despite this advertising windfall, newspapers continued to be pressured by high newsprint prices, a paper manufacturing strike, increased postal rates and higher wages.⁸⁸ In fact, the demand for more advertising space compounded the problem of newsprint scarcity. It sent consumption up 41 percent and caused an even more severe paper shortage. This left newsprint mills unable to keep pace.⁸⁹

The Fourth Estate encouraged an increase in advertising rates to reduce the number of newspaper pages, as did the ANPA.⁹⁰ Still, both the ANPA and The Fourth Estate continued to argue that increased ad rates were a temporary solution; the permanent solution lay in increasing newsprint production⁹¹ and in a program undertaken by the U.S. Forest Service to lessen dependence on the foreign supply of wood pulp.⁹²

E&P was concerned about panic caused by the paper shortage. It supported the newsprint conservation appeal made by the ANPA and suggested ways to conserve.⁹³ E&P urged publishers to get rid of "auto puffs"⁹⁴ and urged voluntary reapplication of war restrictions to avert a paper disaster.⁹⁵ It warned against the threat of regulation if conservation was not practiced.⁹⁶

Articles about press agents and publicists in 1919 in The Fourth Estate were characterized by probing and discussion about what publicity was, who practiced it and its impact on the newspaper business. They were not the usual attacks on free publicity that were characteristic of articles in 1918. An explanatory article about what press agents were was written in July.⁹⁷ The Fourth Estate did permit an article by a press agent on tips for getting space by someone who does it,⁹⁸ but in October The Fourth Estate ran an article by a Cincinnati publisher that blasted publicity seekers who regarded the daily newspaper as a "free distributing agency for their propaganda." The publisher noted that "some measure of fault" had to be borne by the press itself. "The stock in trade of a newspaper is its circulation and space. The subscriber pays for news and the advertiser pays for advertising."⁹⁹

During the same month The Fourth Estate ran an article by a self-described publicity man who distinguished between "legitimate and illegitimate publicity." He wrote that "a publicity man for the banks was not the same as a press agent. As soon as an item ceases to contain news value, it ceases to be publicity and begins to become advertising and should be paid for at legitimate space rates."¹⁰⁰ A final article in The Fourth Estate attempted further clarification of the role and function of publicity, the publicity man and the press agent.¹⁰¹

In contrast to the tone of moderation struck in The Fourth Estate, E&P came out swinging in 1919. It urged publishers to eliminate the "space-grafter as a matter of fairness to advertisers who buy space."¹⁰² It reprinted the full text of a bill by Sen. Albert S. Cummins, R-Iowa, president pro tem of the Senate. The bill would have created a bureau to conduct publicity and advertising. "The Cummins bill is important, first because it recognizes publicity by direct statute as a definite function of the Government and not a temporary war measure nor something dependent upon the individual view point of department heads or bureau chiefs. It recognizes paid advertising as an essential part of the Government's publicity and proposes a systematic administration of the matter."¹⁰³

E&P reminded its readers that the Cummins bill had been introduced in August 1917 under the same name and with the same provisions. But, it had died at the hands of a Congress concerned with conduct of the war. As it had in 1917, E&P again protested against calling the department a Bureau of Publicity because, it said, "all advertising is publicity but not all publicity is advertising":

Advertisers and publishers use the word 'publicity'
to designate the class of advertising which
masquerades as news matter, and which press agents
are paid to guide safely past the business office
and into the editorial rooms.¹⁰⁴

E&P urged instead that Cummins amend his bill to create a Department of Advertising and "to eliminate entirely from its text any reference whatever to 'publicity.'"¹⁰⁵ Ironically, E&P and The Fourth Estate never did a good job themselves of distinguishing between publicity and advertising. It was only when advertising was threatened by publicity that they were forced to make the distinction. The Cummins bill

forced the trade journals to realize that they had to be more vigorous in educating publishers about the different forms of publicity and their impact on the newspaper industry.

By 1920 the newsprint situation had become so severe that Frank P. Glass, president of the ANPA, said that "publishers shall recognize as never before the value of newspaper space."¹⁰⁶ The newsprint shortage was exacerbated by record advertising demand. J.H. Allison, president of the Southern Newspaper Publishers' Association, said, "To have told the newspaper makers of a decade back that there would be more advertising than they could find paper on which to print would have meant being laughed out of the shop."¹⁰⁷ The Federal Trade Commission reported that both consumption of newsprint and prices were at record levels,¹⁰⁸ and R.S. Kellogg, secretary of the New Print Service Bureau, said that increased advertising was the chief cause of the news print shortage.¹⁰⁹

In 1919, publishers already had cut both editorial and advertising space, raised ad rates and increased subscription prices.

The ANPA proposed far-reaching methods of curtailing the use of newsprint, including reduced size of headlines; discontinuance of circulation promotion campaigns and extra or special editions; elimination of all return privileges and free copies, and the elimination of all free publicity.¹¹⁰

This situation prompted E&P to embark on a concentrated campaign against publicists and press agents. It started in January with New York World editor Frank I. Cobb's discussion of the publicity agent's role in confusing public opinion. While he said that publicity agents "on the whole were a very able body of men" he expressed concern about their ability to be truthful:

... they are essentially attorneys for their employers. Their function is not to proclaim the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, but to present the particular state of facts that will be of the greatest benefit to their clients -- in short, to manipulate the news.¹¹¹

Two months later E&P again editorialized that the acute conditions prevailing in the newsprint market "have given newspaper space new value." It said that both advertisers and publicists were "fully awake" to the true value of newspaper space. "One class comes under the head of advertiser. The members are legion

and the number is growing. They are flooding every newspaper office in America and are entirely responsible for the present golden harvest."¹¹²

The other class was comprised of publicists.

Their only interest is their own private business. They have a full appreciation of the value of a newspaper line and they pay handsomely for it, but none of their dollars find their way into the coffers of newspapers -- from which the pay for newsprint, composition, news, features and distributions must come. They cheat the news column by stealing news space; what they give has no news value, because basically it is propaganda and propaganda is never dependable.

The space grabbers must go. It is sucking life-blood from journalism, healthy blood of reader-trust and confidence; financial reward in advertising space bought and paid for."¹¹³

A week later E&P followed up these remarks with a call to newspapers to "swing backward to editorship; backward to reporting news because it is news. Free publicity, the thief of honest opinion, must be stamped out."¹¹⁴

E&P's classification of all publicists as propagandists did not go unanswered. Carl H. Butman, director of the War Department News Bureau, said that Washington newspapermen found the press release or "handout" beneficial. Butman was careful, however, to defend only government press releases from the War Department. He indicated that releases from other public or private corporations might be, as E&P contended, a "menace to public opinion."¹¹⁵

E&P responded with an editorial on the government press agent. It said that while press releases during the war served a useful function, they served no useful purpose after the war. "The handout is the hookworm of journalism that kills resourcefulness, initiative and enterprise. Through it the poison of propaganda is injected into the minds of the people." E&P said that news had to be "dug out" by reporters and there was "absolutely no legitimate place in honest and independent journalism for the government news service, the press agent or the propagandist."¹¹⁶

This editorial was a prelude to a campaign against publicists in a series of articles published from April through August. Many of the articles were titled, "Living Journalism And The Poison That Kills." They

were written by Charles Grant Miller, former editor-in-chief of the Cleveland (O.) Plain Dealer. Miller also was founder of the Newspaper Enterprise Association and chief editorial writer for Scripps newspapers.

Miller said that big business got bigger during the war and that "millionaire managers grouped at Washington during the war smothered statesmanship as effectively as the publicity bureaus smothered press correspondence." He said that the paid publicity man was a "potent adjunct of big business" and that publicists were not "fact collectors. They are denial experts." He denied that any government department needed a press agent, if, indeed, the department had "real facts." He continued that the "contest is between organized greed on the one hand and disorganized ignorance on the other." Miller said he had tried to find a distinction between "official and political publicity agencies" but had to conclude that no such distinction existed. "They are all evil," he said.¹¹⁷

While E&P focused its attack on the press agent, it also reminded publishers on two occasions that "the days of selling advertising space on the strength of an editorial boost has passed."¹¹⁸ E&P also distinguished between "acceptable and unacceptable" advertising.¹¹⁹ The Fourth Estate repeated information sent by the ANPA that warned advertising agents to shun those agents who took "a secret pride in his ability to 'put something over' ... (which) hurts advertising."¹²⁰

The following week Miller turned his focus on public service corporations, which he said were publicity grafters that demanded the most of newspapers. He called "subserviency to public service influence" the most ruinous of policies. "No figures are available, but it is a safe estimate that more newspapers have gone to ruin through wrong public service policies than through all other editorial errors."¹²¹ He also reviewed the common complaint of the ANPA that so little publicity was paid for. "When one knows that of more than \$200,000 spent in publicity by the New York Interborough only \$13,000 went for newspaper advertising, honestly paid for, one naturally wonders."¹²² He cautioned advertisers that their chief competition was the free publicity running in their own newspapers.

As an example of how "pernicious publicity" obscured the truth, Miller wrote in the May 1 issue that newspapers had ignored the story on war profits, particularly that of coal operators, whose profits he said had ranged as high as 2,000 percent. There was profiteering, he said, in the canning industry, the steel

industry, the clothing industry and among furniture makers. He exhorted newspapers to report this and said that if they did not, it was because of the "publicity poison, taken so freely by the press." He said it worked "such deadly stupefaction that no newspaper has enough 'pep' left to want to give the truth."¹²³

In an editorial in the same issue E&P said that the "campaign against the press agent and propagandist is already bearing fruit. ... Many newspapers are now announcing that in the future all offered handouts will go into the waste basket unopened. Some one has suggested that a 100 percent cut in press agent matter and propaganda will go a long way toward solving the news print shortage."¹²⁴

The campaign continued in the May 8 issue, with Miller targeting the "great financial, political, commercial and industrial" interests who he said were distorting and suppressing important facts and that the press was "cursed with too much comment, protagonistic and antagonistic, and too little fact." He warned that a "'free' press, laden with propaganda or subsidized into silence, is a mockery...."¹²⁵

Celebrities, theatrical press agents, the packaging of presidential candidates and the publicity organizations that worked for churches and philanthropies also came under attack. Miller attacked the "flood" of "piffling gossip about the inconsequential doings of self-seeking nobodies." And, he said, while this was the worst kind of drivel, it was the churches and philanthropies that led in sheer volume of requests for free space. "Analysis shows that while screen and stage stuff flows into the average newspaper office at the rate of 7,500 words a day, the church and philanthropic propaganda has been flooding in at the rate of 13,950 words a day, not counting in the Red Cross."¹²⁶

This particular issue was accompanied by pictures of stand-up scales that were used to weigh the pounds of propaganda coming into newspaper offices around the country. Miller wrote:

...I know of no more compelling facts to set up than that the consumption of newsprint has increased from 3 pounds per capita in 1880 to 33 pounds in 1919, with no longer any hope of corresponding increase in production.¹²⁷

An editorial in the same issue urged publishers to practice the kind of militant journalism they had practiced before the war, when American newspapers "surrendered militancy as a patriotic duty." He continued:

The newspapers of America are today in a news war. Their fight is with insidious propaganda, a poisonous reptile that has survived the war. Every newspaper and every newspaper man must enlist now to 'kill' it.¹²⁸

Continuing on the theme that churches were one of the foremost offenders in the free space controversy, Miller praised the Zionist Organization of America for using newspaper display advertising and criticized the Interchurch World Movement for expecting \$6 million in free publicity. In this article Miller carefully distinguished between publicity and news. He said that publicity bureaus, even those supplying religious publicity, were not in the business to "furnish free news but to get free advertising. The news element is of secondary importance."¹²⁹ Miller said "real news" was "an honest disinterested account of an event of public interest and importance." He distinguished news from publicity:

A story of a 15,000-mile automobile run on one set of tires would be interesting and important, if true; but the hired publicity man of the tire company is not a reliable source of information; and, anyway, it is such a story as properly belongs, told with the name of the tire and upon the manufacturer's own authority, in the advertising columns, where it would serve the public as well and the newspaper better.¹³⁰

Miller also reported that the E&P campaign against the "press agent," the "publicist" and the whole "press agency business" was showing some success because all the newspapers in Des Moines, Iowa, had declared war on press agency and because the New York City Publishers' Association had agreed to exclude all free automobile publicity as a first step.¹³¹

In the May 22 issue, E&P permitted W.W. Harris, an associate of Ivy Lee, to defend "modern publicity." Harris agreed that the "the attempt to obtain the publication as news of what should be advertising is not only illegitimate, it is ineffective...." But Harris distinguished this from "modern publicity," which involved bringing to the newspaper "free goods which the newspaper in turn sells over its counter, and which it would cost dearly to get unaided, even if it were possible -- and often it would not be."¹³²

The dramatic editor of the St. Louis Star took up Miller's campaign against the press agent. Irving Brant said that the "press agent of the theater" had a "legitimate job" because newspapers wanted and needed advance news about "dramatic attractions."¹³³ However, Brant said that press agents were not being truthful because of their willingness "to gloss or gild the record and gull the public" about plays. The two goals of these types of agents, Brant said, were to make people believe "that the play enjoyed a magnificent success in New York and that the producer was maintaining the standard of his New York production" when the troupe went on the road. Brant said that frequently press agents lied about both.¹³⁴

However, E&P editorialized that outright lies were not the only problem. It said that publishers misunderstood modern publicity and were not fully aware that the press agent "may sow crumbs of truth but he never tells the whole story." E&P warned that "every statement made by these press agents for their clients ... must be investigated and tested for fact if the daily newspaper is to keep faith with itself and its reading public."¹³⁵ Brant continued his attack on press agency in the June 12 issue. He wrote on the sensitive subject of journalists who became publicity men.

The newspaper man cannot get away from the fact that he loses caste in his profession the instant he goes into publicity work. He loses caste no matter whether he promotes a street carnival or engages in what Mr. Harris calls educating the public. He is not his own master, and he is not the subject of any institution which even professes disinterested public service.¹³⁶

Frederic H. Sternbenz, a reporter for the Huntington (W.Va.) Herald Dispatch, continued the attack on journalists who had turned against their profession. He was incensed by the "half-reporter, half-publicity writer" working at many newspapers around the country. Journalists who did publicity work on the side to supplement their incomes were responsible for "space-grafting" done as an "inside job." Sternbenz said newspapers and news writers' associations should declare publicity writing unethical.¹³⁷

These attacks on journalists-turned-publicity writers drew several responses in letters to "The American Journalists' Forum," a weekly feature started June 5 to give the newly formed American Journalist's Association a voice in E&P. The AJA was a non-union organization with headquarters in St. Louis organized

to build "new responsibility, independence and professional pride."¹³⁸ Many of the letters, however, were not the type of responses that newspaper publishers wanted to hear.

The writers complained about "universal and chronic underpayment which has been the curse of the profession" as one of the major reasons that journalists turned to publicity work. Another writer said:

Where a newspaper is conducted with a primarily commercial motive, or for personal or partisan advantage, what claim has it to be exempt from competition with outside industries and organizations in bidding for the class of intellectual labor that its editorial tasks require?¹³⁹

More letters on the subject of low wages were published in July. The city editor of the Wilmington (Del.) News said that while the reporter working as an "inside man" was a detriment to the newspaper business and to the profession, he did not think reporters shared the full blame. "Need of money is the reason for the publicity man-reporter's being. ...Every man in the game has seen the transformation of the 'space stealer' into a single-minded newspaperman with a promotion and more pay that will allow him to discard outside work."¹⁴⁰

Another city editor on a New York daily who requested anonymity wrote: "If a paper doesn't pay its reporters a substantial living wage, it hasn't got a dam [sic] thing, to use plain English, to say about what its reporters do with their spare time."¹⁴¹

But, E&P did not see it this way.

The newspaper that permits its reporters to give it part service while doing publicity work the rest of their time is in the inconceivable attitude of the bank that would permit its clerk to serve it during the day and work with safe-crackers by night.

Journalism is a jealous mistress, and the history of every successful newspaper man may be summed up in the one phrase -- 'He gave his mind, heart and soul to his work.'¹⁴²

The E&P campaign was having some success, though. Automobile advertising agencies went on record against free publicity and promised to eliminate requests for puffs. "Time was when newspapers

printed much free space because advertising agents asked for it, but today the farseeing and progressive agents desire the practice stopped."¹⁴³

Miller wound up the E&P campaign against the press agent in 1920 with a call for a pledge of independence from the "hypnotic spell of pernicious publicity."¹⁴⁴ Additionally, the Associated Advertising Clubs of the World accepted the following recommendation:

The Newspaper Department of the Associated Advertising Clubs of the World, being convinced that FREE PUBLICITY -- ("reading notices," "write-ups," the "puffing" of amusement, automobile and motion picture press agents, the inspired "advance news" for sporting events, in fact all reading matter that cannot qualify as legitimate news without consideration of its reflex advertising value) -- is gravely detrimental to the best interests of advertisers, advertising agents and newspapers, particularly during the current print crisis....¹⁴⁵

During 1920 there also was an increase in the number of articles that detailed the ways of publicity agents and their evils in The Fourth Estate, although none of them were organized as a campaign against press agency. Like E&P several of the articles connected the white paper shortage to the proliferation of press agents.¹⁴⁶ Others sought to teach publishers about how press agents had developed, what the agents wanted and how to distinguish between news and publicity.

The basic conception of both advertising and publicity is that both are announcements (paid in some way) in the interest of the individual or enterprise having them published.

News, on the other hand, is an unpaid notice made in the interest of the public which buys the paper for that information.¹⁴⁷

Miller's August 28 article marked the end of E&P's formal campaign against press agents. By November newsprint prices had declined because foreign paper makers were flooding the American market.¹⁴⁸ By 1921 the newsprint crisis had subsided.¹⁴⁹ Prospects for newspapers were said to be "exceptional."¹⁵⁰ With the passing of the scarcity problem, the New York papers backed off from restrictions on auto publicity, which The Fourth Estate said was "regrettable."¹⁵¹ But, in other areas of the country, such

as in Allegany County, Pennsylvania, publishers still refused to print "Propaganda, Puffs and Advertising Disguised as 'News.'"¹⁵² Articles about press agents and free publicity were much fewer in 1921 than in the previous four years of the study, primarily because the economic crisis had passed.

DISCUSSION

These findings lend credence to the claims of both Lee and Bernays that a sustained campaign against the new profession of public relations was carried out in newspaper trade journals, at least during the period of this study. These findings also support Emery's conclusion that the ANPA approached the free publicity problem from a business viewpoint, "emphasizing the effect of publicity stories on advertising revenues rather than discussing the editorial principles involved."¹⁵³ This perspective on the free publicity problem was reflected as well in both The Fourth Estate and E&P, although E&P's 1920 series on "Living Journalism And The Poison That Kills" was, for the most part, a discussion of free publicity's impact on editorial principles.

The number of articles addressing the subject of press agents, press agency and free publicity increased steadily from 1917 to 1920 in both trade journals. In 1921 the number of articles devoted to the publicity problem declined dramatically. From 1917 to 1920 the newsprint shortage was acute and the elimination of free publicity was viewed as a space-saving measure. Also during this time the demand for advertising broke records as the newspaper industry reaped the rewards of its effort, begun in 1911,¹⁵⁴ to promote the daily newspaper as the greatest advertising vehicle ever.

Record demand at a time of inadequate newsprint supply caused publishers to revalue newspaper space. This revaluation came at a time of great strength for newspapers. They already had locked up the local advertising dollar, and they had made great progress in convincing national advertisers to use newspapers. Magazines were the only serious competitor for the national ad dollar until the radio industry challenged newspapers for revenue in the 1930s.

Newspapers responded to the twin pressures of record advertising volume and declining newsprint supplies by limiting access to newspaper space. It apportioned access by redefining the boundaries of news and advertising. In the past the boundaries between advertising and news had been more fluid, with many

advertisers getting "free or bonus reading matter" along with their paid ad. Both trade journals vigorously discouraged this practice during this period. The demarcation line between the news column and the advertising column became payment.

The trade journals counseled publishers and editors to categorically deny requests for space from press agents and to throw their "handouts" and "press releases" into the wastebasket. Some attempts were made to encourage the press agent to negotiate for space on a paid basis, but curiously, such attempts were few. Instead of cultivating the press agent as yet another potential space buyer, the newspaper industry tried to stamp out this activity altogether. This was because newspapers already were overrun with buyers for their space and because the ANPA, which influenced trade journal commentary, had been since 1899 strengthening its relationship with advertising agents only.

The press agent was not playing by the paid space rules and the newspaper industry was not interested in persuading him to do so. Instead, the industry responded by restricting access. It continued the formalization of its relationship with traditional advertising agents and tried to cut off its news columns to press agents. Both the ANPA and the trade journals encouraged the growth of nonunion journalists' organizations to foster journalistic integrity and commitment to the profession of journalism. However, the newspaper industry never addressed the problem of inadequate wages for its editorial workers, and those workers continued then, and continue even now, to leave that industry only to plague it by returning as "space grabbers."

The newspaper industry attempted to build a fortress around its news columns by encouraging a return to strong editorial leadership and objective reporting. The legitimate definers of news were those inside the newspaper organization. Those outside the newspaper organization who said they too had news were, according to the trade journals, space thieves intent on fooling editors with propaganda disguised as news.

Requests from organizations seeking public notice of their services, causes or ideas were regarded in a new light after the end of WWI. Previously, most publishers and editors had handled these items as

news, but under pressure from the ANPA, The Fourth Estate and E&P, they were encouraged to regard such items as advertising and to reject them if they were not paid for.

However, the reason so many organizations continued to seek access to newspapers was because of the success of the Liberty Loan drives during the war. Though newspapers had lobbied hard for the federal government to pay for publicizing the Loans, it never did, and the Loan drives were successful not because of paid advertising but because of free publicity. This was an unhappy fact with which newspapers had to live and which they were determined to prevent in the future by cutting off access to their news columns and rerouting requests for publicity to newspaper business offices.

One of the biggest stumbling blocks in the trade journals' campaign against free publicity was the use of the term publicity itself. Publicity meant advertising until the rise of the publicist or press agent. Then, a distinction had to be made, and the trade journals made the greatest stride toward maintaining a distinction between advertising and publicity when they had to argue against a proposed Bureau of Publicity and for a Department of Advertising in 1917 and again in 1919. The Bureau and the Department would have performed the same function, but the wide-ranging meaning of the term publicity was detrimental to the economic interests of newspapers. Therefore, the trade journals began to distinguish between legitimate publicity and illegitimate publicity. They argued that only paid advertising was legitimate publicity and non-paid press agency was illegitimate publicity.

However, the journals were not able during the period of this study to consistently use the term publicity to mean legitimate or paid advertising. In addition to the use of the term publicity interchangeably with the term advertising, publicity also was used in the sense of journalists exposing wrong-doing, making things public and allowing public scrutiny.

It is clear from this study that at least some of the antagonism between journalism and public relations had an economic basis as newspapers tried to protect what advertising revenue they had and to build future sources of revenue. It also is clear that the newspaper industry tried to restrict access to

newspaper space by clearly demarcating the boundaries between news and advertising. Newspapers during this period reaffirmed their right to determine what was news and to channel outside access to the newspaper through the business office.

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American Propaganda in Britain
During World War I

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American Propaganda in Britain
During World War I

Abstract

This is a study of the operations of the American Committee on Public Information in Britain during the First World War. The CPI's London branch was staffed by journalists and did most of its work through the press media. Despite the fact that the CPI conducted extensive work in England during the war, the history of its activities there has never been told in any depth at all. The present inquiry corrects that oversight by investigating the need for, the nature of, and the results of that episode in the history of American propaganda. It concludes that the CPI did effective work in England during the war, but that the positive public attitude it helped to create in Anglo-American relations could not survive the postwar shifts in public and official opinions. The study is based largely on original materials found in the CPI papers at the National Archives and in other pertinent manuscripts and published primary sources.

American Propaganda in Britain

During World War I

The necessities of modern war are numerous and diverse, and propaganda is among them. Yet it comes as a surprise to learn that the United States conducted a vigorous propaganda campaign in Britain during the First World War. Run by the Committee on Public Information (CPI), the operation was part of this country's effort to influence world opinion after entering the war in 1917. Although the CPI's domestic activities have been thoroughly studied, little has been done on its international thrust.¹ Nor has any serious attention been paid to its British operations, a chapter in the history of propaganda that has received only superficial passing reference.² Why was it necessary? What was the nature of the CPI's work in Britain? What were the results of its efforts? On these questions curiosity centers, and they form the framework of this inquiry.

The Need to Publicize the United States in Britain

Failure to maintain good relations with Britain, our closest ally, once we entered the war would have been disastrous. Fortunately, a firm grounding existed for building a strong wartime collaboration. In his widely acknowledged study on Anglo-American relations, H. C. Allen speaks of those relations before the war in terms of a "new friendship of English-speaking peoples . . . [that was] an indispensable factor in determining the policy of each country and in ensuring that their paths ran on the whole parallel."³ In fact, every British government and every American president of the early twentieth century sought good relations between the two countries. Bradford Perkins's label for the years 1894-1914 as ones of a "great rapproachment"

in Anglo-American relations has the weight of abundant evidence behind it, although the roots of that rapprochement might extend farther back in time.⁴ That should not imply, however, that an Anglophobic streak had disappeared in American opinion, nor should it suggest that the British had dismissed from their mind the image of Americans as a self-satisfied people, full of swagger, and symbolized by Uncle Shylock rather than by Uncle Sam.⁵ Yankee perfidy and Perfidious Albion were images still alive on their respective sides of the Atlantic.

The American image in the British mind was a serious concern in the years before the war. British official opinion was full of anxiety about "unscrupulous" American politicians and of an ill-informed, arrogant, and noisy American populace whose impulses were often irresponsible in matters of national policy. Although expressions of these anxieties may have been counter-balanced by statements about the redeeming virtues of the "best elements" in the nation, British apprehension about many aspects of American life appear in numerous reports on the subject.⁶ They even punctuate the reports James Bryce wrote while he was British ambassador to the United States (1907-1913). He was a great friend of this country and the author of the American Commonwealth, which ranks along with De Tocqueville's Democracy in America as one of the most perceptive studies of American character and institutions ever written by a foreigner. Bryce admired much about this country and believed its institutions were fundamentally sound. Nevertheless, he reported that the United States suffered from many problems, not the least of which were "abominable misgovernment and corruption" in many municipal governments, the influence of business in politics, the poor administration of criminal law, and the "unbridled license, the mendacity, the recklessness, and the nauseous vulgarity of a large section of the press."⁷

Such comments can be found in all of his annual reports from Washington as well as those of Sir Mortimer Durand, his predecessor, and Cecil Spring-Rice, his successor. Similar references to the United States even crept into Britain's political press, which also persisted in its comments, however tactfully advanced, about this country's irresponsible popular sentiment regarding international policies.⁸ Moreover, serious questions about certain American policies (e.g. vis a vis, Japan and Mexico) appeared throughout Britain's private and public commentary on American affairs.⁹

British doubts about the United States ran strongest among the governing class of England. Soon after arriving in London as American ambassador, Walter Hines Page wrote to President Woodrow Wilson that this class admired the American people but felt "something very much like contempt for the American government."¹⁰ The composite image of this nation and its government in the British official mind had to be a matter of concern for any president hoping to work in harmony with the British.

Reasons for this concern grew with the outbreak of the war. Most studies of Anglo-American relations during the period of American neutrality in the war concentrate on President Wilson's messages and policies and on high level diplomatic activities. When H. C. Allen referred to the "air of Anglo-American relations" remaining "sweet through the long period of waiting [years of American neutrality]," he had that level of statecraft in mind.¹¹ Yet during those years, British public opinion took account of American attitudes and actions regarding the crucible of war and frequently assumed an angry tone about our action, or inaction, regarding the conflict. The American journalist Charles Edward Russell, who would later have a significant role to play in the CPI's activities in Europe, was in England

early in the war and recorded his impressions of British feeling about Americans.

Feelings here against Americans is most bitter I have ever known. Hear daily of Americans that have been turned out of hotels, blackballed at clubs and affronted in public places. Charge against us is that first we refused to do our duty in the war, allowing Canada, Australia and New Zealand to do it for us, and then we sat back and scooped in the profits, making money out of the Mother Country's distress. Agents that went hence to buy munitions and other supplies have brought back reports of prices charged that have caused intense indignation. Also, feel that American newspaper criticism of Great Britain is resented. Whole attitude of America seems to British first incomprehensible and then damnable.¹²

In his study of the British press and American neutrality in World War I, Armin Rappaport confirms Russell's observation. He discovered that "this was to be the predominant note in the British attitude: America growing rich from her business with all belligerents, refused to realize that Britain fought her battle for righteousness and justice."¹³

Feelings of this sort became widespread. Page reported that the "less responsible press" in England held the United States in ridicule, and he warned Washington of the "dangerous mood of public opinion" in England directed toward this country.¹⁴ British soldiers in fighting in France referred to dud shells that failed to explode as "Wilsons."¹⁵ During the Lusitania crisis in 1915, when some strong American response was expected, British opinion ebbed even lower and it went from despair to depression following Wilson's "Too Proud to Fight" declaration.¹⁶ With little exception the British press was united in condemning what it perceived as our

weak and vacillating policy toward Germany.¹⁷ Aware of the danger implicit in that current of opinion, President Wilson reflected, "It is a serious thing to have such things thought, because everything that affects the opinion of the world regarding us affects our influence for good."¹⁸

Wilson had good cause to worry, for the American policy toward Germany continued as a source of mounting British disparagement on through 1916. The conviction grew among British leaders that the security of the world depended on a concerted military effort against Germany. Still the United States remained neutral. Edward Price Bell, the pro-British dean of American correspondents in London wrote to President Wilson expressing his alarm at the low state of British opinion of American inaction, and the equally pro-British Ambassador Page sent repeated warnings to Washington expressing his dismay about the direction British opinion had taken.¹⁹ Wilson may have questioned the source of such warnings, for he had lost confidence in Page by this time because of the ambassador's pro-British sympathies, but the president recognized the importance of hostile British opinion toward the United States and returned to address that problem in a number of private discussions with his trusted envoy, Colonel Edward M. House.²⁰ Perhaps the British ill feeling toward the United States reached its nadir mid way through 1916 when the president, while expressing his ideas about world peace, announced, "The obscure fountains from which its [the war's] stupendous flood has burst forth we are not interested to search for or explore."²¹ That widely reported comment had a chilling effect on British opinion, and helped to make the summer of 1916 a tension filled one in Anglo-American relations. Should we enter the war, the tone of at least British public opinion would change--the British propaganda and censorship organizations would see to that. Would that dispel the substance of anti-American feeling

there? To some degree it would, but no chance could be taken about a possible lingering resentment.

No one could predict how strong that lingering resentment might be, for it had been long in the making. Clearly counter measures would have to be taken if we entered the war, and after Wilson made that move in April 1917, a number of additional circumstances pushed him toward publicizing abroad the American cause in the great conflict. The United States had entered a total war, involving civilian populations and their opinion as well as military operations. From the opening of the war, the major belligerents had employed sprawling propaganda networks to control and mobilize domestic opinion and to export their version of the war and their war effort to countries beyond their borders. By that export of ideas, they hoped to win the favor of neutral nations and weaken the resolve of enemy nations. Wilson had only to notice the propaganda activities of the belligerent countries in the United States to grasp the importance of publicity in the war. Both the German and the British tried to bend American opinion to their cause. The Germans worked to keep the United States neutral; the British, to encourage its entrance into the war.²²

The case of British propaganda in the United States is of particular importance to our inquiry, for it underscored the range of efforts our closest ally was making to influence friendly opinion. Indeed, from the start of the war the British had a large operation in the field to win the good opinion of Americans. It flooded American libraries, universities, Y.M.C.A. branches, newspapers, and periodicals with printed and pictorial materials. Although its operations were secret, its existence was impossible to deny since its materials reached thousands of public forums in this country. After we entered the war, the British found it possible to put

this operation on a firmer basis."²³ They sent Lord Northcliffe, the great press baron, to the United States in charge of a British War Mission, which indulged in extensive propaganda work during its six months here. From London they sent hundreds of thousands of pamphlets to about 170,000 addresses over here, forwarded copies of British newspapers to 300 American newspapers, and circulated a weekly newsletter to 109 newspapers in the Middle West. They sent articles of news and opinion to American newspaper syndicates and special paragraphs to American press associations, and they opened a branch office in New York to extend their work even farther.²⁴

British propaganda in the United States peaked in 1918. It was then that they formed the Ministry of Information under Lord Deaverbrook to coordinate its publicity operations. They expanded their activities in the United States by opening additional branches in Chicago and San Francisco. The New York bureau, however, remained central to the organization, and according to Britain's own publicity managers, it "engaged in a thousand and one miscellaneous labours that cannot be catalogued, all directed towards two ends: to point out to Americans the hard facts of what this country has done and suffered, and by giving an occasional hint, to help them discover for themselves the moral significance of those facts--the soul that lurks in the statistics."²⁵ The war, indeed, involved a struggle to influence the public mind, and, once we entered it, we had to engage in that publicity struggle too.

Woodrow Wilson, progressive president that he was, understood the value of public opinion for any national cause. A week after we entered the war he appointed George Creel, a well-known journalist and avid Wilson supporter, to head the CPI, and that organization soon acquired gigantic and multi-dimensional proportions within the United States. By the end of 1917, it

began to extend its operations across the globe in a monumental effort to influence world opinion. Aside from its efforts to demoralize enemy nations, the CPI wished to spread its own American "story." Moreover, it also wanted to take an active role in countering German propaganda in neutral and Allied countries. After the United States entered the war, new themes appeared in German propaganda. "The German's song," as one CPI agent in Europe explained, now "turned on two main themes--the ineffectiveness of America and the sinister intention of America toward her allies."²⁶ That propaganda thrust called for a response that the United States should make for itself. Then too, President Wilson harbored some mistrust of the Allied governments. Even after we entered the war he remained suspicious of the Allied leaders. "England and France have not the same views with regard to peace that we have by any means," he told Col. House.²⁷ Wilson, of course, had his own ideas about the peace to follow the war and he wished to publicize them. The CPI offered the best means available for conveying those ideas to the public forum in England and elsewhere.²⁸

Early in January 1918 Creel responded to pressure "from various quarters" to begin CPI operations in Europe. Believing that the Americans, like the British and French, "should maintain [propaganda] bureaus in the allied and neutral countries," and like the British and the French, that they should do so for the purpose of their "own national interests as well as that of the allied cause," he took his case to the president. In a memorandum he prepared on the subject he argued:

Our policy should be to stiffen the moral [e] and determination of the allied countries by presentation of the immense power which America could exert against the Germans when our preparations are complete. It would counteract German propaganda, . . .

and by the exposition of American thoughts and ideals, remedy the too common scepticism of our motives among the masses in the allied countries who cannot conceive that we are not in the war for territorial or commercial gain.²⁹

Creel wanted to establish a central CPI bureau in Paris, and branch bureaus in London, Madrid, Rome, and the Scandinavian countries. Moreover, he felt it was necessary to have men at those posts who would work in a "dignified, modest and thorough manner in keeping with the character of the New America as opposed to the America with which Europeans associate boasting, flamboyancy and commercialism."³⁰ Consequently, whatever else Creel had in mind for the CPI in Allied and neutral countries, he wanted it to reshape the old image that the British and French had of Americans. Wilson accepted the proposal and within weeks the CPI opened bureaus abroad, including the one in London.

At Work in England

Creel and Irwin were correct in assuming that the position in Britain called for men of special ability. First of all, there were obvious obstacles of war to overcome: shortage of cable space, the paper shortage in England, and the controlling hand of British censorship. H. N. Rickey, the first director of the CPI in London who later became the director of the organization's foreign section in the United States, pinpointed a problem of another sort. He discovered that most of the CPI's feature service was unusable in England. "Only . . . news in brief form can break into papers owing to limited space and their preoccupation with own affairs," he cabled to Creel. "Great trouble with your staff is that men who prepare it have no knowledge of conditions here or the point of view."³¹ Perhaps most of all it was necessary for the CPI's directors in England to know the British

mind, for it was possible that the material they circulated could be offensive in many subtle ways as easily as it could be appealing. Finally, the London directors had to know the conventions of publishing in the British media. Without that knowledge they were useless.

It took a collaborative effort by strategically positioned CPI personnel in the United States and in England to handle these problems. The successive directors of the CPI's foreign service at home (Arthur Woods, Will Irwin, Edgar Sisson, and H. N. Rickey) were all sensitive to the problems the organization encountered in England and worked to overcome them. The CPI provided several means for the sending of news and publicity matter to the London bureau. It began by establishing a wireless news service under the direction of Walter S. Rogers. That service provided a daily news dispatch, prepared by Paul Kennedy, from Tuckerton, New Jersey to the French station at Lyons. Naval operators in England intercepted that transmission for use there and for retransmission throughout Scandinavia. Soon the wireless transmission operation was enlarged to include cable messages as the CPI managed to find space on the crowded transatlantic cables. These cabled communiqués to England were used there and sent on to Holland, Scandinavia and Russia. To satisfy the need for more material, the CPI established a Foreign Press Bureau under the direction of Ernest Poole to mail articles of 100 to 1,000 words to the bureaus in London and elsewhere in the hope that they would be placed in the foreign press. Among the writers who contributed to this mail service were Booth Tarkington, Ida Tarbell, William Allen White and William Dean Howells. ⁵² To all this, the CPI added a pictorial and a film service as its operation expanded.

The directors of the British bureau of the CPI had a close working relationship with the organization's American directors. The former (H. N. Rickey, Henry Suydam, Charles Edward Russell, John Russell, Perry

Arnold, Paul Perry, and John L. Balderson) were in keeping with Creel's fondness for placing men from his own profession in responsible CPI positions, mostly journalists. H. N. Rickey had been head of the Newspaper Enterprise Associations; Henry Suydam, the European correspondent of the Brooklyn Eagle. Charles Edward Russell, whom Creel called "one of the best newspapermen in the country," had a long and varied career in journalism behind him, and he was also a prominent American socialist.³³ Perry Arnold was an experienced newspaper man and had served as cable editor for the United Press; John L. Balderson, a former war correspondent for the McClure newspapers.³⁴ It was, however, a difficult task to find a director who really understood the potential of the London operation.

Indeed, during the first half year of the bureau's existence, several CPI representatives both in the United States and in the organization's important Paris office complained about the performance of the London Bureau. Because of his growing concern about this problem, George Barr Baker, the American naval censor in Europe who worked closely with the CPI, asked for a memorandum to be prepared on the subject. Robert Dunn, a writer serving as an ensign in the United States navy whose work the CPI welcomed, accepted the assignment. "Every Compub representative thus far sent to London has lacked cosmopolitan experience, [and] knowledge of or sympathy with English people," he charged. Dunn believed the men in London "were ignorant [of] foreign publication needs" and knew little about the nature of "propaganda suitable for Europe." Neither did they, according to Dunn, "master the methods of distribution" or "stick at the job."³⁵ Although Dunn's appraisal is not entirely fair, it does touch on some serious problems, not the least of which was that of the London directors' habit of moving on to other assignments. The first director, H. N. Rickey, established the London

bureau and then returned to Washington and eventually became the director of the CPI's foreign service. Henry Suydam was anxious to get to the continent for service there, and soon left England to head the CPI's Holland operation. Charles Edward Russell, of whom much was expected, proved to be a disappointment and repeatedly expressed his disenchantment with the London position, which he left after several month's service. He failed to see that he was being adequately used there, was frustrated with the barriers that the "idiosyncracies of British journalism" erected to minimize his publicity efforts, and believed that the British had no interest in a "closer understanding with America for the winning of the war." The British, he thought, were simply obsessed with the idea of a "permanent Anglo-American alliance" and cared about little else regarding the United States.³⁶ It appears that Russell had little interest in the position and little imagination about its possibilities. He concentrated more on his own activities in England (he was well known there), and may have been anxious to pass the position on to his son, who did acquire it for a while in the summer of 1918.

After Russell left in July 1918, the bureau began to function better. The men there worked well together amid the frustrations of censorship and managed to accomplish a great deal. One new CPI representative, John Balderston, who became the last director of the bureau, was a particularly effective stabilizer for the bureau. We shall hear more about him later. At this point, it is important to understand that the bureau overcame its difficulties and became a vigorous branch of the CPI.

No official record of any substance exists to describe its work. Even Creel in his public report about the CPI devoted only several paragraphs (out of 433 pages) to the organization's London branch, and they were only of an introductory nature. He excused himself from further comment

on the subject by saying: "For the most part . . . we used England as a clearing house, avoiding as far as possible any contact with the pull and haul of the various [British propaganda] organizations."³⁷ It appears that the chairman suffered a mental lapse in this instance for his comment has only the thinnest relationship to the facts. The correspondence between the bureau directors and the CPI authorities in the United States tell a different story.

The bureau's work involved a number of activities. It had to place the CPI's material in the British press, publicize President Wilson's crucial messages in England, and prepare all of these materials for redistribution in Scandinavia. Its chief function in England was to create confidence in the British mind that the United States was a strong, resourceful and responsible partner, effectively engaged in the war and in harmony with the British in all matters of waging war. Most of all, it had to nurture a new attitude of trust and appreciation of the United States and lay the foundation for accepting Wilsonian principles as a basis for peace and for the postwar order. To accomplish these goals, the directors struggled with the British Press Bureau, which controlled all publication in the British media, by means of official and informed approaches, and the record of their negotiations indicates they stayed within the boundaries of their instructions to "be conciliatory and not antagonistic."³⁸ The Press Bureau believed the CPI's bureau needed watching; the CPI directors thought the Press Bureau was overzealous and felt its claim that their stories were rejected to protect the American bureau from making security slips was a sham.³⁹ As the months went on, the situation became more tolerable and CPI items appeared in the British press in increasing number. Moreover, contrary to Creel's above statement about the bureau avoiding the "pull and haul" of British propa-

ganda organizations, the record reveals just the opposite. The bureau sent a regular flow of matter to the National War Aims Committee, the British organization that conducted home propaganda and had a command of some space in national and provincial newspapers.⁴⁰ That committee proved helpful to the bureau in achieving its first object: get American propaganda published in the British press.

Publishing in the British press was a difficult and tedious undertaking. Much of the effort went beyond the need to penetrate the Press Bureau's censorship shield. As John Russell explained, the British press was "reluctant to give America any more space than it has to" and preferred "to rely on its own American correspondents." It was "suffering from a paper shortage which . . . reduced many dailies to a double sheet," and the British convention of using signed dispatches tended "to keep out stuff from government agencies like our own." Finally, Russell discovered that the British press "objects as a matter of policy to the notion that Americans should presume to carry on propaganda in Gt. Britain."⁴¹ In another communiqué written at the same time, Russell elaborated further on the problem:

It [the British press] has a different concept of news value from ours (and a totally different concept of the feature story); it prefers to rely on its own correspondents in America; it shuns the mimeograph page. . . . Added to these are certain specific obstacles to publicity here. There is a paper famine. . . ; there is a general war-time slackening of competitive spirit which reduces the eagerness for exclusive stories and there exists only an obscure technical and trade press which strictly limits the field in that direction.⁴²

Yet despite these obstacles, Russell concluded that the bureau had produced

"appreciable results." Indeed, at the same time (mid summer of 1918) that Russell offered the above rationale, Perry Arnold, the new bureau chief in London could cable Washington: "Have built up own effective organization here. . . . Good percentage news items sent useable here, but revision constantly necessary to avoid offending local prejudices."⁴³ How did the bureau do it?

The answer reveals the extent of the bureau's activities. First of all, it managed to find openings for placing 10 to 15 percent of Kennady's mail service items. That was quite an increase from the 1 percent placement of a few months earlier. Working through the National War Aims Committee proved profitable. The bureau also found that it helped to work through British syndicated services (like Edward Marshall's) and by appealing to individual London editors to use individual stories. It made three especially imaginative responses to problems of placement: 1) it opened a correspondence with editors of trade, technical, and religious publications, 2) it established a productive liason with the London representatives of British provincial newspapers, and 3) it supplied individual journalists with feature stories to "reshape in their own way." Then too, the bureau found that certain types of articles appealed to British editors more than others. Anything about a prominent figure or from a "quotable name," like Booth Tarkington, that was not too boastful stood a good chance of being placed. British trade papers were interested in having stories about "motors, tractors, rubber, leather, oil, coal, textiles, furniture, chemicals, teachers, children, boy-scouts--specialized stuff that can be handled by experts." Picturesque filler items such as ones about "Chinese girls in the Red cross--bits to meet the English appetite for odd and unrelated information," could be placed in Answers, Titbits, and other papers of that sort. Most of all, a demand

existed for anything about President Wilson, anything about his views or any human interest stories involving him.⁴⁴

One British newspaper, the Field, was unique for its willingness to use CPI matter, and it provided a great opportunity for the London bureau. As its full name, The Field, the Farm, the Garden, the Country Gentleman's Newspaper, implies, this newspaper concentrated on British life and leisure beyond London. It was an old, prestigious, weekly publication that circulated around 20,000 per issue, and it had a comprehensive interest in all sorts of news and features that might either inform or provide leisure for rural England.⁴⁵ Moreover, the fact that other newspapers, ones that were likely to reject CPI material when offered directly, were in the habit of reprinting from the Field, made it an extremely valuable outlet for the London bureau. Its editor, Sir Theodore Cook, became interested in American news and stories, and although he used a regular British cable service for American matter, he found the CPI's material to be better. He allowed the latter two pages of space weekly and even advertised some of these American articles in other newspapers. The London bureau attempted to exploit this opening to the fullest degree possible, and placed John Balderston, whose speciality was the "high-browed magazine," in charge of preparing material for the Field.⁴⁶ The bureau's connection with the Field is indicative of the larger framework in which it operated by the late summer of 1918. At that time it could inform the CPI mail service office in New York that it was using 70 percent of its material.⁴⁷

The longer the operation continued, the more extensive it became. News of the American forces in France was highly marketable in England, and once the U. S. Army solved the problem of congested cables between France and England by allowing the CPI to use one of its conductors during certain hours,

the London bureau made regular use of material from the headquarters of the American Expeditionary Forces.⁴⁸ It also expanded its reach by providing material for use in Ireland, where interest in the war had almost disappeared. John Balderston offered this explanation of the bureau's activities there:

Our object in Ireland is twofold, to exploit the traditional Irish friendship for the United States and get recruits to fight for what American Irishmen are fighting for, even though they will not fight for England; and second, and more important, to persuade Irishmen that the aims for which this war is fought are international and idealistic. The more war aim stuff we can get written from the American point of view the better, because the great trouble in Ireland is, that people regard this war as a British war fought to aggrandise the British Empire. Of course we could not refer to England at all in our Irish propaganda, nor should we do so, but we should show them that they are taking a narrow view in concentrating on the supposed imperial arms of England by showing them the broader world view of the situation, and thus making them a bit ashamed to stand out of the show.⁴⁹

It is obvious that the London bureau at this point was trying to influence nationalist Ireland rather than the Anglo-Irish and the northern Irish Unionists who made great contributions to the British war effort both in terms of men and leadership. To reach the Irish nationalists, the bureau worked through the Irish recruiting Council in Dublin, which was able to place American material in about sixty newspapers throughout the country.⁵⁰

The London bureau expanded its operation in two other ways. From the first, it found pictures to be an effective means of propaganda in England. When H. N. Rickey established the CPI in London he made arrangements to circulate American pictures through the Topical Press, a distributing firm that reached all British publications. As time went on, the picture service was expanded to include photographs of American forces in France as well as those the CPI sent from the United States. In any case the object was to portray the part the United States was playing in the war, and pictures of army life in France, shipbuilding in the United States, and other such scenes could serve that purpose. The "big opportunity," however, was, as John Russell explained, for army pictures from France. By August 1918 he could report, "The demand from the British press for American fighting pictures is clamorous. Whenever we have been able to get a batch of spot news photos from the front they have been snapped up right and left." The demand for such pictures grew to the extent that other distributors began to complain about the Topical Press's exclusive contract with the CPI.⁵¹

Pamphlet distribution was the second means by which the bureau expanded its operation. At a time when the paper shortage even reduced a major London paper like the Daily News with its circulation of almost a million to a mere four tiny ^{pages} ~~papers~~ containing altogether about the amount of copy found on one page of an American newspaper, pamphlet and leaflet publication offered an attractive alternative as a medium of publicity. John Balderston pushed the CPI in this direction for distribution purposes in England. "Journalism began in this country," he argued, "with pamphlets, . . . and so now the paper crisis is gradually bringing the pamphlet back into the position it occupied in the Eighteenth Century." British newspapers had already turned to pamphlet and leaflet publication for longer but important

news items that could not be included in their regular pages, each of which had to accommodate many other items. Balderston explained the National War Aims Committee was ready to "place itself at our service" for distribution of pamphlet material. With the help of that committee this matter would be displayed prominently by ^{W. A.} ~~H.~~ W. Smith, the English firm that had a near monopoly of news-stands throughout the country. Balderston had two types of propaganda in mind for this medium. First, material underscoring the American war effort should be stressed. Second, he was interested in using this means to publicize Wilson's speeches, especially those that addressed the League of Nations and war aims. He wanted stories that would "emphasize the disinterestedness and international aspects of American war aims, concerning which much curiosity and much popular ignorance exists here, and which cannot be dealt with in the press for reasons of space."⁵² The CPI responded immediately. Pamphlet and leaflet distribution of such items became one of its most successful vehicles of propaganda dissemination in England. Some of them were printed in the United States where printing was cheaper; some in England where the costs of transportation could be minimized. The London bureau, for instance, put out a pamphlet by Booth Tarkington on American facts and German propaganda that had a printing of 50,000 in pamphlet form and an additional 850,000 copies as a leaflet.⁵³

It is obvious that by the late~~y~~ summer of 1918 the London bureau was functioning with great vigor both in terms of range and variety of operation. It wrote some material, rewrote some, and distributed and placed the rest. Accordingly, the record contradicts Creel's statement that the CPI used the London bureau as "a clearing house."⁵⁴ Nevertheless, increased activity failed to end the bureau's problems. After assuming his position as head of the bureau in the summer of 1918 Perry Arnold still could comment: It is a very

disheartening sort of game, where it takes a tremendous amount of blasting to reach any pay dirt. The thing we must do here is keep everlastingly at it in the hope some time we will drill through the bedrock."⁵⁵ Much of the bureau's success in the face of such frustrations can be traced to the work of John Lloyd Balderston, despite the fact that he would claim later that he was only "unimportantly mixed up with the American Intelligence and peace machine in London" during the war.⁵⁶

Balderston began working for the CPI in London early in the summer of 1918. He had been in London for four years as a correspondent for the McClure syndicate, knew the field well, and had many journalistic connections in England. After the war he would enjoy a long and versatile career as a journalist and a playwright, but during the war he turned to serving the government after being rejected for military service.⁵⁷ Balderston had a considerable reputation as an interpreter of the war, and according to Charles Edward Russell, he knew how "to make matter dull enough to go" in England.⁵⁸ The CPI was fortunate to acquire Balderston's services, for he understood how British political journalism and journalistic propaganda conventions worked. Through his connections, he was able to arrange the CPI's ties with the Field, to have the London bureau receive "various enemy wireless" messages and other information from the British government, and to enable the bureau's materials to be published without submission to the "obscurantist organization," the press bureau. He was also responsible for enlarging the CPI's dealings with the National War Aims Committee, which now distributed abundant CPI material to the local papers and even printed CPI materials in its press supplements--several of which circulated over a million copies.⁵⁹

In September 1918 Balderston became director (the last one) of the

London bureau, and he brought to that post more drive and imagination than any of his predecessors displayed. He pushed the placement of material in medical, agricultural, and selected industrial publications (e.g., the cotton industry) where a natural British curiosity about American developments existed.⁶⁰ He employed Harry Daniels, "probably the best man fitted in Europe to help us." Daniels had edited two London newspapers, knew practically everyone worth knowing in London, had represented Reuters in Scandinavia and elsewhere, and had mastered wireless and cable organization. Among his assignments Balderston gave him the job of writing a Catholic column from information provided by the mail service. Over a dozen papers in Scotland and Northern England made regular use of that column.⁶¹ Then Balderston turned to expanding the bureau's Irish service, being careful to explain to Irish editors that the bureau dealt with "news not propaganda" and that it was its aim "to offer to the Irish people news dispatches about deeds of Irish-Americans at the front, and sacrifices and opinions of Irish-Americans at home."⁶² The bureau supplied that material three times a week to every important Unionist, Nationalist, and Nationalist-Sinn Fein newspaper in Ireland and found that it was given "the greatest prominence" in the Irish press.⁶³ And finally, Balderston worked till the end to utilize the CPI's main vehicles of communication--the British press and especially pamphlet and leaflet publication. Regarding the distribution of CPI leaflets, the bureau now had the capacity to have about a million copies of important pronouncements (e.g., an important statement of President Wilson) printed and circulated throughout the country.⁶⁴

Under Balderston's direction the bureau reached its peak of operation. No record exists to describe piece by piece all the items distributed by the committee at this point, but occasional reports have survived describing the titles of items sent to the London bureau from the CPI's Foreign Press

Service at home. As an illustration of the profile that can be derived from these reports, we shall use one covering items sent in two shipments, one on September 17, 1918, and the other on October 1, 1918. Altogether the London bureau received 131 items in those two mailings. These titles suggest a composite picture of the Americans working in harmony and with great energy in the war effort. They describe American achievement in business, agriculture, and education, and make manifest the idea that the abundant resources of the country were being mobilized for the war effort. The titles also indicate that several subjects received concentrated attention: United States business and industry (16 items), United States agriculture (15 items), United States religious life (8 items), American medicine (8 items), human interest stories about American life (12 items), and items depicting national support for the war (14 items). There were six items on President Wilson.⁶⁵ So, as the war entered its final months, the CPI material distributed in England retained the positive quality that had characterized it all along. Its work ended as the demobilization of the CPI's foreign bureaus began in the weeks immediately following the signing of the Armistice.

The London Bureau's Work in Perspective

Impossible as it is to draw definite conclusions about propaganda in wartime, several observations can be advanced in this case. It is clear, for instance, that the London bureau faced and overcame numerous problems in its work during the year of its existence. It reached its maximum productivity in the last five months of its life. That can be attributed to several factors: the greater effectiveness of its later directors and especially the performance of John Balderston; the tide of war that swung in the Allied

favor during these months and thus mitigated the inter-Allied frustrations and tensions, the discrediting of much of German propaganda as the war proceeded, and the willingness the British displayed to lessen censorship and publicity controls toward the end of the war.⁶⁶

In one of their postwar reports about their own intelligence efforts in the war, the British addressed the goals of wartime propaganda. "The business of propaganda," the report explained, "is to make the wheels of victory run smoothly. . . . The peace and security of the world do not depend on armaments and diplomatic combinations, but on the friendliness and goodwill of the peoples of the world. National prejudices can be removed only if one nation is told in detail what has been done, is being done, is being done and will be done in the future by another nation."⁶⁷ The British, of course, believed that they understood "the business of propaganda" quite well. It must be added, that the final London representatives of the CPI, who after all worked in an emotional environment charged by British propaganda, understood "the business of propaganda" quite well themselves. They worked in a tactful manner, made no effort to conduct quasi-diplomatic activities (as did some of the CPI agents abroad), and tried to project a positive image of the United States and American ideals in the British mind. That image became increasingly attractive to the British, as the growing requests that British publicists made to the CPI for American articles indicates. Even the Frankfurter Zeitung, in an article appraising Allied propaganda in general, recognized that both Great Britain and the United States had been especially active in inter-Allied propaganda aimed at promoting brotherhood and raising the level of morale among the Allies. Throughout that article a note of envy was apparent.⁶⁸ That is understandable, for Anglo-American amity grew after we entered the war, overcame previous apprehensions and prejudices that each nation had of the other during the prewar

years and during the period of American neutrality, and reached its zenith in December 1918.⁶⁹

It was common enough at that point for people on both sides of the Atlantic to proclaim Anglo-American friendship and the partnership of the two nations in the recent war, "The memories . . . of 1775 have given way to the fact of 1918. . . ." So wrote the respected journalist and historian Frank Simonds.⁷⁰ Popular feeling abroad tended to support that exclamation. The image of President Wilson abroad had been reversed. "We Americans have built up during the war the greatest machine for propaganda in the world," wrote William Allen White. "To all the neutral nations of the earth, and to all Our Allies. . . ," he said, "goes a great grist of American news; and in this great grist always go the President's state papers and addressses. . . . No other man ~~who~~ has ever spoken to such a wide and varied audience as President Wilson has spoken in the last two years. And he has spoken always with power, with conviction and with kindly grace. His words have had the strength of an army with banner--of mighty battalions."⁷¹ White was correct in recognizing the contribution American propaganda made to creating the new attitude and, of course, the great attractiveness of the president as an international statesman. House, whose business it was to stay abreast of shifts in public opinion, could cable Washington at the end of the war: "Despite politicians short vision masses France Britain overwhelmingly support Wilsons program. . . . He now commands confidence of laboring masses in both England and France."⁷²

There are, in fact, many indications in the record of the public mood in England at the end of the war to support the claim that the British masses were behind Wilson and that American idealism complemented their own high hopes for peace. Doubts about American character and intentions appear to

have vanished. For instance, Lord Northcliffe, who prided himself in knowing the direction of British public opinion, predicted that a great public reception awaited Wilson should he decide to visit England prior to the peace conference.⁷³ When that visit materialized late in December, the British greeted him with a resounding ovation. "As you have no doubt heard from all sources," Balderston reported, "Wilson's visit here did incalculable good, and proved beyond a doubt what I have always believed, that he has the mass of people behind him."⁷⁴ The British Left was particularly strong in its praise of the President. The "hopes of all liberal minded men in Europe" now depend upon his policy," wrote H. W. Massingham, the most critical and feared voice among British Radical journalists. "The Labour party and the Trade Union Congress assured the President that he spoke for "organized democracy" across Europe and told him that his efforts "at the Peace Congress to give effect to the principles you have formulated will receive the support of the organized men and women [nearly five million] for whom we speak."⁷⁵ Such enthusiasm was not only a credit to Wilson and his articulate expression of Western idealism but also to his wartime CPI operation in Britain and its advancement of Anglo-American understanding and promotion of a positive image of this nation in the public esteem of the British.

Did the rulers of Britain share this euphoria? Colonel House's correspondence provides evidence that some of them, even a conservative like Lord Milner, did.⁷⁶ Moreover, judging from the exchange of messages at the highest level of government at the end of the war, an Anglo-American oneness appeared to exist. Arthur Balfour, the British foreign secretary told his American counterpart that "this unity of ideals bind us [the two nations] even closer together." Prime Minister Lloyd George informed Wilson about his certainty "that the ideals of our two countries in regard to international

reconstruction are fundamentally the same."⁷⁷

Yet, in private the prime minister was uneasy about Wilson's participation in the forthcoming peace conference. More important, he was adamant in his determination never to agree to the second of Wilson's Fourteen Points, regarding freedom of the seas.⁷⁸ Many British and Imperial leaders shared that sentiment. At the end of December, William Hughes, the Australian prime minister made a "slashing" speech at a session of the Imperial War Cabinet accusing the United States of profiting from the war and urging Lloyd George not to bother about Wilson and to pursue British interests with his full force.⁷⁹ The feisty Hughes, of course, could be an irritant to the British as well as to the Americans, yet his comment was a sign of things to come. At the Paris Peace Conference, Britain had its own interest to defend and pressured Wilson to accommodate his idealism to those interests.⁸⁰ A fundamental spirit of Anglo-American cooperation remained at the conference, but so did the signs of discord and conflict between the two nations. "A unified Anglo-American approach to the problems of the peace," Seth Tillman concluded in his study on the conference, "was precluded by the mutual alienation of temperaments between Wilson and Lloyd George."⁸¹ Personality differences among the peacemakers help to explain the distance that now was appearing in Anglo-American relations, but public opinion must also be taken into account.

The public mood shifted once again. In a sense a new cycle in Anglo-American relations began with the Armistice. The elections of November 1918 in the United States returned a Republican senate, which would question Wilson's peace program, while in England the election of December 1918 returned a stern House of Commons, which would urge a strong treaty against Germany. After the war ended, the conditions (e.g. reliance on American

resources and wartime enthusiasm for a new international order that had fostered support for Wilsonian idealism began to pass. In their place new conditions appeared that tended to check the idealistic forces of movement. The forces of order reasserted themselves against the spread of the Russian Revolution, against the mounting tide of the Left in domestic politics, and against internationalist idealism. Strong indications of anti-Wilsonian nationalism, some even jingoistic, surfaced in the currents of British public opinion, and they were made stronger yet by the Anglophobic attacks on the Versailles settlement in the United States led by the Hearst press and various Irish-American partisans. With the rejection by the United States of the treaty and of the League of Nations and the beginning of its withdrawal from the affairs of Europe in ensuing years, British disillusionment with the United States grew.⁸²

Britain still sought American friendship, but in the 1920s obstacles to achieving it appeared in the form of disagreements over war debts and naval strength. The tone of Anglo-American relations changed, and the press on both sides of the Atlantic reflected apprehension and sometimes ^{an} angry attitude.⁸³ "Imperium Britannicum delendum est," wrote the postwar British ambassador about American intentions:

England, I suppose, ultimately is to be purchased and kept as an interesting museum--the Old Home Land--a sort of glorified Mount Vernon managed by a committee of the Daughters of the American Revolution. . . . Simply put [their object] is this--to transfer the centre of the English speaking power to North America. . . . They regard England as crippled and this as their opportunity and they propose to grasp it--not in hatred but in fulfillment of their country's destiny."⁸⁴

This same ambassador, Sir Auckland Geddes, went so far as to warn a group of American correspondents, "We [Britain and the United States] are treading a path leading to war."⁸⁵

The image of the United States, of American political leadership, and of Anglo-American harmony that the CPI had tried to build in the British mind had faded. In retrospect, the CPI's wartime propaganda in Britain appears to have made a successful contribution to the Anglo-American war effort, bolstered of course, by the fact of American participation in the war. As conditions changed after the war and as national interests and habits began to reassert themselves, that harmonious and positive image had little staying power in the British mind. The tests of peace began to overcome the friendly feelings created by the Anglo-American wartime partnership and publicity.

Notes

1. The standard works on the CPI are: James R. Mock and Cedric Larson, Words that Won the War: The Story of the Committee on Public Information (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1939), Stephen Vaughn, Holding Fast the Inner Lines: Democracy, Nationalism, and the Committee on Public Information (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1980), and George Creel's own works, Rebel at Large: Recollections of Fifty Crowded Years (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1947), and How We Advertised America: The First Telling of the Amazing Story of the Committee on Public Information that Carried the Gospel of Americanism to Every Corner of the Globe (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1920). Creel wrote the last volume as a public report of the CPI's activities.
2. Ibid., 298-99, and Mock and Larson, Words that Won the War, 296-99.
3. H. C. Allen, Great Britain and the United States: A History of Anglo-American Relations (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1955), 614.
4. Bradford Perkins, The Great Rapprochement: England and the United States, 1895-1914 (New York: Atheneum, 1968), 3-11.
5. Howard Temperley, "Anglo-American Images," in Contrast and Connection: Bicentennial Essays in Anglo-American History, eds. H. C. Allen and Roger Thompson (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1976), 328.
6. This statement is based on an examination of the personal papers of all the British foreign secretaries and all of the British ambassadors to the United States from 1900 to 1914. For example, see Lord Lansdowne to Sir Michael Herbert, 20 February 1903, Sir Michael Herbert Papers, Diplomatic Corresp., box 51, Wilton House, Salisbury, England; Sir Julian Paucéfote to Lord Lansdowne, 23 November 1900, Lord Lansdowne Papers, United States, F.O. 800,

vol. 144, fols. 11-12, Public Record Office, London; and James Bryce to Edward Grey, 2 August 1907, Sir Edward Grey Papers, F.O. 800, General Series, vol. 81, fols. 221-22, Public Record Office, London.

7. James Bryce, "United States: Annual Report, 1907," F.O. 371, Political, vol. 566, file 16149, pp. 18 and 39, Public Record Office, London.

8. This statement is based on a systematic study of the British political press from 1900 to 1914. For example, see The Times, 2 September 1904, 7, and 14 February 1914, 9; the Observer, 20 March 1910, 10; and the Westminster Gazette, 13 July 1917, 1, and 15 April 1908, 1.

9. Even the Spectator, whose owner and editor St. Loe Strachey was sometimes criticized by his professional contemporaries for his pro-Americanism, also took this line. See, Spectator, 7 February 1914, 216.

10. Page to Wilson, 25 October 1913, in Burton J. Hendrick, The Life and Letters of Walter H. Page, 3 vols. (Garden City, N. J.: Doubleday, Page & Company), 1:46.

11. Allen, Great Britain and the United States, 641.

12. Charles Edward Russell, "Diaries of an Amateur Diplomat," 1 July 1915, Charles Edward Russell Papers, Library of Congress, Washington. Hereafter cited as Russell Papers.

13. Armin Rappaport, The British Press and Wilsonian Neutrality (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1965), 13.

14. Page to Wilson, 24 August 1915, in Hendrick, Walter H. Page, 3:250, and *ibid.*, 227.

15. Allen, Great Britain and the United States, 682.

16. Rappaport, The British Press and American Neutrality, 33 and 42. The Lusitania went down on May 7, 1915, and Wilson made his "Too Proud to Fight" speech in Philadelphia on May 10, 1915.

17. Ibid., 145.
18. Wilson to William Jennings Bryan, 10 May 1915, in Hendrick, Walter H. Page, 3:242.
19. Bell to Wilson, 7 March 1919, Edward Price Bell Papers, Newberry Library, Chicago. For examples of Page's comments see Page to Lansing, 3 January 1916, and Page's "Notes Toward an Explanation of the British Feeling Toward the United States," 15 September 1916, in Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States: The Lansing Papers, 1914-1920, 2 vols. (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1939), 1: 703 and 708-13.
20. Charles Seymour, ed., The Intimate Papers of Colonel House, 4 vols. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1926-28), 2:75 and 316.
21. Quoted in Joyce Grigsby Williams, Colonel House and Sir Edward Grey: A Study in Anglo-American Diplomacy (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1984), 108.
22. Count Bernstorff, My Three Years in America (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920), chap. 2, and H. C. Peterson, Propaganda For War: The Campaign Against American Neutrality, 1914-1917 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press), chaps. 2 and 3.
23. "British Propaganda During the Great War 1914-1918: The History of Propaganda," INF 4/4A, p. 10, Public Record Office, London.
24. Ibid., pp. 10, 13, and 14.
25. Ibid., p. 15.
26. [Will Irwin], "Memorandum for the Secretary of War," 21 May 1918, Records of the Committee on Public Information, Record Group 63/CPI 17-A1, box 255, folder "Baker, George Barr," National Archives, Washington, D.C. Hereafter cited as CPI Records.
27. Seth P. Tillman, Anglo-American Relations at the Paris Peace

Conference of 1919 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), 16.

House claimed Wilson's mistrust of Allied motives was detectable in 1916, remained after the war, and was intensified at the Peace Conference. Seymour, Intimate Papers, 2 : 304.

28. Other possibilities were considered including the use of volunteer organizations but all were considered either impractical or fraught with mischief. George Creel, "A Memorandum for an American Bureau of Public Information in Europe," 31 January 1918, in Arthur S. Link, ed., The Papers of Woodrow Wilson, 63 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966-), 46:201. Hereafter cited as Wilson Papers.

29. Ibid., Charles Edward Russell claimed the idea for opening a London bureau was his. Russell to Will Irwin, 11 June 1918, Russell Papers, vol. 9. Russell's claim could be valid, but other than his own retrospective reference to it, no evidence can be found to support it.

30. Creel, "Memorandum for an American Bureau of Public Information in Europe," p. 201.

31. Rickey to Creel, 19 March 1918, CPI Records, 17-A2, box 272, folder "Rickey-London-Cables."

32. Mock and Larson, Words that Won the War, 242-45, and "Address by George Creel, Chairman of the Committee on Public Information, Before the Economic Club, At the Hotel Astor, April 4 [1918]," p. 7, George Creel Papers, box 5, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. Hereafter cited as Creel Papers.

33. Creel to Wilson, 20 August 1917, Wilson Papers, 43:530.

34. John Russell was Charles Edward Russell's son. No biographical trace can be found for Paul Perry.

35. George B. Baker to Edgar Sisson, 17 September 1918, CPI Records, 17-A1, box 255, folder, "Baker, George Barr."

36. Russell to Creel, 19 June 1918, *ibid.*, box 274, folder "Russell Reports," and Russell to Will Irwin, 16 June 1918, *ibid.*, box 273, folder, "Russell-London-Corresp."
37. Creel, How We Advertised America, 299.
38. Edgar Sisson to Paul Perry, n. d., CPI Papers, 17-A2. box 271, folder, "Perry, Paul-London."
39. Perry Arnold to Edgar Sisson, 8 August 1918, CPI Records, 1-C4, box 451, folder, "England."
40. John Balderston, memorandum, [7] August 1918, enclosed in *ibid.*
41. John Russell, "Report on General News Situation in Gt. Britain," memorandum, 9 August 1918, CPI Records, 17-A2, box 274, folder, "Russell-Reports."
42. John Russell, "Report on Use of Mail Stuff in Great Britain," 9 August 1918, *ibid.*
43. Perry Arnold to Walter Rogers, 2 August 1918, *ibid.*, box 255, folder, "Arnold, Perry-Cables."
44. John Russell, "Report on Use of Mail Stuff," and John Balderston to Paul Kennady, 12 September 1918, CPI Records, 17-A1. box 255, folder, "Balderston-Press Abroad."
45. Tony Mason "Sporting News, 1860-1914," in The Press in English Society from the Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries (Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1986), 172-73.
46. John Balderston to Paul Kennady, 18 July 1918, CPI Records, 17-A1, box 255, folder, "Balderston-Reports."
47. Balderston to Kennady, 12 September 1918, *ibid.*, folder, "Balderston-Press Abroad."
48. George Barr Baker to Thomas Bryan (and forwarded to George Creel), 19 September 1918, *ibid.*, folder, "Baker, George Barr-Naval Censor."

49. Balderston to Kennady, 12 September 1918, *ibid.*, folder, "Balderston-Press Abroad."

50. Balderston, memorandum, 22 August 1918, *ibid.*, folder "Balderston-Reports."

51. John Russell, "Report on Photo Situation in Gt. Britain (No. 2), 8 August 1918, *ibid.*, 17-A2, box 274, folder, "Russell Reports."

52. John Balderston, "On the Advisability of Authorizing the Circulation in Great Britain of Pamphlets Printed by the Committee," *ibid.*, 1-C4, box 45, folder, "England."

53. Balderston to Kennady, 25 September 1918, *ibid.*, 17-A4, box 255, folder, "Balderston-Press A road." The London bureau also requested that of the Official Bulletin, the CPI's daily government newspaper, be sent to thirty two British national newspapers, nineteen London clubs, and a variety of other private and public groups in London. John Russell to Edgar Sisson, 5 August 1918, *ibid.*, 17-A2, box 273, folder, "Russell-London-Cables." There is no record to document that this was done, but the request was probably granted because the claim was later made that the Official Bulletin was distributed to every foreign newspaper in the world. "Facts Concerning Official Bulletin, Its Field and Function; How and Why Publication was Authorized by President," p. 2, *ibid.*, 5-A3, box 128, folder, "Facts Concerning Official Bulletin."

54. See p. 13

55. Perry Arnold to Edgar Sisson, 8 August 1918, *ibid.*, 1-C4, box 45, folder, "England."

56. "Biographical Notes for an Interview," Papers of John Balderston, box 1, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

57. After the war, Balderston became editor of the London Outlook (1920-1923) and then served as London correspondent of the New York World

(1923-1931). During the Second World War, he managed the William Allen White Committee's News Service. In between he produced a number of plays; his best known was Berkeley Square; and he wrote a number of screenplays including Frankenstein, The Mummy, The Bride of Frankenstein, and The Mystery of Edwin Drood. He also collaborated on others (e. g., Mark of the Vampire and Lives of a Bengal Lancer) and did the screen adaptations for the Prisoner of Zenda, The Last of the Moheicans, and other works. Balderston's versatility extended to his leisure activities. He was a licensed pilot, interested in numismatics, and collected old newspapers dating from 1649 to 1914. That newspaper collection was, in his words, "without rival outside the great libraries." Ibid.

58. The managing editor of the Indianapolis Star, which used Balderston's syndicated articles earlier in the war, said he had many inquiries about them and considered them "the best that had come from abroad since the war began." Ernest Bross to P. C. Eastment, November 24, 1915, *ibid.* For the Russell quote, see Charles Edward Russell to Will Irwin, 11 July 1918, CPI Records, 17-A2, box 273, folder, Russell-London Cables."

59. Balderston to Edgar Sisson, 1 August 1918, CPI Records, 17-A1, box 255, folder, "Balderston-Reports."

60. Balderston to Kennady, 26 October 1918, *ibid.*, folder, "Balderston-Press Abroad."

61. Balderston to Kennady, 21 November 1918, *ibid.*

62. Balderston, "Preliminary Report on Work of the Committee in Ireland," 20 September 1918, *ibid.*, folder, "Balderston Reports."

63. *Ibid.*

64. Balderston to Kennady, 30 October 1918, *ibid.*, folder, "Balderston-Press Abroad."

65. Balderston to Kennady, 31 October 1918, *ibid.*, folder, "Balderston Reports."

66. A number of things discredited German propaganda during the war: revelations about the workings of German secret agents and saboteurs in the United States, the activity of German submarines in the Atlantic, the interception and publication of the Zimmerman Note, and the effectiveness of British propaganda.

67. "British Propaganda During the War 1914-1918," p. 15.

68. "Translation of an Article from the Frankfurter Zeitung, August 7, entitled: 'Allied Propaganda,'" CPI Records, 18-A-1, box 342, folder, "Propaganda."

69. Tillman, Anglo-American Relations at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919, 35.

70. Quoted in the Literary Digest, 4 January 1919, 11.

71. William A. White to Creel, enclosed in Creel to Wilson, 20 November 1918, Creel Papers, vol. 2.

72. House to Robert Lansing, 31 October 1918, Edward M. House Papers, Sterling Library, Yale University, New Haven, Conn., Drawer 12, folder 12. Hereafter cited as House Papers.

73. Entry in the Diary of Colonel House, 17 December 1918, in Wilson Papers, 53: 417-18. Northcliffe took the same enthusiastic line in an interview with Charles Grasty. See New York Times, 21 December 1918, 1-2.

74. Balderston to Sisson, 2 January 1919, CPI Records, 18-A4, box 344, folder, "Misc. Corresp. of W. S. Rogers."

75. Statement by the Trade Union Congress Parliamentary Committee and the Executive Committee of the Labour Party, 28 December 1918, in the Wilson Papers, 53:535-36, and H. W. Massingham to Colonel House, 30 January 1919,

H. W. Massingham Papers, box 488, Norfolk Record Office, Norwich, England.

76. See, for instance, House's correspondence with Frank Cobb, the New York World's editor and confidant of Wilson, who was then working with House in Paris and London, especially Cobb's memorandum of 29 November 1918. House Papers, drawer 35, folder 94.

77. Arthur Balfour to Robert Lansing, 14 November 1918, and David Lloyd George to Wilson, m. d. [Received 19 November 1918], in Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States 1919: The Paris Peace Conference, 12 vols. (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1942), 1:4-5.

78. Lloyd George made no secret of his conviction on this point and expressed ^{it} on several occasions. See, Leo Amery Diary, 29 October 1918, in John Barnes and David Nicolson, eds., The Leo Amery Diaries, Volume I: 1896-1929 (London: Hutchinson, 1980), 239, and House Diary, 4 November 1918, Seymour, ed., Intimate Papers, 4:180.

79. Amery Diary, 30 December 1918, Barnes and Nicolson, eds., The Leo Amery Diaries.

80. Thomas Jones Diary, 2 July 1919, in Keith Middlemas, ed., Whitehall Diary, vol. 1, 1916-1925 (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), 88.

81. Tillman, Anglo-American Relations at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919, 405.

82. Allen, Great Britain and the United States, 723, and Thomas A. Bailey, Woodrow Wilson and the Great Betrayal (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, Encounter Paperbacks, 1963), 29.

83. For example of and references to this sentiment see Sir Geoffrey Butler, "Anglo-American Relations," Living Age (repr. from The Journal of the Royal Society of Arts), 30 July 1921, 255-56; "Probing the Roots of

Anti-British Feeling in America," Current Opinion 69 (July 1920): 90-92; and "Our Hatred of England," Nation, 11 October 1919, 489.

84. Sir Auckland Geddes to Philip Kerr, 3 January 1921, quoted in C. J. Lowe and M. L. Dockrill, The Mirage of Power, Vol. 2, British Foreign Policy 1914-22 (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972), 301.

85. Quoted in Beckler Willson, Friendly Relations: A Narrative of Britain's Ministers and Ambassadors to America (1791-1930), (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1934), 331.

GREATER DISTANCE = DECLINING INTEREST:
Massachusetts Printers and Protections
for a Free Press, 1783-1791

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American Journalism Historians Association Convention
Philadelphia, October 1991

GREATER DISTANCE = DECLINING INTEREST:

Massachusetts Printers and Protections
for a Free Press, 1783-1791

In this anniversary year of the adoption of the First Amendment, it is useful to look at the ideas concerning the freedom of the press during the years prior to 1791. Historical mythology often gives credit to the printers of Revolutionary America for leading the fight to establish freedom of expression in the United States. This statement fits the history of the state of Massachusetts. Several 18th-century printers of Massachusetts, particularly Benjamin Edes and Isaiah Thomas, form part of the pantheon of newspaper people who helped push for the liberty of the press following the American Revolution. However, a closer study of the efforts of Massachusetts publishers in the area of freedom of expression during the 1780s reveals that their attempts to establish protections for the press became more strident the closer to home was the concern and the more costly was the threat. Five publishers operated their businesses in Massachusetts for the entire period from the end of the Revolution until the adoption of the Federal Bill of Rights. Thomas Adams and John Nourse, Benjamin Edes, John Mycall, Benjamin Russell, and Isaiah Thomas all published their newspapers throughout the period during which the United States hammered out a new government. During this period, Massachusetts printers protested loudly against actions of the state government that hurt the press but expressed little concern over what the national government did.

Throughout the 1780s, Bay State printers praised newspapers as the major source of news and general information for the public. Benjamin Russell, publisher of the Massachusetts Centinel, urged people to save their newspapers in order "to preserve a just, particular, and impartial History of the transactions of the present day."¹ In the Independent Chronicle, "Impartialis" declared that a newspaper was "the poor man's library", the means by which most people "gain their information of the world at large."² A poet in the Massachusetts Spy praised newspapers as "the springs of knowledge" for all Americans.³ "Acirema" declared in the Worcester Magazine that "without political knowledge the people cannot secure their liberties, and this necessary information they receive by the medium of News-Papers."⁴ At the time of Shays's Rebellion, several printers declared that many of the problems in the backcountry were a result of the lack of communication because few newspapers were published in the counties where most of the trouble occurred.⁵ Clearly, Massachusetts printers believed that the productions of their small presses played an important role in American society.

Because of the importance they attached to their weekly newsheets, publishers also often spoke about the importance of a free press in the operation of a republican government. Many writers praised the role of the newspapers in stirring up the people to revolt against Great Britain.⁶ In an essay widely reprinted throughout the United States, "Common Sense" praised freedom of the press as the "Palladium of Liberty, the chief means of diffusing through this wide extended country those generous

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sentiments which delivered us from British tyranny, and formed the basis of our rising empire."⁷ Another widely-published piece declared that an open press was "a security against errors, for where there is a free Press, no false doctrine in religion, policy, or physic, can be broached and remain undetected." Furthermore, a free press was "a great buckler against oppression" and "a standing resource in case of an unforeseen calamity," for publication provided the means of explaining and solving all political problems.⁸ According to these pieces published by Massachusetts printers, a free and open press was essential for the operation of a republican government such as the one desired by the American people.

The first major threat to the ability of Massachusetts printers to operate as they chose came in the form of the state stamp act, passed in the spring of 1785. Designed to help raise money to pay off the war debt, the act resulted in screams of protest from the state's publishers.⁹ All of them castigated the legislature for trying to undermine the liberty of the press. In the Massachusetts Centinel, "Lucius" declared that "the freedom of the Press is the greatest bulwark of Liberty, and the most sacred right of Freedom." He expressed great shock that his home state had struck "a blow at the root of this inestimable right."¹⁰ John Mycall, publisher of Newburyport's Essex Journal, stated that he was "resolved never to print a News-Paper burdened with a Stamp in a land of Liberty, and where the Press is said to be Free!". Rather than submit to the stamp legislation, he would either discontinue his paper or move his printing operation to New

Hampshire.¹¹ Isaiah Thomas, publisher of the Massachusetts Spy, was vocal in his opposition to the stamp tax, declaring it to be a "bad policy" which violated the state's Bill of Rights by interfering with the freedom of the press.¹² The Boston Gazette urged the legislature to rethink its action and to "free the public from that bar to political wisdom" by repealing the stamp tax.¹³

The printers continually criticized the state legislature for attempting to limit the liberty of the press, but the issue of money played a role in their protests as well. The stamp tax would increase the cost of their newspapers and the printers feared that this would endanger their business. Several of them stated that the tax would raise the price of their productions by 1/3, a change which would make newspapers too expensive for many people to purchase.¹⁴ Furthermore, the printers of neighboring states would be able to undersell local publishers, which would further injure Massachusetts newspapers.¹⁵ The result would be the demise of locally-published news sheets and the financial ruin of local printers.¹⁶ In the opinion of the publishers of the Bay State, the disappearance of newspapers because of the state action could only be seen as "a clog to the Liberty of the Press."¹⁷

The Massachusetts state legislature responded to the protests and repealed the stamp tax. Still needing a source of revenue, however, they replaced the stamp tax with a duty on newspaper advertisements.¹⁸ This measure produced even more complaints, for it struck at the financial mainstay of newspapers -- advertising. State publishers continued to criticize the assembly for attacking

the freedom of the press. Leading the way in the fight were Benjamin Edes of Boston and Isaiah Thomas of Worcester. Both men thought the advertisement tax would destroy the newspapers of Massachusetts and urged its repeal.¹⁷ Edes urged printers to stay out of Massachusetts because they could not operate their businesses freely,²⁰ while Thomas called on the towns of Massachusetts to instruct their representatives to work for the repeal of the obnoxious legislation.²¹ Thomas even went so far as to suspend publication of the Massachusetts Spy for over two years. He replaced his newspaper with the Worcester Magazine, a publication which was not covered by the act taxing advertisements.²² Upon resuming the publication of the Spy in 1788, Thomas prayed that "Heaven grant that the FREEDOM of the PRESS, on which depends the FREEDOM of the PEOPLE, may, in the United States, be ever guarded with a watchful eye, and defended from shackles, of every form and shape, until the trump of the celestial Messenger shall announce the final dissolution of all things."²³

Printers criticized the advertisement tax as an infringement upon the liberty of the press, but, once more, the issue of money was also clearly involved. The advertisement tax could not help but hurt the financial status of newspapers, because increased advertisements enabled a printer to sell his paper more cheaply, thus encouraging a larger circulation.²⁴ Isaiah Thomas declared that "the tax on News-paper Advertisements has a direct tendency not only to restrain, but to destroy those necessary vehicles of public information, by taking away their only support; for

Advertisements are the only support of News-papers in this Country, where News-papers are at so low a price."²⁵ The printers of Massachusetts suffered as a result of the advertisement tax, for many reduced the size of their newspapers in order to continue publication. Six were forced to cease production altogether.²⁶ Isaiah Thomas expressed the feelings of all the printers when he declared that "if therefore the Publication of News-papers is not by Law prohibited, yet if a law is made which takes away the means of printing and circulating News-papers, it amounts to the same thing, and is of course an unconstitutional restraint on the Liberty of the Press."²⁷ The printers of Massachusetts appealed to the General Court to repeal the act, stating that the money raised from the tax was not enough to justify the financial impact of the legislation on publishers. In 1788, the state legislature finally agreed and repealed the advertisement tax.²⁸

With such strong efforts to defend the freedom of the press at the state level, it would not be surprising if the Massachusetts printers had also worked diligently to protect freedom of expression at the national level. That, however, did not prove to be the case. During the late 1780s, the newspapers of the Bay State, as was true in all the states,²⁹ covered the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia and the ratification process that followed, but they made few specific suggestions concerning what should be included in the new government.

During the meeting of the Convention, the press urged the delegates to work to solve the problems of the United States through measures that would improve the status of the national

government.³⁰ They praised the delegates for their "wisdom and patriotism"³¹ and urged the people to support the results of the Convention, "whether an addition to the old constitution, or the adoption of a new one."³²

During the ratification debates, Massachusetts printers strongly supported the adoption of the Constitution, for they believed that the new proposed government would improve the stability of the United States.³³ The printer of the Massachusetts Centinel stated that the Constitution was "the result of much wisdom, candour, and those mutual concessions, without which America can never expect to harmonize in any system of Commerce or Government."³⁴ A writer in the Independent Chronicle called on the American people to "be of one heart, and of one mind" to "seize the golden opportunity to secure a stable government, and to become a respectable nation" by ratifying the Constitution.³⁵ The Boston Gazette declared the nation's problems "will gradually subside, till they finally disappear, if we have but wisdom and firmness speedily to adopt the New Federal Constitution."³⁶ All the printers seemed pleased when the Constitution had been ratified by enough states to ensure that the new government went into operation.³⁷

The printers of Massachusetts took particular interest in the actions of their own ratifying convention, which met from January 9 to February 6, 1788. Numerous comments concerning the meeting appeared while it was in session and the printers expressed much pleasure when the state ratified the Constitution.³⁸ Many delegates to the convention had hesitated to approve the new

government, for they felt that it did not contain enough protection for individual liberties. They insisted that the Constitution must be amended prior to its taking effect. A compromise was negotiated in which the new form of government was ratified with suggested amendments attached. The need for amendments was considered crucial by many delegates, but most of them seemed more concerned with state power and financial and judicial concerns rather than personal freedoms. The only mention of the liberty of the press during the ratifying convention was an amendment for its protection presented by Samuel Adams on the last day of the convention. The proposed change was quickly voted down and the Constitution ratified (with proposed amendments) by a vote of 187 to 168.³⁹

Some newspapers discussed the issue of the liberty of the press and the proposed new national government, but it never became a major issue. Several opponents of the Constitution criticized the press for failing to cover all sides of the issue, but the printers stated that they published whatever materials were presented by the public.⁴⁰ "Candidus", an essayist in the Independent Chronicle, stated that "freedom of debate in all national questions, has ever been held sacred among a free people; the great subject now submitted to the public, most certainly claims this indulgence, as on its impartial discussion, every thing that is valuable depends."⁴¹ Massachusetts printers apparently agreed with this sentiment, for a lively debate concerning the Constitution took place in several Bay State papers prior to the meeting of the Massachusetts convention.⁴² Some

newspaper essayists worried over the failure of the Constitution to provide specific protection for a free press, but most writers seemed unconcerned.⁴³ Apparently, most people did not worry about the lack of protection for the press in the Constitution because the necessary protections already existed in state bills of rights. The Massachusetts Constitution of 1780 provided that "the liberty of the press is essential to the security of freedom in a State; it ought not, therefore, to be restrained in this commonwealth." The delegates to the ratifying convention considered this provision to be protection enough for the liberty of the press.⁴⁴ Bay State printers apparently agreed, for they did not urge the state convention to include protection for the media in the proposed amendments attached to the state's ratification of the Constitution.⁴⁵ Except for the convention proposal of Samuel Adams, the issue of the freedom of the press never came up in Massachusetts during the ratification debates.

Attitudes in Massachusetts concerning the need to protect the freedom of the press at the national level had not changed by the time the state legislature considered the proposed Bill of Rights in 1791. Those who had previously supported the Constitution felt that it did not need to be amended, while its opponents were still more concerned with the issues of state vs. national power and judicial rights. Both the House and the Senate of the Massachusetts General Court approved what would later become the First Amendment, but they never passed a joint resolution to finalize their approval. Therefore, the state of Massachusetts failed to ratify the amendment which provided safeguards for the

press at the national level.⁴⁶ Newspaper printers seemed unconcerned about the failure of Massachusetts to ratify the proposed Bill of Rights. The public prints carried very little information about the actions of the state legislature concerning the amendments and expressed no desire that a protection for the liberty of the press become a part of the national government.⁴⁷ Leonard Levy has stated that "the history of the framing and ratification of the Bill of Rights indicates slight passion on the part of anyone to enshrine personal liberties in the fundamental law of the land."⁴⁸ This was certainly true in Massachusetts, for no one pushed for the adoption of the Bill of Rights. The printers of Massachusetts did not perceive actions of the federal government to be any sort of threat to them, as the state taxes of 1785 and 1786 had been. Even the adoption of a postal duty on newspapers failed to generate much excitement. Massachusetts news sheets mentioned the new law, which passed Congress on February 20, 1792, but they did not perceive it as a major threat to their livelihood.⁴⁹ Even Isaiah Thomas, the printer who had stopped publication of his newspaper because of the state stamp tax, saw no problem with the national postal duty. His only comment was that the bill provided for the establishment of a post road from Worcester to Providence, Rhode Island.⁵⁰ Clearly, at least in Massachusetts, distance from the government in question made a difference in evaluating the issue of a free press and how much it needed to be protected.

¹Massachusetts Centinel, March 17, 1787.

²Independent Chronicle, May 25, 1786.

³Essex Journal, June 8, 1785.

⁴Worcester Magazine, 3rd week in May 1786.

⁵Boston Gazette, October 16, 1786, February 26, 1787.

⁶Worcester Magazine, 3rd week in May 1786; Boston Gazette, September 17, 1798.

⁷Massachusetts Centinel, January 19, 1785.

⁸Massachusetts Spy, December 4, 1788.

⁹Essex Journal, May 11, 1785; Independent Chronicle, May 12, 1785; Boston Gazette, May 16, 23, 1785; Clifford K. Shipton, Isaiah Thomas: Printer, Patriot, and Philanthropist, 1749-1831 (Rochester, New York: The Printing House of Leo Hart, 1948), p. 42; Clyde Augustus Duniway, The Development of Freedom of the Press in Massachusetts (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1906), pp. 119-120, 136-137; Frank Luther Mott, American Journalism: A History of Newspapers in the United States Through 250 Years, 1690 to 1940 (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1962(1941)), pp. 143-144.

¹⁰Essay from Massachusetts Centinel, Reprinted in Vermont Gazette, July 11, 1785; Van Beck Hall, Politics Without Parties: Massachusetts, 1780-1791 (Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1972, p. 117; Joseph T. Buckingham, Specimens of Newspaper Literature, 2 vols. (Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1971(1850)), 2:33-34.

¹¹Essex Journal, June 8, 1785.

¹²Massachusetts Spy, May 12, June 2, 1785.

¹³Boston Gazette, May 30, 1785.

¹⁴Essex Journal, April 6, 1785; Massachusetts Spy, May 12, 1785.

¹⁵Massachusetts Spy, April 21, May 12, 1785; Massachusetts Centinel, May 4, 1785.

¹⁶Massachusetts Centinel, May 4, 1785; Massachusetts Spy, May 12, 1785; Independent Chronicle, May 12, 1785.

¹⁷Essex Journal, April 6, 1785.

¹⁸Hall, Politics Without Parties, p. 118.

¹⁹Boston Gazette, August 22, 1785; Massachusetts Spy, January 26, March 30, 1786; Worcester Magazine, April 5, 1786, 4th week in July 1786; Buckingham, Specimens of Newspaper Literature, I:197, 242.

²⁰Boston Gazette, March 5, 1787.

²¹Worcester Magazine, 2nd week in May 1786.

²²Handbill published by Isaiah Thomas, April 3, 1786; Worcester Magazine, 4th week in July 1786, 4th week in March 1787, 4th week in March 1788; Massachusetts Spy, April 3, 1788.

²³Massachusetts Spy, April 3, 1788.

²⁴Essex Journal, November 9, 1785; Independent Chronicle, May 25, 1786; Clarence S. Brigham, Journals and Journeymen: A Contribution to the History of Early American Newspapers (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950), p. 27; John Bixler Hench, "The Newspaper in a Republic: Boston's Centinel and Chronicle, 1784-1801," (Ph.D. dissertation, Clark University, 1979), p. 93.

²⁵Handbill published by Isaiah Thomas, April 3, 1786; Essex Journal, April 19, 1786.

²⁶Worcester Magazine, 4th week in June 1786, 4th week in July 1786, 1st week in October 1786, 4th week in March 1787; Essex Journal, October 18, December 20, January 10, 1787.

²⁷Handbill published by Isaiah Thomas, April 3, 1786; Essex Journal, April 19, 1786.

²⁸Boston Printers' Petition, February 8, 1786, Copy in Book Trades Collection, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts, Original in Massachusetts State Archives, Senate File 718; Advertising Tax Collections for Suffolk County,

Massachusetts, February 9, 1786, Copy in Book Trades Collection, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts, Original in Massachusetts State Archives, Senate File 718-3; Committee Report to General Court, February 10, 1786, copy in Book Trades Collection, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts, Original in Massachusetts State Archives, Senate File 718-2 and 718-4.

²⁹Robert Allan Rutland, News mongers: Journalism in the Life of the Nation, 1690-1972 (New York: The Dial Press, 1973), p. 58.

³⁰Massachusetts Centinel, June 13, 30, 1787; Independent Chronicle, July 19, August 9, 1787.

³¹Independent Chronicle, August 9, 1787.

³²Massachusetts Centinel, June 13, 30, 1787; Independent Chronicle, July 19, August 9, 1787.

³³Massachusetts Centinel, September 29, November 17, December 1, 1787, November 1, 1788; Boston Gazette, November 15, December 10, 1787, January 14, 1788; Independent Chronicle, January 10, 1788.

³⁴Massachusetts Centinel, January 9, 1788.

³⁵Independent Chronicle, June 5, 1788.

³⁶Boston Gazette, October 15, 1787.

³⁷Boston Gazette, May 12, June 9, 23, July 7, 1788; Massachusetts Spy, July 10, 1788.

³⁸Massachusetts Centinel, January 9, 16, February 11, 1788; Independent Chronicle, January 10 to March 13, 1788; February 7, 1788; Boston Gazette, February 11, 1788; Essex Journal, February 13, 1788; Augustus W. Clason, "The Convention of Massachusetts," Magazine of American History, XIV (December 1885): 545.

³⁹Duniway, Development of Freedom of the Press, pp. 137-140; Samuel B. Harding, The Contest Over the Ratification of the Federal Constitution in the State of Massachusetts (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1896), p. 98; Robert Allen Rutland, The Birth of the Bill of Rights, 1776-1791 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1955), p. 148; Arthur N. Holcombe, "Massachusetts and the Federal Constitution of 1787," Chapter 13 in Albert Bushnell Hart, ed., Commonwealth History of Massachusetts, vol. 3 (New York: The States History Company, 1929), pp. 399-400; Irving Brant, The Bill of Rights: Its Origin and Meaning (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1965), p. 39; Bernard Schwartz, The Bill of Rights: A Documentary History, 2 vols. (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1971), II:674-675, 681, 707; Clason, "The Convention of Massachusetts," p. 544.

The complete minutes and debates of the Massachusetts Ratifying Convention may be found in Schwartz, The Bill of Rights, vol. II, pp. 676-723.

⁴⁰Boston Gazette, December 3, 1787.

⁴¹Independent Chronicle, January 3, 1788.

⁴²See, for example, Independent Chronicle, December 1787 and January 1788; Worcester Magazine, December 1787 and January 1788.

⁴³Boston Gazette, December 3, 1787; Worcester Magazine, 1st week in February 1788, Referenced in Harding, Contest Over Ratification, p. 36.

⁴⁴Boston Gazette, October 22, 1787; No author given, The Perpetual Laws of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 1780-1788 (Worcester: Isaiah Thomas, 1788), I:7; Duniway, Development of Freedom of the Press, pp. 130, 136, 138-140; Rutland, Bill of Rights, pp. 107, 108, 112; Leonard W. Levy, "Bill of Rights," pp. 258-306 in Leonard W. Levy, ed., Essays on the Making of the Constitution (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), pp. 267, 299; Jeffrey A. Smith, "Public Opinion and the Press Clause," Journalism History, 14 (Spring 1987): 8; Schwartz, The Bill of Rights, vol. II, p. 676.

⁴⁵Throughout the ratification debate in Massachusetts, the newspapers often carried materials discussing the need for amendments to the proposed Constitution, but the need to protect the press was not a major issue. See, for example, Independent Chronicle, September 18, 1788, February 5, 1789.

⁴⁶Duniway, Development of Freedom of the Press, p. 141; Levy, "Bill of Rights," p. 287; Denys P. Myers, Massachusetts and the First Ten Amendments to the Constitution (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1936), pp. 8-9, 11; Hall, Politics

Without Parties, p. 327.

⁴⁷David A. Anderson, "The Origins of the Press Clause," UCLA Law Review, 30(1983): 486; Massachusetts Spy, February 17, 1789. The printers in question never published very much about the proposed Bill of Rights, and most of what they did print consisted of copies of the amendments and legislative discussions of them. The average percentage of space allotted to discussion of the Bill of Rights in any one month never exceeded 9.44% of total available space. See the Appendix for a more detailed view of the space allotted to the Bill of Rights.

The printers continued to take interest in local free press issues throughout this period. For example, several newspapers gave extensive coverage to the libel trial of Edmund Freeman, printer of Boston's American Herald. Independent Chronicle, February 4, 1790, February 24, March 3, 10, 17, 24, 1791; Massachusetts Centinel, February 10, 1790, February 26, 1791.

⁴⁸Levy, "Bill of Rights," p. 289.

⁴⁹"An Act to Establish the Post Office and Post Roads Within the United States," The Debates and Proceedings in the Congress of the United States, 2nd Congress, 1791-1793 (Washington, D. C.: Gales and Seaton, 1849), pp. 1333-1341; Massachusetts Centinel, February 26, 1791, February 5, 1792; Independent Chronicle, February 23, March 8, 1792; Boston Gazette, March 12, 1792.

⁵⁰Massachusetts Spy, March 8, 1792.

Percentage of Space Allotted to the Bill of Rights, 1789-1791

<u>Date</u>	<u>Centinel¹</u>	<u>Chronicle²</u>	<u>Gazette³</u>	<u>Journal⁴</u>	<u>Spy⁵</u>	<u>Average</u>
6-89	4.69	9.77	0.00	3.13	7.42	5.00
7-89	1.85	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.31	0.43
8-89	5.79	12.11	12.50	4.69	12.11	9.44
9-89	0.00	2.34	2.08	21.25	6.25	6.38
10-89	0.00	1.25	0.00	0.78	1.25	0.66
11-89	0.30	0.00	0.42	0.00	0.00	0.14
12-89	0.46	0.00	0.00	0.31	0.94	0.34
1-90	0.23	0.00	4.17	2.73	0.00	1.43
2-90	0.00	0.39	0.52	0.78	0.78	0.49
3-90	0.00	3.58	1.67	3.13	0.00	1.68
4-90	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
5-90	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
6-90	0.23	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.39	0.12
7-90	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
8-90	1.37	0.39	1.67	0.00	0.00	0.67
9-90	0.00	0.00	1.56	0.00	0.00	0.31
10-90	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
11-90	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
12-90	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1-91	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2-91	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
3-91	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
4-91	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
5-91	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
6-91	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

7-91	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
8-91	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
9-91	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
10-91	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
11-91	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
12-91	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1-92	0.00	0.31	0.00	0.39	0.39	0.22
2-92	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
3-92	5.90	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.18

*The dates used for the study are from June 1789 until March 1792. This includes the period from James Madison's first proposal of amendments until Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson notified the state governors that the Bill of Rights had been approved.

¹The Massachusetts Centinel was published in Boston by Benjamin Russell.

²The Independent Chronicle was published in Boston by Thomas Adams and John Nourse.

³The Boston Gazette was published in Boston by Benjamin Edes.

⁴The Essex Journal was published in Newburyport by John Mycall.

⁵The Massachusetts Spy was published in Worcester by Isaiah Thomas.